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HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE

BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

AND THE

EMPIRE OF AVA;

FROM THE EARLIEST DATE ON RECORD TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1834:

COMPILED BY

G. T. BAYFIELD, ESQ., ACTING ASSISTANT TO THE RESIDENT IN AVA,

AND REVISED BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BURNEY,

BRITISH RESIDENT.

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The earliest record of the British in Burmah is so far back as the year 1619, when we began a trade at Pegu, encouraged by a King of Ava, but by the ill management of those employed, they were forced to abandon it almost as soon as they had commenced it. In 1607 or 1627 the Dutch appear to have had possession of the Island of Negrais.

1619.
Modern Universal History, vol. 7, p. 112, from Methold in Purchas's Pilgrims.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 93.

The precise time of our arrival in the country is uncertain, but in the beginning of the 17th century we possessed factories at Syriam, Prome, Ava, and on the borders of China, probably at the Burmese frontier-town of Bhanmo or *Banmau*. We were established by permission and not by treaty; but owing to some offensive and insolent threats of the Dutch to the King of Burmah, we were both expelled from the kingdom, and were not permitted to return to it for many years. The Dutch never returned. At this time maps, &c. were made of the Upper Country, which perhaps might even now be discovered amongst the old records of Madras; we have never had such opportunities for observation since, and probably shall not again. *Dalrymple's Oriental Repository* contains extracts from the records of the Government of Fort Saint George and other documents, giving all the account which can now be obtained of our intercourse and transactions with the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, from the earliest times down to the year 1760.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 98, and vol. 2, pp. 345, 367.

The Portuguese, who had been in the country since 1540, if not before, were in the beginning of the 17th century in considerable force at Syriam,* under the celebrated Philip De Brito and Nicote, who was even proclaimed King of Pegu. His conduct, however, in attacking Toongoo and carrying off the King of that country, a chief styled in Burmese History *Kuli ya men*, King obtained or seized by foreigners, provoked the King of Ava, Maha Dhamma Raja, who besieged and destroyed Syriam, and impaled De Brito on an eminence above the Fort. The Burmese Monarch removed many of the Portuguese and their descendants from Syriam to the vicinity of Ava, where some traces of them exist to this day in a race of people with light coloured hair and eyes.

Modern Universal History, vol. 7, p. 112 to 120.

* Called by the Burmese *Thalgen*.

1680.
Dalrymple's Oriental Re-
pertory, vol. 1, p. 102, and
vol. 2, p. 245.

From the period of our expulsion to this date, English ships continued to trade, but we appear to have gained little in a political point of view. In 1680, an endeavour, under orders from the India Company, to re-establish factories in this country effected nothing.

1684-1685.
Dalrymple's Oriental Re-
pertory, vol. 1, p. 102.

The British Government again made an unsuccessful attempt through a Mr. Dodds to obtain a settlement in this country, and particularly at "*Pramoo* on the confines of China."

1686.
Dalrymple's Oriental Re-
pertory, vol. 1, p. 103.

In this year, as the Burmese insisted upon some person of consequence being sent to them, all thoughts of settling in their country were given up; but a resolution was taken to settle at Negrais, which was considered at this time as part of the Arracan dominion. A sloop was sent to make a survey of that island,* but losing her passage she was obliged to return. At this time, letters from the Burman King were received at Madras, and the King of Arracan also made an ineffectual effort to obtain through that Government, the assistance of some Native States for the purpose of quelling disturbances which had broken out in his kingdom.

1687.
Dalrymple's Oriental Re-
pertory, vol. 1, p. 103, and
vol. 2, p. 189 to 193
Hamilton's New Account
of the East Indies, vol. 2,
p. 63, 64.

Captain Weldon was sent to Musni to declare war against Siam, and on his return, he surveyed the Island of Negrais, planted the English flag, and took possession of it in the name of the British. Negrais at this time appears to have belonged to Siam, as the report says, "that Captain Weldon destroyed some Siamese† huts that were on the Island."

1688.
Dalrymple's Oriental Re-
pertory, vol. 1, p. 104.

The Governor of Syriam invited the British Government to re-establish a factory at that place, but the offer was rejected, owing to a projected expedition against Chittagong.

1695.
Dalrymple's Oriental Re-
pertory, vol. 2, p. 337 to 396.

Notwithstanding the early date of the arrival of the British in Burmah, no regular official intercourse appears to have been instituted until the year 1695, when the views of Government towards Burmah being changed, Messrs. Fleetwood and Lesly were sent as Ambassadors to the Court of Ava, with presents, and a petition to the King for the restoration of the property of one Adrian Tilbury, whose estate, when he died intestate at Martaban, had been seized by the Burmese Government; also for the release of the ships *Saint Anthony* and *Saint Nicholas*, which had put into a Burmese port for wood and water, and had been unjustly confiscated, and her commander and crew detained captives; and to obtain, if possible, certain commercial advantages, and a re-establishment of our factory at Syriam. Mr. Fleetwood, who alone appears to have proceeded to Ava, was well received by the local authorities at Syriam, and forwarded to the capital, where, after much procrastination and delay, he obtained an audience of the King, who restored the captives, but not the property, and granted a remission of one-third of the Custom duties, and leave to build a factory as required. On entering the Palace, the Ambassador was made to kneel down three separate

* Called by the Burmese *Hain-yee-Kywon*.

† Probably *Shans*, who were also called *Siamese* by old travellers and writers.

times, and "*Shék,ho*"* three obeisances each time. On his return to Syriam, the Burmese chief of that place maintained, that the King's orders granting an abatement of one-third of the Custom duties, applied, not to the India Company, but to Mr. Fleetwood alone, for any *one* ship he might send or come in. Government did not avail itself of the permission granted to build a factory at Syriam, and as the main points of the Mission were not obtained, in the year 1697, the Government of Madras deputed a Mr. Bowyear as Ambassador to the Burmese Court, with a humiliating petition, praying the restitution of all ship-wrecked property and persons, but particularly of that mentioned by the former embassy, and repeating the request for permission to build a factory at Syriam, and to have an Agent-resident there in the name of the Company, for the protection of commerce. The result of this mission is not known; probably there was none, and Mr. Bowyear may have refrained from proceeding to the capital, as the Burmese King, *Menyè-Kyaw-den*, died in 1698, just after Mr. Bowyear's arrival in the country.

1695.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 2, p. 396 to 404.

Mr. Bowyear remained until this year at Syriam; and trade and commerce appear to have been carried on without any further protecting efforts on the part of the British Government.

1700.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 2, p. 132.

From 1697 till 1709 there appears to have been no important intercourse between the two Governments. In this last year, however, Mr. Pitt, Governor of Madras, deputed a Mr. Richard Allanson or Allison to the Court of Ava, the account of whose missions must exist among the old records of Madras. This gentleman was twice at the Court of Ava and Syriam on the part of the Government of Madras, and we may reasonably conclude that his missions were successful, for although we can find no record of important official communications with Ava, yet we may observe that for several years after the date of his missions, the English were settled at Syriam and trading freely between the British possessions and Burmah under the protection of Residents, who were however mere supervisors of the private trade, and not immediately in the service of the Company, that body itself having had no commerce with Burmah since its expulsion in the 17th century. One of these Residents, named Tornery, is said to have written a complete description of this Empire, but what became of so curious a work Dalrymple could not learn.

1709.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 101, and vol. 2, p. 133. Also Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. 2, p. 46.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 105.

Between the years 1726 and 1740, the English were still settled at Syriam, and commerce continued to be carried on. There are letters from different Residents on record, some complaining of grievances, and others of no further importance than to shew our continued connection with this country. In 1740 the Peguers and Siamese leagued together and reconquered Syriam from the Burmese. The British Agent and Merchants, as well as all foreigners, remained unmolested. In 1741 the King of Pegu, Simento,† being anxious for the assistance of the British, wrote to Mr. Smart, the British Resident, proposing that he should have the regulating of the port charges and Customs, inviting him to Pegu, and

1726 to 1740.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 2, p. 124, 125.]

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 2, p. 195, 196.

* A mark of homage performed in the kneeling posture, by raising the folded hands to the forehead and bowing the head nearly to the ground.

† *Thameint, han*, the Pegu title corresponding with the Burmese "*Men-dara*" King of righteousness.

1740.

giving free permission to the English to build ships, and to trade and export all kinds of goods. Mr. Smart evaded His Majesty's offers, being apparently disposed to favor the Burmese.

1743.

The Peguers vacated Syriam, and the Burmese re-took it; they held it for the three days only, when the Peguers returned, and having strong suspicion of unfairness and duplicity on the part of the British Agent, they burnt the Company's factory to the ground, which, together with the unsettled state of affairs, occasioned Mr. Smart to retire from the country, and thereby, through the misconduct of its Agent, the Company forfeited its advantages, present and prospective.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 105, 106, and vol. 2, p. 190.

1750.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1. p. 129, 97.

About the year 1750 a very interesting paper on the consequence of settling an European Colony on the Island of Negrais, was written and delivered to the Government of Fort St. George, which paper, afterwards in 1753, seems to have been the foundation of what was called "the Negrais Expedition."

1752.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 115.

Having quitted Syriam under circumstances of such an unfavorable nature, the King of Tavoy (at this time setting himself up for an independent Prince) made overtures to the British Government, to establish a settlement at that place; but the terms proposed were so exorbitant in a pecuniary point of view, that the acceptance of them was not likely in any way to tend either to our honour or advantage. The offer was consequently neglected, though not positively refused, without any attempt to obtain a settlement at a lesser sacrifice.

1753.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, pp. 97, 124, 125 to 128.

In 1687, as was before shown, the Island of Negrais was surveyed and taken possession of in the Honorable Company's name, and in this year, 1753, the Governor of Madras established a settlement on it, under a Mr. Hunter, a clever, but haughty, ill-tempered, and disappointed man, who, ignorant of the requisites for a good, healthy, and advantageous site, and impatient of advice from persons capable of giving it, acted in such a manner as to disgust his followers, and place the settlement in a very unpromising condition, so that in 1754, Mr. Brooke, one of the members of the new settlement, wrote, that the Fort had been built in a swamp, influenced by the tides, by which they were suffering great sickness and mortality, augmented by a scarcity of provisions and mismanagement. Mr. Hunter, however, soon after died, and was succeeded by Mr. Brooke. At this time the Burman and Pegu war continued with various success, and each party was anxious for the assistance and countenance of the British; for which purpose the King of Pegu wrote to Mr. Brooke, and also dispatched Ambassadors to Governor Pigot at Madras. We continued neutral, although British interference would have decided the contest either way, and have enabled us to obtain some advantages for ourselves.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 195.

1755.

At this time we had a settlement at Bassein,* and Captain Baker, who was there in charge of the Factory, wrote that the Peguers having

* Called by the Burmese "*Batheln*," and by old European Authors "*Kosmin*" and "*Persaim*."

quitted Bassein, the Burmese came and destroyed the place, respecting however the Company's factory and property on being informed to whom they belonged. Mr. Brooke pointed out to the Madras Government, the improbability of obtaining any advantages from the Pegu King, who had been joined by the French, and recommended our joining the Burmese, for, should either party gain the ascendant without our assistance, we could expect no advantages. He, therefore, strongly urged our declaring for the Burmans, whose cause was in a flourishing state, and their King anxious for our assistance. The Burmans had now nearly re-conquered the country from the Peguers, and his Burman Majesty sent Ambassadors to the English Resident at Negrais, whither they were escorted by Captain Baker from Bassein. On their return to Bassein, they found the Peguers had retaken it, and being there in force, they demanded the persons of the Burmese Ambassadors and suite; but Captain Baker refused to deliver them up, and returned with them to Negrais. The Burmese, however, eventually prevailed, and a friendly communication took place between them and the Resident, who received from the King a present of 2 horses, and in July deputed an embassy to *Mout-tsho-bo*,* consisting of Captain Baker and Lieutenant North with presents, and a proposed Treaty of Alliance. Mr. North died on the way up. The objects of this Mission were:—

1st.—A treaty of Friendship and Alliance.

2nd.—Certain Commercial Advantages: and

3rdly.—Legal grants of Negrais Island and grounds for Company's Factories at Bassein and Dagon, since called Rangoon. But through our vacillating policy, this application was too late, the Burmese having defeated the Peguers, and established themselves without our assistance. The Mission having entered the Royal presence, knelt down and "*Shek-hoed*" three separate times. Alompra received them haughtily, and after a long discussion, granted verbal permission for a factory and ground at Bassein and Dagon, but refused to give Negrais without some previous pledge of the Company's sincerity, which he had good reason to doubt; for when we could have assisted him we hung back, and whilst Mr. Brooke was professing friendship, and was really desirous of assisting the Burmese, when such aid was needed and sought after, some English ships at Dagon took part with the Peguers, and fired upon the Burmese Army. This, however, Captain Baker explained away as an unauthorized act, for which the perpetrators† would be punished. On reading that part of the proposed Treaty of Alliance, which says—"by which means your Majesty will obtain the friendship and assistance of so great a power as the Honorable Company,"—the King laughed heartily in derision, and pulling up his *putsho* or waistcloth, and slapping his thighs and arms in the true Burmese bravado style, he exclaimed, "look at *this*, and do not talk to me of assistance,—I want none." He then enumerated his various feats, real and imaginary. The courtiers, as in duty bound, joined in a roar of laughter against Captain Baker, whose eloquence on this occasion was of no further avail. Captain Baker had several

1755.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 136.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, pp. 196, 197.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 137, 138.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 141.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 143 to 142.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 177, &c. 183.

* Mout-tsho-bo was the celebrated Alompra's usual place of residence.

† Mr. Whitehill, Schooner Hunter, Captain Jackson of Company's Snow Arcot, and others.

1755.

audiences of the King, but finally quitted Court without obtaining the ground, or any one of the objects of his Mission. The King pretended to distrust us.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 177 to 200.

During the contentions between the Burmese and Peguers, Mr. Brooke wrote to Syriam for some guns belonging to the English Factory, and ordered such British ships as were there at that timoround to Negrais. The Pegu chief however accused Mr. Brooke with assisting the Burmese, and refused to part with the guns and ships, until he had obtained satisfaction from the Madras Government. The English were consequently confined, and Pegu troops sent on board their vessels, whilst the French, who had declared for Pegu, were free and unmolested. In December, our ships were still detained by the Peguers, and compelled to assist them in the war against the Burmese, whose cause Mr. Whitehill (before-mentioned) vainly urged the British Government to espouse.

1756.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 177 to 200.

At this time the situation of the British in Burmah was most unpleasant. Alternately solicited and suspected by both States, Pegu and Ava, the Madras Government in opposition to the advice of its Resident and others, would neither take advantage of passing events, nor the offers of the contending parties for its own aggrandizement. Mr. Brooke, therefore, desired to be relieved; and on 12th April was succeeded by a Captain Howes, who died in a few months, when the management of affairs devolved upon the senior officer present, a Lieutenant Newton.

1757.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 201.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, pp. 106, 211.

In the early part of this year, Alompra, the most celebrated of all the King's of Burmah, wrote a letter to the Resident, requesting a meeting at or near Promc. On the same occasion, he also addressed a letter in his own name to the King of England, written on a leaf of virgin gold, ornamented with rubies, and which he delivered to a Mr. John Dyer and some other persons who visited him at Rangoon. It would be curious to know what became of this letter; a copy of which, with a description of the handsome style in which it was prepared, is given, I am informed, by Colonel Burney, in the Burmese History, and in a collection in his possession of Alompra's "orders." Alompra considered it derogatory to write in his own name any thing but an "order," either to the Governor of Bengal or Madras, who, up to the period of the late war, were styled "*Bengala thembau-zeit-ts-a*" and "*Tsinapatàn*" "*thembau-zeit-ts-a*," Eater (or Lord) of the Ports of Bengal and Madras "also *Gombance Bengala Myo-za*" "The Company, Lord of the City of Bengal."

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 200 to 226.

Lieutenant Newton accordingly prepared presents and a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, and deputed Ensign Lester as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Ava. The embassy left Negrais on the 26th June, and was met *en route* by a Portuguese named Antony, who was appointed by the Burmese to escort it to the presence. Mr. Lester experienced much insolence and disrespectful treatment from this man, and was supplied with very unsuitable boats for the journey. At this

time the King was on his return to Ava, and the embassy overtaking him, received audience on board the royal boat. Mr. Lester left his shoes and sword outside the audience room, and upon entering the presence, knelt down and "*Shek,hoed*," three times. His Majesty received him affably, and accepted his presents, but at first seemed indisposed to listen to the proposed terms of alliance. At length, however, he acquiesced, and the meeting broke up.

This Treaty consisted of five articles. The

1st.—Conceded to the British Government the Island of Negrais in perpetuity.

2d.—Ground at Bassein to the extent of one thousand four hundred square cubits, and more if required, in perpetuity. For these two grants we were to give one 12-pound cannon and 200 viss of powder.

3d.—Trade between the Chiefs of the two countries to be duty free.

4th.—The Company to aid and defend the King of Ava against all his enemies, the King to pay the expense of any troops with which he may be furnished.

5th.—Pledge on the part of the Company not to assist the King of Tavoy.

Notwithstanding the King's promise, Mr. Lester discovered that nothing could be obtained without a bribe, and the Prince of Bassein and his vassal Antony refused to get the King's signature to the Treaty, until Mr. Lester gave a bond on the Hon'ble Company for 30 viss of silver (about 3,500 Rypces), which, after much discussion, he reluctantly did, rather than return with the Treaty unratified. Had this Treaty been respected by the Burmese, it would have been worth the sum of money, which Mr. Lester was compelled to pay for it; but its provisions were not observed; and rumour said, that Alompra was ignorant of its import, which is very likely, as the Burmese, even up to the period of the late war, never dreamed of being bound by Treaties, when it appeared to be their interest to break them.

Mr. Lester received an audience of leave and also the Royal return presents, consisting of

1758.

24 Heads of Indian Corn,
18 Oranges, and
5 Cucumbers;

he was then informed, that he might depart; but as His Majesty required the boat in which he came, he was compelled to embark himself and baggage on board another, which was in such bad condition that it sunk during the night. The treatment he received gave him a very unfavorable opinion of the Burmese, and happy in escaping, he retraced his steps to Bassein, where on the 22d August, having measured out the ground granted by the Treaty, he planted the Company's flag, fired a volley, and took possession in the Company's name.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 222.

1759.

The establishment was this year withdrawn from Negrais, and three or four persons only were left in charge of some pro-

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 313.

1759.

perty and timber, as well as to hold possession of the Island. The troops under Captain Newton returned to Calcutta in May, and in July of the same year Government deputed Captain Southby to Negrais to superintend such portion of the establishment and Timber as remained. He sailed on board the *Victoria*, Captain Alves, and arrived at Negrais Island on 5th October, and on the following day, Antony (the man who attended Mr. Lester) delivered to him a letter, purporting to be from the King of Burmah. Antony dined with Captain Southby that day, and on the following was invited to meet all the European gentlemen then at the station. The guests assembled at the appointed hour, and were on the point of setting down to dinner, when at a signal given, a large body of armed Burmese rushed into the house and barbarously murdered every soul, except a Midshipman of the *Inglis*, Indiaman, who made off to his ship and gave the alarm. After the Europeans (10 in number) had been dispatched, a general massacre of the natives took place, and of the whole settlement, only sixty men, four women, and one child escaped to the ships. Captain Alves, who fortunately had not been ashore, returned to Bengal with the tidings of this perfidious massacre, which it is said was planned and executed by a Frenchman named Lavene, without the King's authority; but the truth was, Alompra believed that our Factory at Negrais had been in communication with his enemies, the Peguers. At all events, we had declined to assist him when he required and applied for our assistance. Our ships were much damaged by the fire of the guns from the Fort, which the Burmese shortly afterwards burnt to the ground and then decamped.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 343 to 350, 356, 357, 358.

1760.

Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1. p. 361 to 368.

On the 15th of May of this year the celebrated Alompra died, when returning from his invasion of Siam; and in the same month, Captain Alves returned to Negrais with letters and presents from Governor Holivell of Bengal, and Governor Pigot of Madras. The objects of this Mission were:—

1st.—Satisfaction for the massacre of Negrais, and liberty to all prisoners taken at that time.

2nd.—Remuneration for the loss of Captain Whitehill's ship, which had been forcibly taken by the Burmese, and employed in the war against the King of Tavoy.

Having anchored off Diamond Island on the 5th June, he sent the mate of his vessel up to Bassein to report his arrival. Antony was forthwith dispatched to the ship, and on meeting Captain Alves, he entered into a long defence of his own conduct in the late massacre, attributing the blame to the Frenchman Lavene, and Gregory, the Armenian Shabunder at Dagon, who from private feelings of revenge, had exceeded the King's orders, which were merely to take the English prisoners in hopes of obtaining a large ransom. The pretended excuse for this outrage was our having taken part with the Peguers at Syriam, and a Mr. Hope, a settler at Negrais, having furnished fire-arms and shared in their spoils, together with a suspicion, that it was the object of the Honorable Company to subjugate Burmah, as it had already done the Coast of Coromandel and Bengal. This open and apparently friendly reception, coupled with the leaky condition of his vessel and tempestuous weather, induced

Captain Alves at Antony's request, to take his vessel up to Bassein, where he was at first kindly treated. The Prince of Bassein, who was at this time at Dagon, sent repeatedly for the King's presents, but Captain Alves had resolved to deliver them in person; and not yet being furnished with suitable boats, he declined giving them up; on which the Burmese forcibly carried off from the vessel muskets, and whatever else they could get at. At length he procured a boat and quitted Bassein on the 30th of July, and on arriving at Dagon, the Prince compelled him to deliver the King's presents, and ordered him up to Court, whither he would rather not have gone, as the country was in a very unsettled state. He remonstrated in vain against the treatment he had met with. During the passage to Court, a great portion of his private baggage, &c. was taken out of his boat, on pretence of lightening her, which it did most effectually, as no portion of it was ever returned to him. On arriving at Court, he found the City of Ava in a state of rebellion, and His Majesty, the eldest son of Alompra, styled *Noung-dau-gyee*, great elder brother, besieging it from the opposite City of Isagain. He performed the usual ceremonies on receiving audience, when the King accepted the presents and restored to liberty such persons as had been taken alive after the massacre at Negrais; he also gave permission to transport the remainder of the Company's timber and property; but peremptorily refused to remunerate Mr. Whitehill for the loss of his ship. His Majesty was astonished at our demanding redress for the massacre, which he was determined not to give, declaring that his soldiers might kill any one they pleased: finally, he prohibited the return of the British to Negrais, but granted a spot of ground for a Factory at Bassein. In order to obtain the little which His Majesty had promised, and after much vexatious delay and the temporary loss of his private papers, which the King had ordered to be taken from him and examined, he was compelled to bribe the Ministers largely, besides paying a sum of money for the release of each prisoner, and the expense of gilding the borders of the King's letters to the Governors of Bengal and Madras! At the King's desire, some private trade which Captain Alves had taken with him was sent into the Palace for inspection, where on the plea of "customs," it was plundered by the King and his Ministers in the most shameful manner, and after taking as much as they required, permitted him to dispose of the remainder to any one he pleased. On taking his departure, His Majesty, with *non-chalance* peculiar to Burmah, desired him to bring more things next time, as these were scarcely worth the trouble of counting!! He quitted Tsagain heartily disgusted, and proceeded to Dagon, where he obtained the release of the prisoners, and having appointed Messrs. Robertson and Helass to the temporary charge of the Hon'ble Company's stores, &c. at Bassein, he returned with the report of his Mission to Bengal, where he arrived in December. Captain Alves, in his report, mentions a general wish of the poorer class of Burmese to place themselves under the British protection, and also, the marked hostility of Armenians and Moguls. His Majesty's letters to the Governments of Bengal and Madras granted;

1st.—The release of the Negrais prisoners.

2d.—Ground for a Factory at Bassein.

3rd.—Liberty to trade on paying the usual duties.

1760.

Dairymple's Oriental Repository, vol. 1, p. 345.

thus abolishing the previous grant of Negrais and the whole of Essequibo and Mavora's Treaty, the import of which, it is said, His late Majesty did not thoroughly comprehend, and which appears to have been a job between the Prince of Basssein and his vassal Antony. This Mission, which left us in a worse condition than before, tended to tarnish the respectability of our name, and plainly shewed the utter insecurity of both British persons and property in Burmah. Government did not avail itself of the preferred ground at Basssein, nor did it take any further measures for the redress of wrongs, or the chastisement of bad faith and perfidious treachery.*

1782.

Dr. Hunter's Concise Account of the Kingdom of Pegu. London, 1789, p. 61.

After the failure of Captain Alves's Mission in the year 1760, and the consequent withdrawal of the establishment from Basssein, commerce continued to be carried on to a greater or less extent at Rangoon, (formerly known by the name of Dagon) where at this time the Honorable Company possessed a factory surrounded by a brick wall, on which its "colours was hoisted."—English vessels, however, on frequenting this port were still subjected, without a prospect of redress, to great and unnecessary delays, and their commanders to personal indignities. The Company's vessels were, however, better treated than free traders; but its Agent had no authority or weight in the Burmese Councils, and in this state, affairs continued until the year 1794.

1794.

Symes's printed Account of his Embassy to Ava, 4to. ed. p. 117 to 121.

Large parties of Mughs, or native inhabitants of Arracan, who had been driven by the tyranny and oppression of their conquerors, the Burmese, to fly into the jungles, became a wild and lawless banditti, frequently attacking and plundering the Burmah traders, and then unknown to the British authorities, taking refuge in Chittagong. On its being ascertained that three distinguished leaders of these robbers had sought refuge in the British districts, the King of Ava, without previously acquainting the English authorities of his intention, or cause of offence, unceremoniously sent a party of 5000 armed men into the Chittagong Province, to arrest the robbers, dead or alive. Besides this gross violation of British territory, a Burmese army of 20,000 men was collected in Arracan for the purpose either of intimidation or actual assault. To meet these threatening and hostile demonstrations, the British Government promptly dispatched a force composed of European and Native Troops under General Erskine to the Chittagong Frontier, where it had no sooner arrived, and the Burmese General perceived our determination to resist them, than a messenger was deputed to the British camp, with proposals of friendship, followed shortly afterwards by the Burmese General himself. Previously to entering upon any discussion, General Erskine peremptorily demanded the removal of the Burmese troops from their threatening position on the frontier, which being done, affairs were speedily accommodated, and the prisoners having been tried and found guilty, were surrendered.

It was well known, that about this time the unsettled state of Europe induced the French nation to look anxiously towards the means of obtain-

* It is difficult to discover why our Government omitted to instruct our negotiators at Yandabo to insist upon the cession of Negrais island, and to give that territory an important place in any Treaty of Peace. Such an act would have taught a great moral lesson to the Burmese, and other Indo-Chinese nations, showing them that treachery and assassination could never be forgotten, or allowed to pass with impunity.

ing a settlement in Burmah, or an influence in her Councils, either by friendly negotiation or otherwise; and Monsieur Saffrein, who, whilst in India, had made surveys and projected plans for this purpose, had publicly declared, soon after his return to France, that "Pegue was the country through which the English might be attacked in India with most advantage." In consequence of the above circumstances, and from a consideration of the political and commercial advantages to be derived from a more intimate connection with Burmah, the Right Honorable Sir John Shore, Governor-General, deemed it advisable, if possible, to strengthen the existing intimacy and friendship with this State; and therefore, in the year 1795, deputed Captain Michael Symes, as Ambassador to the Court of Ava, with suitable letters and presents.

CAPTAIN SYMES' FIRST MISSION.

This Mission was supplied on the most liberal scale, and was of much greater respectability and consequence than had been any of the previous embassies to this country; in fact, it may be taken as the date of our first attempt to treat with Burmah on a footing of equality, and in earnest. On arriving at Rangoon, Captain Symes was doomed to experience the usual *modicum* of Burmese arrogance and insolence, in some measure the effect of the conciliatory conduct of General Erskine, and the surrender of the criminal Mugh fugitives in the year 1794, which acts were constructed by this benighted people as the result of fear of their mighty power. The commanders of the English vessels then at Rangoon were forbidden to hold communication with the embassy, which also was restricted in its intercourse with the town. After suffering neglect and every species of arrogance for some time, he informed the Local Government, that unless he was immediately acknowledged and respected as the representative of the Governor-General, he would return to Bengal with the letters and presents intended for the King. This remonstrance and the fear of losing the presents produced a good effect, and all vexatious restrictions were forthwith removed. Orders for his proceeding to Court had now arrived, and suitable boats were furnished for himself and suite, who were escorted by Baba Sheen, the Armenian Collector of Land Revenues at Rangoon, who appears to have been a man of great cunning and plausibility, and ever ready to reply to Captain Symes's queries, in the manner most likely to impress him with respect and admiration for the power, character, and customs of the Burmese King and nation. The announcement of so respectable an embassy was gratifying to the King, and the tone of Court feeling was evidently in our Envoy's favour, for the nearer he approached to the capital, the better his treatment became, and when within seven days' journey of it, he was met and escorted up to Court by a deputation consisting of two or three officers of rank, with a royal barge towed by two gilt war boats. Notwithstanding this favorable reception, he had no sooner arrived at the former capital, Umara-poor, than he had to undergo a repetition of the same disgraceful neglect, which he suffered at Rangoon. He was left entirely unnoticed for many days, and the Ministers refused to show him the least attention, either as a private gentleman, or in his public capacity. At length, after slight and remonstrances, he succeeded in improving his situation. He

1794.
Captain Cox's Letter to
Lord Mornington, dated
15th September, 1794.

Lieut.-Colonel Symes's
Report to the Governor-
General, dated February,
1803.

1795.

Instructions from the Go-
vernor-General in Council,
dated 6th February, 1796.

Symes's printed Account
of his Embassy to Ava,
4to. ed.

Symes's printed Account
of his Mission, p. 146, &c.

p. 155, &c.

p. 225.

p. 265.

1796.

*Symes's printed Account
of his Embassy, p. 411, 412,
pp. 412, 413, 414.*

Appendix No. 4, p. 404.

App. No. 3, p. 488, 4to. ed.

App. No. 3, p. 418.

was, however, presented to the King on a "*Kedan*" or beg pardon day, thus placing the Governor-General upon an equality with his Majesty's *Thawans* and vassals; he was also obliged to take his seat at the *Shwot-ton* behind the *Nallans*, officers of very inferior rank. Captain Symes considered, that he had gained a great point in being permitted to wear his shoes until he reached the inner enclosure of the Palace, where all the noblemen of the Court unslipper; but his Majesty did not condescend to honor him with any verbal notice, nor did he take any notice of the Governor-General or his letter. By this mission a paper was obtained from the *Woonggees*, directing the customary duties only to be levied, with permission to appoint a British Resident or Superintendent at Rangoon, for the protection of British subjects and trade. Captain Symes was also furnished with a letter addressed by the *Woonggees* to the Governor-General, who is styled "*Gombanee Bengala Myo-za*," which document his translators led him to believe was written in the name of the King of Ava himself to the Governor-General, and as such it is published in his work. Captain Symes states, that he obtained several subsidiary papers expressing in clear detail the regular dues of Government and the authorized perquisites of its officers, so as to prevent future arbitrary exactions. These papers were never published; but they would, even at this day, prove of great utility to our commerce at Rangoon. Colonel Burney has only lately obtained through a private channel at Rangoon; a Burmese copy of one of these papers, fixing the rate of port charges and import duties to be levied on British vessels and commerce, and he believes that had our merchants been able to refer to these important documents, many of the exactions of the local officers at Rangoon, as well as the increase of the old rates of charges and customs, might have been prevented. Captain Symes having as far as practicable, considering the character of the people, completed the service on which he was deputed to Ava, returned to Bengal. It is not within the limits of this paper to discuss the correctness and fidelity of Captain Symes's Picture of Ava as published by himself, but it may not be irrelevant to observe, that his description of the Court of Ava, and of men and manners, differs as much from what they were a year afterwards, as related by Captain Cox, and from what they now are, as a polished European differs from an Andamanese.

CAPTAIN COX'S MISSION.

1796

Sometime after the return of Captain Symes to Calcutta, Mr. Edmondstone, Secretary to the Supreme Government, wrote in friendly terms to the Viceroy of Pegue, informing him that the state carriage, coin-
ing apparatus, &c. which Captain Symes had been commissioned to procure for the King, were being prepared, and would be forwarded as soon as ready. The Viceroy made his subordinate, Baba Sheen, answer this letter direct to the Governor-General, and although there was nothing offensive in the answer itself, still the source from whence it came, and the assumed superiority which forbade the Viceroy to write, were highly offensive. In pursuance of the paper given by the Burmese Government in 1796 to Captain Symes, and misnamed a "*Treaty*," the Right Honorable the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, Bart., appointed Captain

Received at Calcutta 13th
May, 1796.

Hiram Cox to be Resident at Rangoon on the part of the British Government of India. The principal objects of this mission were:

1st.—To render permanent and effective the friendship and alliance formed by "the Treaty" of 1795.

2d.—To protect the political and commercial interests of British India and its subjects from Burmese oppression.

3d.—To counteract, in a private manner, as far as practicable, the designs of the French towards obtaining a footing in Burmah, should such be attempted; and to endeavour to prevail on the King to send Ambassadors to Bengal.

Captain Cox's instructions directed him, on all occasions to make it clearly understood, that he appeared only in the capacity of Resident at Rangoon, and not as Ambassador on the part of the Governor-General. He was not to proceed to Court unless invited by the King, nor to endeavour to obtain any relaxation of the degrading ceremonies exacted from Captain Symes. The mission having left Calcutta on the 15th September, 1796, got aground at the mouth of the Rangoon river on the 6th October, but receiving prompt assistance from the Local Government, arrived off Rangoon on the 10th, saluted the Fort, which salute was returned by an equal number of guns. On the 12th, Captain Cox landed under another salute, and having previously withstood several attempts to induce him to go to the King's Custom House or godown, like a private trader or Commander of a vessel, he was received at the Wharf by the Shabunder Jhansee, and Baba Sheen, who were civil and polite, and immediately escorted him to a house, which his private Agent had prepared for his residence. During the day the principal officers of the Local Government waited upon him, though not until they had tried in vain, to induce him to receive his first audience at the Custom House. At this time the Viceroy was at Court, whither Captain Cox wrote to him and forwarded translations of his public letters.

November.—Orders having arrived from the Ministers, preparations were made for forwarding the mission to Court; but, notwithstanding so large a sum as 35,000 rupees was collected from the inhabitants of Rangoon for the expenses of the journey, very unsuitable boats were supplied. Captain Cox quitted Rangoon on the 5th of December, 1796, and without any occurrence of moment, arrived opposite the former capital, Amarapoora, on the 24th January, 1797, where he was ordered to halt on a barren sand bank, and doomed to suffer a series of premeditated insults and degradations. At this time, His Majesty held his Court at *Menguon*, a few miles above Amarapoora, where he was superintending the building of an immense Pagoda. After waiting four days unnoticed on the sand bank, Captain Cox wrote a spirited remonstrance to the Viceroy of Rangoon, who, in answer, requested him to proceed to Court. He, however, refused to move until he had received satisfaction for this neglect. At length, the Viceroy promised to meet him half way, and he accordingly proceeded to the appointed place, another sandy island opposite Menguon, where not finding the Viceroy as he expected, he refused to go on. The Viceroy now flatly denied having made any such promise, and sent the

1796.
Letters of Instructions
from Mr. Secretary Bar-
low, dated 27th June, 1796,
and 12th September, 1796.

Letter from Captain Cox
to the Governor-General,
dated 19th October, 1796.

Captain Cox's manuscript
Diary, 28th Nov., 1796.

Diary, 28th Nov., 1796.

Diary, 28th Nov., 1796.

Appendix C. to Captain
Cox's manuscript Diary:
dated 27th January, 1797.

1796.

~~He went~~ of Rangoon to escort him. Captain Cox being thoroughly disgusted, and seeing the inutility of further resistance, acquiesced on condition that the Viceroy should receive him on landing, which after much further subterfuge, he did on the 2d February.

2d to 6th February.—Captain Cox tried in vain to procure an answer to a letter which he had written to the *Woonggees* from Rangoon regarding the ceremony of his reception; and which letter, although forwarded on the 14th October, and accompanied by a translation, he learnt on his arrival at the capital had not even been opened. No public notice had as yet been taken of him, and on the 6th, he was surprised at receiving intimation that the 8th had been fixed for his introduction to the King. He remonstrated against such precipitancy, and objected to leave his house until furnished with a written statement of the forms and ceremonies expected of him, seeing clearly that their anxiety to become possessed of the State Carriage, &c. was the cause of this early interview. On the next day the Viceroy called upon him, wearing his slippers in the house, and in the evening he received a formal statement of the ceremonials of his introduction. Accordingly, on the 8th every thing being prepared, and the smaller presents and Governor-General's letters laid out on trays, the procession left the Bungalow, escorted by a *Than-dau-zen*. It had been settled that the Viceroy and a Woondouk should escort him, and they accordingly attended the presents, but would neither enter his house nor his boat. The Woondouk, however, entered a boat next to Captain Cox's, and sent to say he was waiting, but very properly no notice was taken of him. On arriving at the entrance of the enclosure round the Tent in which the King received him, he was made to unshoe, and was also desired to uncover his head and walk bare-headed in the sun, in order that every one might witness his degradation; this last, however, he objected to do. He was then led about from one entrance to another, making three English bows at three separate parts of the palace, and having entered it, he knelt down on one knee before the Throne, and bowed his head. His Majesty received him well, was talkative and complimentary, but avoided enquiring after either the King of England or the Governor-General, although he was highly delighted with the handsome State Carriage and expensive coining apparatus, &c. which the latter personage had sent him. No notice was taken of the Governor-General's letter, and the King having retired, refreshments were served, and shortly afterwards, Captain Cox returned home, much pleased with his interview, and believing he had made a favorable impression. His Majesty having become possessed of the handsome baubles, had now in his short-sighted selfishness, no further object in wearing the mask of conciliation, and from this date Captain Cox experienced a system of the most shameful neglects and gross insults, that were ever submitted to by a representative of the British Government. The *Ye-woon* was his daily visitor, and cunningly persuaded him to make presents to such of the Government Officers and Princes as his own desire or interest prompted; always bringing polite verbal returns.

Diary, 8th February, 1797.

As Officer, the third in rank at Rangoon.

17th February.—Since the day of his introduction he had received no public notice, and the customary supplies of rice, &c. had been discontinued.

18th February.—The Ye-woon tried very hard to obtain a present for the first Queen, supporting his endeavours by a string of falsehoods. Captain Cox, however, had determined to give nothing more, until he was publicly acknowledged, for notwithstanding the Ye-woon's oft repeated statements that the King had issued the necessary orders for his being recognized as Resident, still he remained unnoticed. Yesterday a basket of rice was sent to him from the *Lhwoilan*, which he returned, and to-day on being assured that it was customary, he reluctantly accepted 100 tickals for 10 days supply of the Royal bounty!

March 11th.—The Government studiously avoided recognizing him, and with the exception of the interested visits of the Ye-woon, he continued totally neglected. On this day, His Majesty had the meanness to return the rupees which had been gratuitously coined for him in Calcutta at his own request, on the plea of having none but pure silver current in his dominions! Captain Cox indignantly refused to receive them, and complained of this act as an insult offered to the Governor-General.

Cox's manuscript Diary.

March 12th.—Being still unnoticed, and finding all former remonstrances vain, he again complained of their insulting neglect, and applied for suitable boats to convey him from Court. On the 15th, he was informed, that if he wanted boats, he must buy them, and one belonging to the Viceroy, which had been hitherto attached to the Mission, was this day withdrawn.

At this time a Rajah of Assam who had usurped the Throne, and had been deposed with the aid of the British, made an application to the Burmese Court for assistance, and great preparations were making for invading Assam, although Captain Cox had previously informed the Ministers, that that State was under British protection. He therefore reiterated his complaints, and applied officially for boats, he likewise remonstrated with the Viceroy, who was the only person of rank with whom he could communicate, and warned him of the consequences of such conduct. On the following day, affairs wore an improved aspect, and he received trifling presents of elephants' teeth, a ring, and 25 ticals in money from the first and second Queens, to whom he had made liberal presents; and on being desired to shew his inclination and ability to serve the King, he gave in to the Government his extraordinary proposition for collecting a revenue from Beetlenut, Salt and Balachong, by which His Majesty was to derive several lacs of tickals yearly; and constituting himself and the Rangoon Viceroy the managers, who were to divide the surplus revenue between them, with his share of which he intended to have defrayed part of the expenses of the mission. This proposition, fortunately, was never accepted, or perhaps believed practicable by the avaricious old King. It would have been dreadfully oppressive to an already overburdened people, and I am informed that some of the old courtiers yet talk of it as a remarkable circumstance in Captain Cox's

Preparations were still going on for invading Assam, and His Majesty intended to head the Army; he, however, had no tent: a polite message was therefore concocted and delivered by the Ye-woon to Captain Cox, who, immediately supplied the deficiency. At length on the 21st and 22d March, Captain Cox carried his point in making the principal Minister, the Myen Woonggee,* exchange visits with him; they met on the first day in a *Ti*, or temporary building, erected for the occasion near the house which the Woonggee was occupying for the time at Mengwon, and on the next day, after Captain Cox had visited the Woonggee at his habitation, the Woonggee went through the form of going over to Captain Cox's dining bungalow in great state to return the visit. This he was informed was an unprecedented favor; he removed his shoes and made extravagant presents, with a view of conciliating the *Woonggee*, but unfortunately he was indebted for this tardy politeness to the King's desire to interest the British Government in obtaining for him one of *Gaudama's* teeth, which was in possession of the King of Candy, and not to any wish of this haughty and mean Court to atone for past neglect.

Cox's manuscript Diary.

24th March.—He had now spent two months at *Mengwon* entirely unnoticed by the Government; he therefore returned in disgust to *Amarapoora*, where he arrived on the 25th. Here also he remained totally disregarded and neglected for some days, when proposals were made for his visiting the heir apparent, who was in charge of the city during His Majesty's absence. These propositions, however, were of so humiliating a nature, that he was reluctantly obliged to reject them, and the visit was put off. Captain Cox visited the Viceroy and voluntarily unslipped, although the latter did not. An attempt was then made to induce him to quit *Amarapoora*, and on his refusing to do so, the Viceroy sent an insolent message, saying he would have no further communication with him. Captain Cox attributed the humiliating terms proposed for his visiting the Prince to the *Ye-Woon*, a man to whom he had invariably shewn the greatest kindness and liberality. On the 30th, he detected an attempt of this "high-minded Court" on Captain Syme's, to pass off silver of 22½ per cent. alloy for 5½ per cent., in payment of the rupees which had been gratuitously coined for the King, in Bengal!!! He, however, was not surprised at this ungrateful return, his eyes were beginning to be opened to Burmese policy.

April 1st.—Captain Cox visited the Viceroy, who was about to start for Rangoon, and notwithstanding his former insolent message, they parted friends. The *Ye-Woon*, who was also about to return to Rangoon, had the impudence to send for a present; although he had absented himself ever since the failure of his arrangements for the visit to the Prince.

On the 25th he received a written message, said to be from the King, importing that His Majesty would himself accompany him to Rangoon, and establish him as Resident, on an equality with the *Mye-woon* or Governor there.

Cox's manuscript Diary.

May 2d.—Notwithstanding His Majesty's condescending commital-
entences, of which Captain Cox had received several, he had now

1797.

been two months at *Mengwon*, and thirty-eight days at *Amarapoora*, entirely unregarded; and on again remonstrating against further delay, he was waited upon by a deputation of *Lhwoitan Tsarè-daugyees** ostensibly with orders from the King regarding himself; he, however, refused to receive them, until the Ministers had publicly acknowledged him as Resident. After a day or two, he dispatched his assistant to *Mengwon* with a repetition of his complaints, but obtained no redress. On the 8th, the bamboo fence which enclosed his house was taken away, on pretence that the heir apparent wanted it, and the populace then pelted his house and sentry with stones. But there was some excuse for this last insult. Captain Cox lived in an upper-roomed house, and as he and his followers, in ignorance of the customs of the country, appeared in the varandah and above the heads of men of rank whenever they passed in the streets below, the followers of these men of rank pelted the mission with stones, in order to force them to remove from a situation in which no junior officer can show himself before a superior. Affairs continued in this state until the 20th, when a cousin of the heir apparent, and a young *Tsaubwa*, proposed to him to *pay* for an audience of the Prince, but to this he objected and made an unsuccessful effort to obtain by letter and remonstrance that which he refused to purchase. On the 8th June, the King returned to *Amarapoora*, on which occasion Captain Cox decorated his house, and on the 10th he accepted an invitation from the *Myen-Woonggee* to bring over his dinner and spend the day at his private house; he accordingly went, but was kept so long waiting in the lobby amongst a crowd of supplicants, that heartily disgusted, he returned home, leaving his dinner for the *Woonggee*, and his Interpreter to explain the reason of his quitting. He had nearly reached his house, when a messenger from this "polished Nobleman" overtook him, and persuaded him to return. After many apologies they sat down to dinner. The *Woonggee*, who pretended that anger had taken away his appetite, ate nothing, but begged of Captain Cox to set apart something for him, which being done, he retired and this friendly dinner party broke up.

June 13th.—The *Woonggee* having promised to assist Captain Cox in presenting a suitable memorial to the King, complaining of his unpleasant situation, and requesting to be immediately acknowledged as Resident at *Rangoon*; on the 14th, as a spur to his exertions, Captain Cox presented him with a handsome diamond ring, and on the following day, the *Woonggee* sent for him as he imagined on the subject of the memorial, but on arriving, he was annoyed to find it was merely to ask him for some scarlet cloth for the Prince, prefacing his request with a desire to know if he had any for sale.

Capt. Cox's manuscript
Diary.

June 26th.—In compliance with a request from the King, and with a view to conciliation, Captain Cox decorated his house in honor of the arrival of an Assamese Princess for His Majesty. He also endeavoured to ingratiate himself into favor with the different influential persons about the Court, but particularly with His Majesty's grand-child (the present king,) and the *Myen-Woonggee*, but his civilities availed him

Capt. Cox's manuscript
Diary.

* Burmese Secretaries of State, Officers of low rank at the Capital.

1797.

Capt. Cox's manuscript
Diary, and Note at the end
of it.

nothing, and he now detected the *Myen-Woonggee* (of whom he had hitherto thought well) in an attempt to deceive him regarding an embassy which had just arrived from some Prince of Behar, soliciting the interference of the Burmese to persuade the English Government to restore to him his Jaghire. On the 3d of July, the *Woonggee* sent for him, and at first treated him very cavalierly, pretending that he knew nothing of the memorials, although they had been in his possession for three weeks, and he had more than once apologized for the delay in bringing them forward. He at length softened his tone, and after a few promises and fine speeches, which were returned with interest, the meeting broke up. On the 6th, Captain Cox learnt that his memorials would certainly be laid before the king that day, and on the thirteenth he learnt as certainly that they had not been presented. Dr. Keys was most grossly insulted by the *Myen-Woonggee*, who had sent for him professionally, and the Ministers now positively refused to present the memorials, saying that His Majesty had already given Captain Cox permission to reside at Rangoon as Company's Resident, and that he might attend at the *Lhwollan* for his Commission, and take his seat, as Captain Symes is said to have done, behind the *Nakhans*. He then informed the Ministers of his intention instantly to quit the capital, —upon which they consulted upon the propriety of detaining the embassy as a hostage, until the 7000 persons who were said to have fled from Arracan, into Chittagong at the Burmese conquest in 1783, were delivered up, and Chittagong, Dacca, Luckipore and Cossim Bazaar, formerly under Arracan, were restored to Burmah, together with one half of the revenues collected from these countries since they first came into the British possession!!! Captain Cox now feared personal restraint, and mentions that a *Woondouk* who had promised to assist him, had given up his cause from a dread of being thought friendly to the English, and strongly urged him not to quit the capital. He attributed this disgraceful treatment to the jealous fears of the King and Court, which continued to be fed and nourished by the malicious reports of Moguls and others inimical to the English.

— Capt. Cox's manuscript
Diary.

18th July.—Being actuated by an earnest desire to settle amicably the difference between himself and the Ministers; but at the same time fully determined that no consideration of personal convenience should induce him to compromise his character as the Representative of the British Government, he objected to go to the *Lhwollan* for His Majesty's Commission on the terms proposed, but after some trouble he came to an understanding, that it should be delivered to a respectable deputation from him. He accordingly deputed his assistant with an escort of sepoys to receive it, but the Ministers had changed their minds, and now refused to deliver it to any one but to Captain Cox himself, who, they said, must take an oath of allegiance to the Burmese King! But to this he of course objected. At this time his most puissant Majesty was employed in compelling his subjects to purchase the copper pice brought for him from Bengal, at the rate of 20 pice per tical!!!

Capt. Cox's manuscript
Diary.

August 20th.—The last month was consumed in unsuccessful efforts to obtain redress, still no one would take the least notice of him. His

Assistant had been refused admission to the *Lawotlan*, and every effort answered by a fresh insult. On this day he succeeded in hiring boatmen to convey him from the capital, but as the Government used every means of intimidation; they became frightened and ran away, on which he again applied to the Ministers, who provokingly replied that "he might go if he wished, and that the King was astonished at his remaining so long!" At length, to shew his determination to depart, and having, after much difficulty, persuaded the boatmen to return, he succeeded in embarking his baggage, although he had previously resolved not to quit without making a last attempt to bring this semi-barbarous Court to reason. Accordingly from this time to the 18th September was spent in unavailing efforts to obtain redress; he was lavish of his presents, but obtained only empty promises in return. Disreputable Moguls and Portuguese were busy, as usual, in circulating reports of disasters and combinations of native powers against the British rule in India. Burmese credulity was sharpened by Burmese desire, and every *ragamuffin* with ingenuity to invent a tale of British misfortune, found ready and attentive auditors in the Members of this imbecile Court. British merchants were plundered and imprisoned, and Captain Cox was unable to assist them. On the 20th September he made an application to the *Myen-Woonggee* for redress of insults offered to himself and Dr. Keys, whose servant had been falsely imprisoned, together with a British merchant named Reeves, who, without committing any offence, had been privately seized, tried, and condemned by two of the *Woonggee's* writers. The *Woonggee* found it impossible to understand the merits of the case, without a fee, and in reply asked Captain Cox for a watch, which the latter gave. A mock investigation then took place, and the *Woonggee*, with affected gravity, told Mr. Reeves, that "if ever his people did so again to punish them!" This *satisfaction* was afforded amidst the laughter and jests of the by-standers. Captain Cox then applied for two peons to protect himself and people from the mob, which was continually pelting them with stones, but was refused. The Viceroy with his family had returned to Court, and made great protestations of friendship, for which the whole of them received handsome presents. He promised to procure permission for Captain Cox to depart, and some days after, on being asked for it, said he had not yet applied, but requested Captain Cox to send him some quicksilver, which the latter immediately did. Thus every insult and broken promise was rewarded with a present.

October 5th.—The feeling at Court was so inimical to the English, and their persons and property so insecure, that the merchants determined upon quitting the capital, and applied for passes, which, however, the Burmese refused. Insults upon insults, continued to be poured upon the Mission, and after having suffered the grossest indignities for a period of nine months, Captain Cox at length resolved to bear them no longer, and accordingly embarked himself and followers on board his boats this evening, and dropped 4 or 5 miles down the river, promising, at the Viceroy's request, to wait there for him.

October 8th.—Whilst waiting for the Viceroy a few miles below the capital, he learnt that a great change had taken place in the sentiments

Capt. Cox's manuscript Diary.

1797.

of the Heir Apparent, who now was willing to see him on his own terms. He accordingly prepared a most extravagant present, and on the 11th proceeded on elephants to the Prince's house, at the steps of which he unshod, and was ushered into the hall of audience, where after waiting 15 minutes, the Prince made his appearance. He was well received, and the Prince having promised to use his influence with the King, the meeting broke up. Captain Cox did not appear to see, that the affection which so suddenly seized the Prince was not for himself but his presents; he therefore made another attempt at reconciliation, and sent a handsome present to the Queen's mother, who readily promised to assist him. On the 14th, however, she sent to say that the King was immoveable, and that she must give up his cause, begging of him to send her a piece of long cloth and some otto of roses, which he accordingly did, and upon which she sent him a present of 60 ticals in silver. This token of gratitude being unusual, so gratified him that he returned it with an acknowledgment of four times its value, for which he received a paltry sapphire stone.

Capt. Cox's manuscript
Diary.

October 17th.—Having waited for the Viceroy ever since the 6th, he this day had the mortification of seeing this Chief pass him without notice in great State on his return to Rangoon. He was now quite satisfied that further attempts would be in vain, and fairly tired out and disgusted, dropped down the stream as far as *Fsa-gain*. He reached Prome on the 27th, having passed and repassed Symes's friend, the Viceroy, twice or thrice without recognition. On the following day, whilst sitting in his boat he was struck severely on the shoulders with a stone weighing 2lbs. by some "wag," as he good-humouredly expresses it. He continued his journey under some apprehension of violence from robbers and others, but arrived at Rangoon without further molestation on the 1st November, where on the 6th the Viceroy also arrived in State, and on the 9th issued a Court order, prohibiting the departure of the Mission from the country. He now made several efforts to obtain an interview between Dr. Keys and the Viceroy, but failing in this, he renewed his acquaintance with the *Yé-Woon*, who had behaved so ill to him when at Court. British merchants continued to suffer both in person and property, and appealed in vain to him for redress; he had no power to help them. On the 27th November he wrote to inform the Supreme Government, that he was under restraint, and dreaded that his private papers would be taken from him, stating also that in defiance of Captain

Capt. Cox's manuscript
Diary.

Letter No. 3 to the Governor-General, dated 27th November, 1797, and 10th December, 1797.

Symes's treaty, a Mussulman had received a monopoly of all trade, and was styled "the Company," in imitation of the India Company. He also charged Captain Symes with sinister motives in recommending the Shabunder and Baba Sheen to his confidence, having previously denounced them in a private letter to the Viceroy as two "villains," and concluded by advising the British Government to treat the Burmah "sword in hand," and to demand complete indemnification for all past insult. On the 31st December, 1797, he informed the Supreme Government, that he was on terms of communication with the *Yé-Woon* and Baba Sheen, and that the Burmese were a little more civil to him, although it were difficult to discover in what respect, for orders had been issued to

Letter to the Governor-General from Captain Cox, dated Rangoon, 27th November, 1797.

Letter to the Governor-General from Captain Cox, dated 31st December, 1797.

the pilots to run ashore all armed vessels, the prohibition against his leaving the country formally announced, and a Captain Bacon of the *Seggy* threatened with a rope's end on his own quarter deck by a chokey peon, for attempting to take his vessel up to Rangoon without a pilot.

1797.

December, and January.—The Shabunder insisted upon examining some private stores belonging to Captain Cox, which had been landed at the Custom House, but rather than submit them for inspection, they were re-shipped, and at this time a packet of letters belonging to Dr. Keys was broken open, on pretence of searching for diamonds. In the midst of these insults and without any previous notice, the Viceroy invited Captain Cox to a feast, which he declined to attend. The British merchants now voluntarily came forward and refused to transact any more business, until Captain Cox's stores were passed, and a promise given for the free transmission of letters. After two days' consideration, the Viceroy gave in, Captain Cox then attended the feast, and trade resumed its usual course. Affairs now bore the appearance of improvement, and in January 6th, 1798, Captain Cox, hoping that even yet it was not too late for reconciliation, sent a present to the Viceroy of eight barrels of gunpowder, but for four days afterwards, had the mortification to receive for the *third* time a packet of letters with the seals broken. This fresh outrage, however, had been committed by the authorities at Bassein. The Viceroy continued his civilities, and at Captain Cox's request, restored the property of two persons, one of whom had died, and the other been ship-wrecked. In the mean time, he was re-called. The Honorable Mr. Speke, the Vice-President in Council, being of opinion that as the conduct of the Court of Ava and its officers was accompanied with strong indications of personal dissatisfaction with Captain Cox, the removal of which could hardly be expected, no benefit could result to the public interests from his continuance at Rangoon. Letters were at the same time addressed to the King of Ava, his Ministers and the Viceroy of Pegu, expressing the Vice-President's concern at hearing that Captain Cox had returned to Rangoon without obtaining an audience of leave of His Majesty, notifying his recall, and offering, should His Majesty desire it, to depute another gentleman, in whom the Vice-President had the greatest confidence, to reside at Rangoon;—thus tacitly blaming Captain Cox, whose chief faults were, stipulating for ceremonies, which by his instructions he was particularly directed to avoid, and not quitting Court seven months earlier than he did, by which much expense, and hundreds of indignities would have been avoided. Captain Cox was unfortunate in having engaged as his Interpreter a Mr. Moncourtuse, who deceived him upon every occasion. It does not become me to criticise the motives, views or acts of the Supreme Government; doubtless the then state of Europe, our situation in India, and an erroneous idea of Burmese power had their weight in influencing its decision; but it is evident that the temporizing policy which it adopted was a little less than a premium on future aggressions and insults, which the result shewed this semi-barbarous Court was not slow of profiting by. Captain Cox having made known his intention to depart, paid two or three visits to the Viceroy, who received him on equal terms, and appeared anxious to atone for his past

1797-1798.

Letters to the Governor-General from Captain Cox, dated 5th and 26th January, 1798.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Barlow to Capt. Cox, dated 13th February, 1798. Resolution of the Vice President in Council and Letters addressed by him to the King of Ava, Chief Minister and Viceroy of Pegu, dated 20th February, 1798.

Letter to the Honorable F. Speke, Esq., from Capt. Cox, dated 27th March, 1798.

1798.

Letters from the Viceroy of Pegu and Baba Sheen, Collector of Land Revenue, to the Governor-General, received at Fort William, 30th April, 1798.

Letters from Capt. Cox to the Honorable P. Speke, Esq., dated 28th April, 1798, and 30th April.

Letter to Mr. Secretary Barlow from Captain Cox, dated 12th June, 1798.

offences, which were indeed numerous enough; his civility, however, like every thing Burman, had its origin in interest. He wished to be permitted to purchase fire arms and ammunition at Calcutta without restriction, and wrote to the Governor-General on the subject. His subordinate, Baba Sheen, also wrote, observing that "Captain Cox had met with every attention, and that every assistance had been afforded him in his business"!!! At this time, His Majesty had been taken with a mania for arms, and wishing our Envoy's assistance to procure them, sent down an order, acknowledging him as resident at Rangoon and granting ground for a factory and garden. This order, which would have lasted only so long as Burmese policy rendered it advisable, came too late; for the mission was at the mouth of the Rangoon River on its return to Bengal. Captain Cox left Rangoon on the 1st of May, 1798, on friendly terms with the Local Government, but without either letters or presents from the King. On quitting the country he gave Baba Sheen a letter to the authorities at Penang, to permit the Burmese to export fire-arms, &c. There is no official record in this office of the final opinion of the Supreme Government on the conduct of this Mission, but from Captain Cox being immediately after sent in civil employ to Chittagong, it is presumed, notwithstanding the Vice-President's letters to the King and Court of Ava, that his strenuous and long continued exertions in Burmah were approved of, and that his eighteen months of toil and painful anxiety met at length their due reward.

1798.

November 19th.—About this time the Viceroy of Rangoon addressed a letter, on terms of equality to the Governor-General, the Most Noble Marquess Wellesley, requesting him, after the usual quantity of bombast, to send to the King of Ava from 10 to 20 thousand muskets, ammunition, &c. to be paid for on delivery. This letter, it appears, as well as those on the same subject written in April to the Deputy Governor, Mr. Speke, were unanswered. Captain Cox attributed the civilities which he received during the last month or two of his stay at Rangoon to an apprehension of an attack from us, and their great anxiety for fire-arms may perhaps be ascribed to the same cause. No remonstrance was ever made against, or explanation demanded, for the insults which the British Government had received in the person of its representative; and as the Burmese, who are a compound of arrogance and ignorance, had not the faintest idea of power tempered with justice and moderation, they attributed our disregard of insults and desire for peace to an inability to maintain war; and actuated by this spirit, the Rajah of Arracan soon after wrote a most insolent and menacing letter to the Governor-General, demanding the instant surrender of some Mugh fugitives who had taken refuge in Chittagong from Burmese oppression.

1801.

Tracts Political, Geographical and Commercial, on the Dominions of Ava and North Western parts of Hindoostan, by Major Franklin.

In this year the Governor-General, Marquess Wellesley, contemplated some further communication with the Burmese Government, on which Major Franklin, of the Bengal Army, was to have been employed. This officer being furnished with the whole of Captain Cox's papers, drew out a memorial upon the subject, which, together with a selection from Captain Cox's reports, he afterwards, in the year 1811, published in

London. Early in the following year, however, Captain Symes returned from Europe with the increased rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the Governor-General resolved on deputing him to the Court of Ava, relying upon his address, management and knowledge of the Burmese, to conciliate their haughty spirit, and to remove from their minds the unfavorable impression left by the failure of the last Mission.

1801.

COLONEL SYMES'S SECOND MISSION.

This Mission was attended by an escort of 100 sepoys, and was furnished and equipped in the magnificent and imposing style which characterized every act of Lord Wellesley's Government. It had for its objects:—

1802.
Letter of Instructions from Mr Secretary Edmonstone to Lieut.-Col Symes, dated 30th March and 26th April, 1802.

1st. An improved treaty of friendship and alliance.

2nd. Protection to commerce against the daily extortions of the Burmese.

3d. To demand an acknowledgment, or disavowal, on the part of the British Government of the insolent and menacing threats of invasion contained in the Governor of Arracan's letter to the Governor-General, and to explain to the Court of Ava, that according to the laws of civilized nations, the Mugh fugitives could not be surrendered, and that His Excellency's doubts of the authenticity of the letter was his only reason for not immediately appealing to arms, to convince the Burmese Government that the British power could not be insulted with impunity.

4th. To establish a Resident at the Court of Ava, and a Consul at Rangoon, for the protection of trade, the enforcement of the Treaty of 1795, and the prevention of French interest in Burmah.

5th. To claim the Island of Negrais, or to obtain some commercial advantages equivalent to the value of it.

Colonel Symes arrived off Rangoon on the 31st of May, 1802, and was well received. The usual dispute, however, occurred about the place of reception, the *Ye-Woon*, who was now acting Governor, refused to salute him unless he agreed to proceed to the Custom House, which being derogatory to his public character, he objected to. At length it was agreed, that the *Ye-Woon* should receive him at the Public Wharf, and on the 2d June, he landed under a salute, and was met by the Shabunder, who conducted him to a shed prepared for the purpose, and after waiting about 33 minutes, the *Ye-Woon* arrived in great state, and took his seat at the head of the room. During the interview, which was a very short one, this upstart of a day treated Colonel Symes with great *hauteur*, and after asking two or three ridiculous questions, retired in the same state as he had come. He arrived last and quitted first, which in this country are marks of superiority, an assumption to which by his actual rank he was by no means entitled. Colonel Symes observed on his arrival, that the feeling was evidently against the British, and in favor of the French, who had just sent two vessels from the Mauritius loaded with arms and ammunition, one of which was wrecked in the Gulf of Martaban, and

Letters from Lieut.-Col. Symes to Chief Secretary Lumaden, dated 31st May, 8th June, 14th June, 12th July, and 9th August, 1802.

1802.

Report addressed to the Governor-General by Lieutenant-Col. Symes, dated February, 1803.

the other had just arrived. Having great cause to be dissatisfied with his interview, he wrote a remonstrance against the conduct of the *Ye-Woon*, and matters were speedily accommodated. Trade and ship-building appear at this time to have been flourishing, for Colonel Symes writes, "several ships are laid down and launched every week," and attributes this prosperity to the protecting influence of the Treaty of 1795, which it is well known, was never observed.* From the date of his remonstrance to the 11th August, 1802, he was well treated by the Local Government, and on this day, in pursuance of orders from Court, he quitted Rangoon for the Capital, again attended by the cunning Baba Sheen, continued to receive every attention and civility, until he arrived at the City of Pagahm, when the *Myo-Woon*, though civil, refused to shew him any mark of public attention, and the hitherto respectful conduct of the people henceforth declined. On the 30th of September, 1802, he arrived at *Mengwon* (where the King temporarily resided) totally unnoticed by the Government, and was made to halt at an Island, on which corpses were burned and criminals executed. Here his assistance was implored by two Englishmen who were detained as slaves to the Heir-apparent on a monthly subsistence of two baskets of paddy! Colonel Symes attributed this unfavorable change to the increase of French interest. His Majesty had openly avowed his friendship for them and hostility to us, and as his attendant, Baba Sheen, gave him reason to fear actual violence, he addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Heir-apparent, who foolishly enough excused his father's conduct, by pretending to think Colonel Symes, like Captain Cox, had been deputed by Sir John Shore, Bart. The explanation produced no relief.

Report addressed to the Governor-General by Lieutenant-Col. Symes, dated February, 1803.

October 14th.—The Rangoon Viceroy paid Colonel Symes a private visit, and for want of a better excuse for the shameful conduct of his Government, commenced by traducing Captain Cox, against whom he pretended His Majesty was highly incensed, and concluded by inquiries, which shewed that information regarding the presents for the King was not overlooked in the objects of this visit. On the 16th he repeated his visit and frivolous excuses, and concluded by begging Colonel Symes to exert his patience for a few days longer. On this day the supercargo of the French vessel which was wrecked, arrived at Court, and deposed that the vessel contained a letter and presents from the Governor of the Mauritius for His Majesty, and that the peace concluded between the English and French nations was at the urgent solicitations of the former, who had agreed to restore all the places in India which they had taken during the war, &c. These were just the kind of stories in which His Majesty delighted, and probably with a view to discover further disasters, he detained and opened a packet of letters which had arrived for Colonel Symes. The letters were delivered the next day, the seals remained unbroken. In the meantime, the Company's armed vessel which brought the despatches, was prohibited from coming up to Rangoon, unless she unshipped her guns and rudder, and His Majesty, in a fit of gloomy despotism, ordered Colonel Symes's Escort to be disarmed. This latter disgraceful outrage was however avoided by the good sense of the Heir-

* See numerous petitions of British Merchants in Captain Cox's Journal.

Apparent, who evaded the order, and on the 31st sent him a present of rice, ghee, &c., upon which he wrote to inform His Highness of the objects of his Mission, and remonstrated against further delay. No notice was taken of this letter, and two days afterwards, another was dispatched in search of it, when the following answer was received: "The King says you must wait;" on which he threatened to quit the capital unless speedily and suitably acknowledged.

November 2d.—Being still unnoticed, he again notified to the Government, that he would remain no longer than the end of the month, unless publicly and suitably received by the Court; and His Majesty being pressed on all sides, at length promised to receive the Mission on his return from *Tsa-gain*, whither he was going for a few days.

8th.—Having been forty days confined to his boats and tents, he this day received an order to move into a house, which had been long since prepared for him, but which he had not before been permitted to occupy. He took possession of his new residence, unattended and unnoticed by any Government officer. It was then, and is still the custom of this Government, to furnish foreign Embassies with supplies of every kind, and they were accordingly ordered for this Mission, but the purveyors were the only persons that benefited by the order. The feeling against the British still continued very strong, and His Majesty consulted with a refugee Englishman named Rogers, upon the propriety of sending the Embassy back to Bengal unnoticed. He, however, was dissuaded from this plan; but notwithstanding his former promise to receive the Mission on his return from *Tsa-gain*, he now refused to do so until the arrival of the Captain and Supercargo of a French vessel, who had been ordered to Court, to be converted into French Ambassador, to be exalted over Colonel Symes, to witness his degradation, and to enable His Majesty the more fully to demonstrate his partiality to our enemies. Sometime previous to this, the Burmese flag had been insulted at the Isle of France, whose Governor wishing to conciliate the Burmese, had written to say he would punish the offenders. The King, by some mental obliquity, misunderstood the letter, and imagined that the French Governor had threatened to punish the English, who, he supposed, were the offenders; hence, probably, the continued hostility of this proud and ignorant monarch. On the 13th November, Colonel Symes made an application to the Heir-Apparent to be either speedily acknowledged, or permitted to return to Bengal; but no notice was taken of it. On the 16th, the Frenchmen, whom His Majesty had ridiculously invested with the importance of Ambassadors, although nothing more than private merchants, entrusted with the letter above mentioned, arrived, and were immediately ushered into a house prepared for them close to that of Colonel Symes! The party consisted of an American Supercargo; a Frenchman, just escaped from the Calcutta jail; and two half French half Burmese youths, vassals of one of the Burmese Princes! Two days after the arrival of this "motley group," His Majesty condescended to acknowledge Colonel Symes as British Ambassador, he having then been entirely unnoticed for fifty days; forty of which he was compelled to reside on an execution and burial ground!! The Frenchmen, who

Report addressed to the Governor-General by Lieutenant-Col Symes, dated February, 1803.

1802.

denied having any power or authority from the French Government, were astonished at their respectability, and fearful of the consequences of the farce, endeavoured to avoid it. His Majesty, however, persisted in calling them the "French Embassy," and *nolens volens* compelled them to receive a public audience on the 26th, at which time the British Embassy had been for two months subjected to insults and neglect, and had not been publicly received. His Majesty at length consented to receive the Mission; and on the 28th, Colonel Symes was escorted from his residence by a *Than-dau-zen*,* and reached the Palace at 6 A.M. The King received the presents, and soon after retired, without once deigning to mention the Governor-General's name, giving the Mission a most disrespectful reception, and very unlike what Colonel Symes had been led to expect.

29th.—Visited the Heir-Apparent, who like his Royal father, condescended to receive the presents, but not to inquire after the donor.

Report addressed to the Governor-General by Lieutenant-Col. Symes, dated February, 1803.

December 2d.—In answer to the Governor-General's letter, the Rangoon Viceroy brought a verbal message, as if from the King, that no further demand should be made for the Arracan fugitives, and that the Governor of that district was not authorized to make any disrespectful or threatening demand for them. His Majesty would offer no apology, neither would he listen to any new treaty, nor permit the establishment of a British Resident at Rangoon as promised to Captain Cox. Commercial affairs should remain on the footing settled by the treaty of 1795, and His Majesty would not grant either lands or settlements in Burmah to any European power whatever. Colonel Symes now visited several of the Princes, who were anxious to see him on account of the presents, but none of them made any thing approaching to a suitable return, and the Heir-Apparent was the only member of the Royal family that condescended to inquire after the Governor-General, and this was at a private visit.

15th.—This evening a son of the first *Woondouk* privately brought a letter, purporting to be an answer from the Ministers to the Governor-General's letter to the King, which, instead of resenting as a gross insult, Colonel Symes good-naturedly accepted. The Viceroy and the Shahbunder, however, soothed him in private, for the insults which he received in public. At length, the pretended French Mission died a natural death, and Monsieur Desbruilais, one of its members, renounced his country, married a Burmese girl, and became a slave to the Heir-Apparent.

21st.—Colonel Symes never having seen the *Woonggees*, or been acknowledged by the Burmese Government, except in so far as was necessary for them to obtain the presents; and having now submitted to mortifying neglects and gross insults for a period of nearly three months, this day quitted Court, without audience of leave or notice from any one but the Viceroy of Rangoon, who furnished him with war boats to proceed to Amarapoora, where, after viewing the different curiosities, he visited the Prince of Prome, who received him with politeness.

* An officer of subordinate rank.

The Viceroy appears to have behaved exceedingly well throughout, and at Colonel Symes's request, obtained the liberation of one of the Europeans, (the other had died) mentioned on his arrival, together with a young Frenchman, who was also detained captive. On the 23d he returned to Court on a private visit to the Viceroy, and finally quitted the capital on the 27th, *en route* to Rangoon, where he arrived on the 11th January, 1803. The *Yè-woon*, who had behaved so ill on the first arrival of the Mission, now prohibited the Mission ship from saluting Colonel Symes; but this piece of insolence was disregarded, and the salute fired as usual. On landing, the gates of the town were closed against him, and he was forthwith summoned to the *Youn*. He, however, refused to attend, but sent his assistant, Mr. Campbell, whom the *Yè-woon*, foaming with rage, most grossly insulted, and accused the ship of having fired ball into the town. Mr. Campbell tried in vain to explain, and then took leave, his interpreter being detained in custody. Colonel Symes immediately sent two gentlemen of the escort to demand his instant liberation, which was accomplished, although not until they had received a liberal quantity of abuse. The *Yè-woon* now detained Colonel Symes's dispatches, and otherwise behaved in a most violent manner, prohibiting the departure of the vessel, and menacing the Mission with various acts of outrage. The escort slept on their arms for several nights, and all further intercourse with the Government ceased. A native vessel at anchor between the Fort and the Company's ship *Mornington*, was directed to move a little higher up the river, but at midnight, by order of the *Yè-woon*, she resumed her original station, when Colonel Symes sent people on board to weigh her anchor and inform her Commander, that if she returned, she would be cut adrift without further ceremony. On hearing this, the *Yè-woon* proclaimed, that the English had taken possession of the Town, which in consequence presented one grand scene of confusion. Gongs were beat during the night, and *peons* paraded round the Town, warning the people to keep awake, and guard themselves against the English, whose intention was, "to cut all their throats in their sleep!" The inhabitants, though much excited, appeared to possess more sense than their Governor, and kept quietly within doors; and on the 18th, the *Yè-woon* conscious of having committed himself, sent Colonel Symes a present with an apology, both of which he rejected. Having received some attentions from Baba Sheen and others, and made arrangements for forwarding a statement of the *Yè-woon's* conduct to the Viceroy at Court. On the afternoon of the 20th, he took his departure from Rangoon, under a salute from the Fort, and without any shew of violence or opposition.

Thus terminated Colonel Symes's second Mission. How different from his highly-colored description of the first! quitting the country with ample cause for war, but still a crevice to creep out of, and of which, it was the policy of the British Government to avail itself. The Mission was a complete failure. The letter which Colonel Symes received at night from the *Woodouk's* son, mentioned the Governor-General as having "paid homage at the Golden Feet, and solicited the Royal protection;" it complained against Captain Cox, but was silent on the subject of the letter which it pretended to answer. There were letters also from the



1803.

1803.

Report addressed to the Governor-General by Lieutenant-Col. Symes, dated February, 1803

Report addressed to the Governor-General by Lieutenant-Colonel Symes, dated February, 1803.

Appendix No. 9 to the Report addressed to the Governor-General by Lieutenant Colonel Symes, dated February, 1803, being a letter from the Chief Ministers of State to the Governor-General.

1803.

Appendix Nos. 11 and
12 to Lieutenant-Colonel
Symes's Report.

Viceroy of Rangoon to the Governor-General, written in the usual style of arrogance and ignorance; and with the exception of the pretended verbal disavowal by the Viceroy in the name of the King, of the Governor of Arracan's insolent letter, the Mission may not only be considered as a perfect failure, but as having subjected the British name to further degradation. No account of Colonel Symes's second Mission has ever been published.

CAPTAIN CANNING'S FIRST MISSION.

May 6th.—The friendly feelings, evinced by the Burmese towards the French, and the palpable failure of the two preceding Missions, having placed the British Government in a situation of some difficulty, more especially as the state of European politics rendered a rupture with Burmah at this time a very undesirable event, it became necessary to devise some plan to keep in check, and watch over the increasing spirit of Burmese arrogance, without appearing to succumb to it, and with this view the Governor-General, Marquess Wellesley, sanctioned the appointment of Lieutenant Canning, as Agent at Rangoon on the part of Colonel Symes. The ostensible object of this appointment was, to assure the Burmese Government of the Governor-General's sincere wish to maintain inviolate the relations of amity and peace. The real objects, however, were—

1st.—To give the Burmese Court an opportunity of apologizing for the insults, which it had so lavishly heaped upon the two preceding Missions.

2nd.—To obtain good and early information of the state of French interests in Burmah, and to observe the general conduct and feelings of the Burmese Court towards the British Government.

Being furnished by Colonel Symes with a letter to the Viceroy at Rangoon, and another to the Heir-Apparent and Ministers at the Court of Amarapoor, and presents amounting to three thousand rupees, the Mission left Calcutta on the 21st, and arrived at Rangoon on the 31st May, 1803. Lieutenant Canning being ordered to dispense with all kind of official ceremony, and to live as a private gentleman, proceeded to the Custom House, where he was very civilly received by Thansy, the Shabunder, who was at this time acting Governor, the *Ye-woon* having been removed, as Lieutenant Canning heard, for his ill-conduct to Colonel Symes. He agreed, as a matter of form, to land his baggage and the Government presents at the Custom House, on condition that the boxes were not to be opened. Burmese faith, however, proved too brittle, and every package was opened and examined, and the public presents detained, because they were not for his own use, but were given up after many discussions. Thansy informed him, that the King was highly pleased with Colonel Symes, although he had an awkward way of shewing it. On the 3rd of June, 1803, by way of lulling suspicion, he shewed copies of his letters to Thansy and Baba Sheen, who being such rogues themselves, suspected him of having other objects than he chose to avow. On the 14th he forwarded the letters to Court, and on the 23rd of July received a reply from the Viceroy, with orders from the *Bagy-Takken* and Viceroy to the Rangoon officers, stating that His Majesty having granted

Letter from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone to Lieutenant-Colonel Symes, dated 6th May, 1803.

Memorandum by the Governor-General, dated 30th June, 1830.

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Symes to Lieutenant Canning, dated 7th May, 1803, and from the latter to the former, dated July, 1803.

Letter from Lieutenant Canning to Lieutenant-Colonel Symes, dated 30th July, 1803, and enclosures.

Colonel Symes's every wish, saw no necessity for sending Burmese Envoys to Calcutta, as at first intended; and that "in consequence of the Governor-General's desire to seek refuge under the Golden Feet, Lieutenant Canning was permitted to reside at Rangoon." This unusual condescension from Court, as well as the civility of the local Government, may probably be traced to the consternation caused by the near approach to the walls of the Capital of the Siamese army, which, however, after defeating the Burmese and driving them from before *Zen-may*, was compelled to retire to the Eastern bank of the Salween River, in consequence of the setting in of the monsoon. Reports of hostilities with the British were also rife, owing to the non-arrival of the usual trading vessels from Bengal.

Lieutenant Canning had not received permission to reside at Rangoon many days, when a letter, dated 4th August, arrived from the Italian Bishop of Ava, Don Louis, so often and so favorably mentioned by Colonel Symes, stating that the King had never seen, and probably never heard of, Colonel Symes's letter; that he was directly opposed to the wishes of the British Government; and that the *Yè-woon*, who was supposed to have been removed from office at Rangoon, owing to his conduct to Colonel Symes, was in high favor, whilst the Viceroy, the only person that shewed the Mission any attention, was removed from office and disgraced. A French vessel arrived at Rangoon, bringing a letter from the Governor of Tranquebar for the King, and 1,150 muskets, of which 1,000 were ostensibly purchased by the Shabunder for His Majesty, and the remaining 150 distributed among the Officers of Government. Lieutenant Canning thought the muskets were a present from the French Government, and that the sale was merely intended to deceive him; for shortly afterwards, the French Captain laid his vessel up, and there was reason to think he had been privately appointed Agent. French interest was consequently on the increase, and the British Agent and followers, though still civilly treated, were very narrowly watched. These civilities, however, were not of long duration, for in November, the *Yè-woon*, so far from being disgraced as the Shabunder and others reported, came down to Rangoon with full powers, and being as inimical to the British as ever, his first act was, to direct all English letters to be opened. To reason with this violent and wrong-headed man was impossible, and the order being persisted in, Lieutenant Canning returned to Bengal; and thus terminated the fourth attempt to "improve our relations of amity and peace with Burmah."

The power of the *Yè-woon* was but transient; for on the 19th December, 1803, the Viceroy having regained the "Royal countenance," was reinstated in the Government of Rangoon, and immediately wrote to Lieutenant Canning at Calcutta, expressive of his sorrow for the *Yè-woon's* conduct, rescinding the offensive order for opening foreign letters, and hoping that the friendship between the two nations would now be stronger than ever.

23rd January.—The Brig *Henry*, Captain Baker, on her way from Penang to Calcutta with dispatches, put into the Port of Bassein for wood and water, when the Chief officer and a passenger proceeded to town;

1803.

Letter from Lieutenant Canning to Lieutenant-Colonel Symes, dated 23d September, 1803.

Letters from Lieutenant Canning to Lieutenant-Colonel Symes, dated 8th, 16th, and 23d September, 1803, and 16th October.

Letters from Lieutenant Canning to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, dated 7th and 11th May, 1804.

1804.

Letter from Lieutenant Canning to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, dated 3d January, 1804.

1804.

where they were detained by the Governor, who insisted upon opening the public dispatches, and desired the Chief Mate to request the Captain to bring the vessel up to town. The Mate, however, wrote and informed the Captain of his situation, and advised him to put to sea, which he immediately did, leaving his Chief officer, and the passenger prisoners, who, after one month's detention at Bassein and great trouble, were permitted to purchase boats to convey themselves to Rangoon, whence they proceeded to Calcutta. This unjustifiable outrage was allowed to pass unnoticed.

1805.

The only occurrence of this year was the capture, by H. M. ship *Albatross*, of a vessel named the *Regina*, which was in some way connected with the Burmese, who on hearing of it, imprisoned and threatened with death all British subjects then in Rangoon. This vessel was afterwards given up to the Burmese authorities at Rangoon by order of Admiral Trowbridge, an act which was of course attributed to our fears.

1808.

In this year an Envoy arrived at Calcutta from the Governor of Arracan, object not known.

CAPTAIN CANNING'S SECOND MISSION.

1809.

The French Isles having been blockaded, by orders from England, Captain Canning was deputed to Rangoon as Governor-General's Agent for the following objects :—

Letter from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone to Captain Canning, dated 20th July, 1809.

1st.—To acquaint the Burmese Government, that the Isles of France were blockaded by orders from England, and that all vessels, whether from Burmah or any other country, detected in communicating with them, would be confiscated.

2d.—To soothe them for the consequent diminution of their Pegu trade; to explain the nature of the blockade system, that by European states, where it is understood, it is submitted to as an unavoidable inconvenience, and is not considered as an hostile act.

3rd.—To explain to them that the brig *Burmah*, which together with her cargo, had been seized and condemned by the English Admiralty Court, was proved to be French property.

4th.—To protect British persons and property in Burmah, and to watch narrowly the state of French interests, &c.

Captain Canning was directed not to proceed to Court, unless invited to do so, and not even then, unless he deemed it expedient; but having accomplished the objects of his Mission, to return with all speed to Bengal. He arrived at Rangoon on the 2d October, 1809, and was well received by the Local Government in their state dresses at a private house. The *Ye-woon* was again acting Governor, and for the first time behaved with politeness, and dispensed with the ceremony of sending the baggage to the Custom House.

18th October.—The Local Government displayed their usual anxiety to get at the presents, and were much surprised at Captain Canning's communications, and could not understand why our war with France should injure their commerce, they being at peace with both nations. His letters were this day forwarded to Court, and on the 25th he had a friendly interview with the Viceroy, who returned from the capital and re-assumed the Government of Rangoon.

Letters from Captain Canning to Mr. Secretary Lushington, dated 2d, 18th, 21st, and 26th October, and 23d November, 1809; and Narrative of his Mission, addressed to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, dated 8th May, 1810.

The Local Government continued their civilities to him until the 21st December, when in pursuance of orders from the King, he set out for Court, and arrived at Amarapoora on the 10th February, 1810, having been well treated during his journey. Here, however, the usual drilling commenced, and he remained unnoticed until the evening of the 14th, when he was ordered to move into a house which had been prepared for him. On the following day he moved up opposite to his new house, but was forbidden to take possession until further orders. On the 16th the orders came, and with them certain rumours that the King intended renewing his absurd demand for Chittagong, Dacca, &c. The country was at this time much disturbed, owing to the tyranny of this despot's rule.

17th.—He complained of neglect, and was recommended to have patience! Received several private communications both from the Rangoon Viceroy, and a writer of the Heir-Apparent, regarding British aid, to secure to this Prince the throne on the death of his grand-father, and promised to lay a statement of the request before the Governor-General.

19th February.—Having been ten days unnoticed, he now received intimation, that on the 21st a deputation would wait on him from the *Lhwottau*. Baba Sheen wished to tell the King, that Lord Minto, following the practice of all Governors-General, had sent a letter and presents, and begged as a favour that His Majesty would not permit his ships to carry support to our enemies, the French; but Captain Canning very properly forbade any such speech to be made in his name. On the 21st, according to appointment, a deputation of subordinate officers waited on him, and discussed the objects of his Mission. The meeting took place in a temporary shed, erected for the occasion, on entering which, the English officers were desired to make a slight obeisance to the palace, distant about two miles, as a mark of respect to the King. The conference lasted for eight hours, after which they adjourned to Captain Canning's bungalow, and having partaken of refreshments, the party broke up, mutually pleased with each other.

28th February.—He received audience of the King, and was excused most of the humiliating ceremonies exacted from his predecessors, Symes and Cox. He took off his shoes, and made one slight inclination of his head, but neither knelt down, nor "*shekoed*." His Majesty received him good humouredly, and expressed a wish to receive an Embassy from the King of England, as he considered the Governor-General beneath him, and consequently not entitled to the respect and courtesy due to crowned heads. No notice, as usual, was taken of the Governor-General's letter or his presents. The Envoy had previously learned, that both the King and Heir-Apparent were satisfied with his explanation of the blockade system, also that through the machinations of the *Yé-woon*, the Viceroy, who of all Burmese of rank was certainly the best disposed towards the British, had been again disgraced, and ordered up to Court in chains. He continued to be civilly treated by the Government, and visited all the Princes in succession, by whom he was well received. His Highness of Pagahm was so condescending, as to regret that the Embassy had not come direct

1809.
Letter from Captain Canning to Mr. Secretary Lushington, dated 8th January, 1810.

1810.
Narrative of Captain Canning's Mission, dated 8th May, 1810, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone.

Captain Canning's Narrative of his Mission

1810.

Captain Canning's Narrative of his Mission.

Captain Canning's Narrative of his Mission, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone, dated 24 January, 1810, with Appendix No. 8.

from the King of England, instead of from the Governor-General; as in the former case, the King of Burmah would have sent an army overland to our assistance, and he probably would have had the command; which, by his account, would at once have put us in possession of the continent of France! French interest had been declining for some time past.

15th March.—Day after day, Captain Canning in vain urged the Ministers to dispatch him, and permit him to return to Calcutta by the overland route. No business, however, could be done, as His Majesty was employed in casting bullets, and the Princes in Horse-racing.

17th March.—After many urgent entreaties and remonstrances, he this day received a most impertinent letter from the Ministers to the Governor-General, desiring his Lordship to inform the King of England of the result of this Mission, and always to consider himself as under the protection of the Golden Feet; throwing out a vague hint at the restoration of Dacca and Chittagong, but making no mention of mutual good will and friendship. He therefore complained to the Heir-Apparent of the vague expressions and offensive tone of the Ministers' letter, which His Highness promised to get altered, or to substitute a friendly one in its stead; he also prohibited the Rangoon Government from granting passes to vessels bound to the French Isles.

22nd.—Instead of the promised alteration in the above letter, Captain Canning this day received from the Ministers of the Prince, one still more offensive, full of bombast, Golden Feet, White Elephant, &c. &c., and most impertinently concluding with a request for a state carriage and several other expensive articles for the Prince, "worthy of being touched by Royal Hands."

He had now received two messages from the *Lakotian* to know, why he delayed, and hurrying his departure, he therefore quitted Amaraapura the same evening, and without any occurrence of moment, arrived at Rangoon on the 14th of April, 1810, having met the deposed Viceroy on his way to Court in a most pitiable plight. Here he discovered, that the *Ye-woon*, who was again acting Governor, had detained his packets and refused to give them up, until he knew their contents. In a few days a new Viceroy, with more friendly feelings arrived, and took charge of Rangoon. Captain Canning now received his letters, and wrote to Court, complaining of the *Ye-woon's* conduct, and forwarded the following complaint, which he had received from the Supreme Government.

Appendix No. 11 to Captain Canning's Narrative of his Mission.

In January of this year, 1810, the Honourable Company's brig *Montrose* put into Junk Ceylon (for water), at this time in possession of a Burmese Army. Her Captain on going ashore was detained by the Burmese Commander-in-Chief, who also ordered the vessel to be brought in; this however was resisted; she stood off and on for three or four days, when finding her Captain did not return, she sailed for Penang and informed the authorities of the circumstance, on which the Secretary to the Penang Government addressed a letter to the Burmese Commander-in-Chief, complaining of the outrage, as forwarding at the same time 10 Burmese, who were picked up at sea, having been blown out by stress of weather.

1810.

1811.

Captain Canning soon after heard of Captain Peter's liberation, and quitted Rangoon on the 19th April, having privately informed the British merchants of the unjust demand of the King of Burmah upon Chittagong and Dacca, to give them time to act as they thought proper, as it was probable His Majesty would support his claim to those places by force of arms.

In the early part of the year 1811, a native of Arracan, named King Berring, and called by the Burmese Khyen Byen, who had before taken refuge with a number of his followers in the district of Chittagong, contrived to embody these followers as well as other Mugs, who had emigrated from Arracan, and invade that province. He pursued his design with such promptitude and secrecy that his proceedings were unknown to the officers of the British Government, until he had crossed the river Naaf, the common boundary of the two countries; and he in a very short time subjected the whole of Arracan to his authority, with the exception of the capital. The Vice-President in Council, learning that the local authorities of Arracan entertained a conviction that this invasion of their province was instigated and supported by the British Government, and fearing that the first measure of the Burmese Government of Rangoon, acting on such conviction, would be to seize and barbarously revenge themselves on the persons and property of British subjects residing there, determined on sending another Mission to Ava.

CAPTAIN CANNING'S THIRD MISSION.

In the latter end of September, 1811, therefore, Captain Canning was for the third time deputed with the following instructions.

1st. To remove from the mind of the King and Court of Ava, a firm conviction which they appeared to entertain, that the invasion of Arracan by the Mug refugees under King Berring, was instigated and supported by the British Government, which was supposed to participate in the proceedings of that chief.

Letter from Mr. Chief Secretary Edmonstone, dated 6th September, 1810.

2d. To represent the unjust and unfriendly conduct of the local Government of Pegu with respect to British ships and British subjects trading to Rangoon, and especially the unwarrantable conduct of that Government in seizing the ship *Elephant*, dispossessing her Commander, and sending her in charge of another person with troops to Tavoy, and refusing to offer any compensation for the injury the vessel had sustained, and for the heavy loss occasioned by her detention.

3d. To explain certain other questions between the two Governments respecting the seizure of a Burmese vessel and her cargo at Coringa, of the crew of another vessel charged with murder and piracy, and of certain military stores which the Commander of a British ship of war had taken out of a brig on her passage from Junk Ceylon to Tavoy.

Captain Canning being furnished with letters, and presents to the amount of 10,000 rupees, arrived at Rangoon on the 18th October, 1811, and was well received by the Viceroy, who forwarded the Vice-President's communication to Court. The explanations afforded by Captain Canning to the Burmese Government, respecting the disturbances in Arracan, were declared by the Viceroy of Pegu, on the part of his Govern-

Reports from Captain Canning, dated October and 26th November, 1811.

1811.

ment, to be satisfactory; and Captain Canning took up his residence at Rangoon, waiting for the usual authority from the King to proceed to the capital. In January, 1811, however, King Berring and his colleagues, Larung Bage and Nakloo, being defeated and driven out of Arracan by the Burmese force, took refuge in the jungles of Chittagong, upon which the Governor of Arracan marched a considerable force to our frontier, and demanded the surrender of the fugitives in the language of menace and insult, whilst parties of his troops actually entered the Company's limits. The Governor of Arracan ostentatiously declared in his letters the expected approach of 80,000 men for the express purpose of invading our territory, and boasted to an emissary employed by the Magistrate of Chittagong, of the Burmese having formed an alliance with the French for the same purpose. Subsequently, negotiations took place between him and the Chittagong Magistrate, when he recalled his troops within the Burmese frontier, and like a true Burman denied all knowledge of their ever having exceeded it, and concluded by expressing a desire for negociation. Chittagong was immediately placed in a state of defence, and to Captain Canning, who was still at Rangoon, the following additional instructions were forwarded.

1812.

Letters from Mr. Chief Secretary Edmonstone to Captain Canning, dated 21st and 20th February, 1812.

1st. To complain of the breach of existing friendship in the violation of British territory, and the insulting tone of the Governor of Arracan's letters.

2d. To explain that by their conduct, they had created a state of affairs, which, but for the friendly disposition of the Governor-General, would justify an immediate appeal to arms, and to inform them, that no negotiation could take place until the recal of the Burmese troops from their threatening position on the frontier.

3d. That the Chittagong frontier had been fortified as a measure of defence; that having no interest in war, the Governor-General's object was peace, and that the British Government would be at all times ready to resist insolence and aggression, although open to the call of justice and reason, when urged in a suitable manner.

4th. The surrender of the Mugh rebels must be negotiated by proper persons, according to the usage of civilized states.

Reports from Captain Canning, dated 19th and 20th January, 1812, and 20th February.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Edmonstone to Captain Canning, dated 2d March, 1812.

Report from Captain Canning, dated 5th April, 1812, and Postscript dated 9th April.

Captain Canning's Report, dated 6th May, 1812.

Captain Canning made the necessary representations to the Viceroy of Pegu, and our differences seemed in a fair way of adjustment, and the Envoy was even preparing for his journey to the capital, when on the 18th March, advice arrived from the Supreme Government, of a second invasion of Chittagong by the Burmese army, whilst negotiations were pending, and the Burmese Vakeels were actually at the British camp. Captain Canning therefore now declined to proceed to the capital, notwithstanding the earnest recommendations of the Viceroy, who finding his persuasions in vain, endeavoured to obtain forcible possession of the Envoy's person, but fortunately, he escaped with his suite to the ship, and forwarded a report of this outrage to Bengal.

Some time afterwards, the Viceroy appeared sensible of the unjustifiable nature of his late attempt, and made overtures to Captain Canning for a friendly meeting, which took place, and the latter returned to his residence on shore. He, however, had lost his confidence, and to all

future meetings, his escort went armed, and himself with five or six hatchets secreted in his palanquin, to guard against being taken by surprise. On the receipt of Captain Canning's reports of the 5th and 9th of April, the Supreme Government determined upon withdrawing the Envoy, and on the 2nd of May, sent him orders of recall, which orders were modified on the 12th June, and authority given to the Envoy to continue at Rangoon, without proceeding however under any circumstances to the capital. On the 23d of the same month, additional advices induced the Supreme Government to renew its determination of ordering the Envoy to return to Bengal, but in the mean time, three peremptory orders had arrived from Ava to forward him to Court, "by force if necessary." The Viceroy begged he would excuse himself on account of sickness, and send a British officer to Court with the presents; to this he objected, but expressed his willingness to assist the Viceroy in any way consistent with his character and truth. A private meeting was therefore proposed for the following day, when after a discussion of three hours, Captain Canning agreed to write him a friendly letter excusing his not proceeding to Court, on account of the sickness of many of his followers, and being out of supplies &c., and promising to forward the presents by his sub-interpreter, Mr. Edward DeCruz.

1812.
Report of Captain Canning, dated 9th September, 1812.

Captain Canning's Report, dated 9th September, 1812.

July 12th.—A fourth order arrived for Captain Canning to be sent up to Court without delay; he, however, still refused to go, and the presence of the Hon'ble Company's armed vessel *Malabar*, deterred the Viceroy from resorting to force.

Captain Canning's Report, dated 9th September, 1812.

26th.—The Hon'ble Company's ship *Amboyne* arrived at the mouth of the river, and her commander, Captain Lyall, in bringing up the dispatches in his own boat, was forcibly detained at the Chokey all night.

On hearing of this, Captain Canning wrote a spirited remonstrance to the Viceroy, who sent orders for his immediate release, and promised to punish the offenders.

The *Amboyne* brought the repetition of the recall of the Mission, and the Viceroy dreading the consequences of his disobedience of the Royal orders, "to seize the Embassy," again begged of Captain Canning to feign sickness, and hoped that he would excuse his collecting a number of men as a shew of resistance to his departure, and not take offence at having a few shot fired at him, which would assure the Court of his exertion, and be satisfactory to all parties!!! Captain Canning exhorted him not to entertain for a moment such a thought, and explained, that the result would be precisely the same as if his intentions were hostile. After some discussion regarding the second incursion of King Berring, against whom Captain Canning promised the assistance of the British troops after the rains, the meeting broke up, and the Viceroy engaged to send an Envoy to Bengal.

Letter from the Secretary to Government, dated 25th June, 1812.

Report from Captain Canning, dated 9th September, 1812.

31st July.—A fifth and most peremptory order arrived to send Captain Canning to Court immediately, "by force, and well secured, if necessary;" it being the anxious wish of this benighted and half-savage Court, regardless of consequences, to obtain possession of the Envoy and followers, as hostages for the delivery of the Mug rebels. The H'ch Apparent also privately wrote to him, endeavouring to inveigle him into

Captain Canning's Report, dated 9th September, 1812.

1812.

Captain Canning's Report, dated 9th September, 1812.

acquiescence; but he was not thus to be deceived, and wrote a friendly letter to the Viceroy, regretting his inability to proceed, &c., to which the Viceroy made a satisfactory reply.

August 6th.—The very officers who were sent from Court to convey Captain Canning thither “well secured,” visited the ship *Malabar*, and were much astonished at the economy and force of a ship of war. The armed vessel *Amboyne* was now also present, and the dread of these two ships no doubt deterred the local government from resorting to force. On the 8th he took a friendly leave of the Viceroy, who, on the 14th was superseded by an officer from Court, and disgraced for disobedience of orders, which in truth he had not the means to enforce. Orders were immediately issued, that the Mission was on no account to quit the country. Captain Canning, however, having all things ready, embarked himself and suite the same day, and after great difficulty, obtained two pilots, wrote a friendly letter to the new Viceroy, and on the 16th sailed for Bengal.

Captain Canning's Report dated 9th September, 1812, and letter to Mr. Secretary Adam, dated 5th February, 1813.

The sub-interpreter, Mr. Edward DeCruz, who carried the presents to Court, returned to Calcutta on the 1st February, 1813, and made the following report. He was well received at Court, and the presents were accepted, but during his stay at Mengwon, his boat was robbed, for which he could obtain no redress. When the King heard of Captain Canning's departure, his rage knew no bounds; he immediately ordered the former Viceroy to be crucified in seven fathoms water at the mouth of the Rangoon river, that his body might float to Bengal, and shew the Governor-General the result of disobedience of the Royal orders. In the mean time, however, the Shabunder, Mr. Rogers, appeased the Royal wrath by very large presents, and exerted himself so effectually in the Viceroy's favor, that, instead of being crucified, he was appointed to the Government of the Town and District of Dalla. Envoys were forthwith ordered to Calcutta, and the Burmese troops on the Arracan frontier were desired to restrain their valor, until such time as the Governor-General should answer a letter, addressed to him by the Rangoon Viceroy, informing his Lordship, that by surrendering the Mug fugitives, and sending another Ambassador to Ava, he might obtain the Royal pardon for the numerous falsehoods which he had written. “His Majesty would take patience, and many human beings would enjoy peace and tranquillity.”

1813.

Letter from Captain Canning to Mr. Secretary Adam, dated 25th October, 1813.

April.—In the early part of this year, Burmese Vakeels arrived in Calcutta, with a renewal of the demand for the Mug fugitives, which it is scarcely necessary to say was rejected, and the Burmese Court, conscious of having committed themselves by the tenor of their former communication, and having nearly ruined their commerce by arbitrary exactions, dispatched another Envoy, who arrived at Calcutta previous to the departure of the former Vakeels. The letter brought by this Envoy repeated, in more respectful terms, the demand for the Mug rebels, and announced the abolition of all these duties, which in ridicule of the British Government had been styled “Company's duties.”

Letter from Captain Canning, dated 30th October, 1813, to Mr. Secretary

Adam. When the above announcement was made known, vessels from all parts of India resorted to Rangoon; but no sooner did this most arbitrary of all arbitrary Governments find trade begin again to flourish, than

it made known its intention of adding a duty of 2 per cent. on those formerly collected, declaring at the same time even those vessels that had actually left the port, liable to this duty, and taking security from those that had transacted their concerns for the payment of it.

1813.

21st May.—About this time, a Burmese Shabunder was arrested on his way to Delhi, whither he was going ostensibly in search of Burmese religious books and curiosities, but it was supposed really to try and league the native powers against us. A person had previously gone upon the same errand, and this man was compelled to return.

This year King Berring continued to annoy the Burmese from the Chittagong frontier, and a party of Burmese troops again (5th time,) invaded the British territory in pursuit of the rebels, committed various depredations on our villages, and carried off four of our subjects. The Magistrate immediately wrote a strong remonstrance to the Rajah of Arracan, who, in a civil letter denied all knowledge of the business and promised to punish the ring-leaders. Early in April, however, the Burmese defeated King Berring at his principal strong hold, and small parties of British troops had also been successful against the insurgents.

1814.

The unhealthiness of the country, however, and disagreeable nature of the service induced the Supreme Government to authorize the incursions of the Burmese troops into the hills and jungles in pursuit of the rebels, but they were on no account to enter the plains. The Magistrate accordingly sent an agent to ascertain the Arracan Governor's sentiments regarding this friendly proposition: the Governor avoided giving a direct answer to the Magistrate's proposal, but stated as a preliminary, that the British must furnish the Burmese troops with stores and ammunition, &c., whilst employed in our territory; thus reversing the tables and appearing to confer instead of receive, a favor. In the mean time the Burmese made a sixth incursion into our territories, and murdered two innocent Mugs, British subjects.

5th March, 1814

17th June, 1811.

4th October, 1814.

The Magistrate of Chittagong now discovered and reported an intrigue of the Burmese to engage the Native Princes to join them in a scheme to expel the British from India. But about the end of 1814 the Agent of the Magistrate of Chittagong having been forcibly detained at Arracan for twenty days under a guard, in consequence of this insult to the British Government, the Magistrate was directed to correspond no more with the Rajah of Arracan.

1815.

No particular occurrence took place from the above date until the commencement of the present year, when the principal Mug Chief King Berring died, and most of his followers dispersed and returned peaceably to their homes; a few, however, held out under a Chief named Noga-junging, who, after suffering great privations and disease, saw the futility of further resistance, and in the month of May, surrendered himself to the British Government. At the Magistrate's suggestion, he and the remaining Chiefs were kept as state prisoners, and persons of lesser rank and importance were liberated.

• Dispatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors, dated 20th December, 1817.

1816.

Ditto ditto

When the above event became known, the Arracan Rajah sent his son to Chittagong, to demand the rebel chiefs, and the Magistrate referred him to Bengal.

Ditto ditto.

1816.

Dispatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors, dated 20th December 1817.

Several Embassies were sent both to Chittagong and Bengal, with the above object; at length the Governor-General refused to deliver them up, and wrote a temperate letter to the Rangoon Viceroy to inform the King of Ava, of the inutility of any further application on this subject; and in the meantime, Chittagong was reinforced to guard against any sudden irruption of the Burmese.

1817.

Ditto ditto, 4th June, 1818.

The peremptory and firm tone assumed by the British Government in its refusal to deliver up to Burmese vengeance such of the Mug rebels as were within its power, was for a short time attended with salutary consequences, and trade began again to flourish; but, in October of this year, an attempt at intrigue with the Court of Lahore was discovered and prevented. The agents were three natives of Western India, named—Deevy Dutt, Shaik Daoud, and Namerozia; and came accredited from the Court of Ava to the British Government, with a renewal of the demand for the Mug fugitives, and a request to be permitted to proceed to Lahore, ostensibly in search of religious books, but really to engage that State in league against us. The Governor-General, who, at the time was absent from the seat of Government, directed that these persons should be sent back in custody to Rangoon, but in the interim, they had been acknowledged by the Vice-President in Council, which rendered this step impolitic, and it was consequently abandoned. They were accordingly dismissed, and explanatory letters written to Ava on the subject. At this time, a boat load of fire-arms and ammunition, clandestinely purchased by the Burmese, was seized by the Magistrate at Calcutta, but eventually restored, with an intimation that any future attempt would subject the property to confiscation.

Ditto ditto

1818.

Ditto ditto, 17th March, 1820, par. 134 and following.

In July of this year, the Rajah of Ramree, in the name of the King of Ava, wrote another most insolent letter to the Governor-General, demanding the cession, of Ramo, Chittagong, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, and garnished with a liberal allowance of threats, in the event of a refusal. In a letter to the Viceroy of Pegu, the Governor-General regretted that the King of Ava should be guided by such foolish Councillors, and hoped the Rajah of Ramree would be punished for his insolence. Previous to these communications, the Burmese were known to have made overtures to the Mahrattas, and by a simultaneous rising of these two States, the British were to have been annihilated. The Burmese, however, are generally a little too late in their arrangements, and it happened so on this occasion, for their friends, the Mahrattas, had been already crushed, and this ebullition of Burmese insolence died a natural death. The Burmese Envoys above-mentioned, being afraid to return, still remained in Calcutta, and were now demanded by the Ava Government, and the Vice-President in Council, as a mark of favor, gave up Shaik Daoud and Namerozia, but refused Deevy Dutt, on account of his being a British subject.

1819.

Ditto ditto, 12th September, 1823, par. 90 and following.

At this time the peace and tranquillity of our north-east frontier was disturbed, by the disputed succession to the Musnud of Assam. At length the Burmese interfered in favor of Rajah Chunder Maunt, who was successful. Poorunder Chunder Sing, the deposed and rightful successor now applied to the Supreme Government for assistance, which was re-

fused; he then accepted the offer of an asylum within the British territory for himself and followers, but repeated applications to seize and surrender him were made by Chunder Kaunt, a Minister of the King of Ava. The disputes in Assam still continued, and a Mr. Bruce, a native of India, entered the service of the Ex-Rajah Poorunder Sing, and with the consent of the British Government supplied fire-arms and ammunition to his forces. Towards the end of May this year Poorunder Sing invaded Assam with a force under the command of Mr. Bruce, and in an action between the forces of the two Rajas, Mr. Bruce at the head of Poorunder Singh's army was defeated and taken prisoner. Rajah Chunder Kaunt, though successful, was not long permitted to enjoy his usurped power; he began to get tired of his friends the Burmese; and as a first act against them, is supposed to have ordered the murder of his Chief Minister, who was warm in their interest, and for which, in September, he was deposed and a successor appointed. The Assamese were now growing weary of the plundering and devastations of the Burmese army, which at this time had to contend against the forces of the two deposed Princes, Poorunder Singh and Chunder Kaunt; our frontier consequently became the scene of various excesses for which the Governor-General authorized his agent Mr. Scott to demand satisfaction. The Burmese Commander-in-Chief apologized, and stated that our villages had been attacked by mistake, and offered remuneration for whatever injuries had occurred.

Mr. Bruce now exerted himself in the cause of Rajah Chunder Kaunt, and applied to the Supreme Government for permission to convey arms and ammunition through the British territory to his assistance. The Government granted his request, being anxious to prevent the Burmese from occupying Assam, by which they would command the upper part of the Burrumpooter, much to our disadvantage. In the latter part of this year, Chunder Kaunt was temporarily triumphant, having defeated the Burmese in several skirmishes, and advanced to Gowahati. Rajah Poorunder Singh also continued to annoy the Burmese, in his endeavours to regain his lost kingdom, when the Burmese General Maha Theelawa, being sorely perplexed, wrote in the usual lofty and arrogant style to the Governor-General, not to assist the Assam rebels, but to deliver up both the Chiefs and their followers, to which letter the usual reply was made.

The temporary successes of Chunder Kaunt were arrested by the reinforcement of the Burmese army to the extent of 18,000 men, under the renowned General Mengyee Maha Bundoola, who, in June, easily defeated and threatened to pursue the Assamese chief into the Hon'ble Company's territories. The Magistrate was therefore directed to repel invasion by force, and to demand reparation for the injuries done to our frontier villages by the troops of the nominal ruler, Rajah Poorunder as well as the Burmese by whom he was supported. Strict orders had just arrived from Ava to pursue the fugitives whithersoever they had fled, and such was the defenceless state of our frontier that had the Burmese Generals been so determined, we could not have prevented them. Fortunately, they pursued a different course, and in July a Burmese Yakeel arrived at Calcutta, bearing for the first time, civil and respectful

1819.

1821.

Dispatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors, dated 12th September, 1823, par 99 and following.

Dispatch above cited par. 102, 103, 104.

1822.

Ditto ditto, par. 114.

1822.

Dispatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors dated 12th September, 1822.

Dispatch before mentioned.

letters from the Chiefs Bundoola and Maha Theelawa demanding Chunder Kaunt and his followers. In reply, the Governor-General in Council expressed his desire for peace and friendly relations, but refused to surrender the fugitive chiefs, and remonstrated against a recent seizure, and detention by the Governor of Arracan, of some of our elephant hunters from the province of Chittagong. In the mean time, Assam had ceased to be an Independent State, and had become a province of the Burmese Empire. Rajah Poorunder, hitherto supported by the Burmese, was deposed, the Assam Princes set aside, and the Supreme authority vested in Maha Theelawa. In July Bundoola returned with the army to Ava, leaving Maha Theelawa with 2,000 men in Assam, who soon disputed our right to a small unimportant sand bank, but after many threats and some impertinence he gave in.

Under the above circumstances our line of defence on the north-east frontier was strengthened, with a view to protect our valuable provinces of Rungpore and Dacca, the possession of which had long been the anxious object of the King of Ava.

The ex-Rajah Poorunder Singh having failed to negotiate his restoration with the Burmese, offered to become tributary to the British, and to pay all the expenses of re-establishing him, besides an annnal tribute of three lacs of rupees: his proposals were rejected.

1823.

Ditto ditto, 10th September, 1824.

Mr. Scott, the Magistrate of Rungpore, brought to the notice of Government, the yet unprotected state of our north-east frontier, and the facility for Burmese invasion; likewise, that the destruction of our frontier villages and injuries to British subjects remained unredressed. Maha Theelawa now applied for permission to return to Ava, via Chittagong, but as no satisfaction had been received for the excesses of the Burmese and Assamese armies, and as he had a great number of armed followers and Assamese slaves, his request was refused.

The Assamese Chiefs, who were again busy in collecting forces for another attack upon the Burmese, received intimation from the Supreme Government, either to quit the British territory, or to desist from any further attempt. Lieutenant Davidson had been offered twenty-one thousand rupees, and our native officers largely bribed to permit them to assemble unmolested.

For years past, the Burmese had been gradually encroaching on the south-east frontier of Chittagong, and advancing claims to the jungles frequented by our elephant hunters, whom they had unjustly seized and detained. Taking advantage of the conciliatory policy of the British Government, and misinterpreting its forbearance under insults to an inability to resent and punish them, they now claimed the Island of Shapoorie* which independently of being situated on the Chittagong side of the river Naaf, fordable at low water, had for years past, been occupied by British subjects, and paying revenue to the British Government. Early this year, the Burmese, in pursuance of their arrogant pretensions, and with a view to deter our people from occupying the island, attached a Mug merchant boat, and wantonly shot the helmsman. The Magistrate

Ditto ditto, 21st November, 1823.

* Called by the Burmese Shyoo-tan-shyoo-Kywan—white woman's Island.

immediately established a protecting guard of twelve sepoys upon it, and reported to Government, that a Burmese force was collecting on the East bank of the Naaf. In the mean time, the Governor of Arracan desired us "to evacuate the island, or there would be war," and denied our right to any portion of the Boundary River, which, between the disputed island and the Arracan Shore, is two miles wide. He also deputed an Ambassador to Calcutta, to enforce his unjust demand, in which, however, he was unsuccessful.

Having failed either by threats or persuasion to induce us to relinquish the disputed territory, on the night of the 24th September, 1823, a Burmese force of one thousand men attacked and took the island, killing three sepoys and wounding three others. An army of 15,000 men was collecting in Arracan, and sixty boats were already prepared to transport it across the river into Chittagong. These hostile demonstrations greatly alarmed the Mug population, many of whom voluntarily came forward and offered to assist in protecting their own villages. The Governor-General, although determined upon resistance, and the punishment of the offenders, wished to consider it a local affair, and wrote to the King of Ava demanding the dismissal of the Arracan Rajah.

Dispatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors dated 21st November, 1823.

In October, 1823, the position and demeanour of the Burmese forces became less threatening, and it was thought that their original object was exclusively confined to the seizure of the Shahpooree Island; the orders of Government were consequently modified and restricted to the re-occupation of that island. The Rajah of Arracan, however, intimated to the Magistrate, that as the King had been informed of his troops having taken it, any attempt on our part to re-occupy it, would be resisted and lead to a war. In reply to the Governor-General's letter, he denied that the island ever belonged to the British, and stated that if we desired peace, we must be quiet; if we rebuilt our stockade, he would destroy it; and should we still persist, he would take from us Dacca and Moorshedabad. He told the messenger of the Magistrate of Chittagong, that the Burmese would invade Bengal by Assam and Goalpara, whither they had sent an army of 3,000 men, and that they had armies ready for the invasion of the British dominions at every point.

Dispatch before cited.

From the spirit of the above letter, it was evident that affairs instead of improving were getting worse; and that some decisive measure must be adopted to preserve not only our territory but our character entire. The Governor-General however in his remonstrance to the King had treated the outrage as an unauthorized act of the local Government, and determined to await the result of his Majesty's answer. In the mean time, Captain Canning was ordered to the Presidency to be employed either on a friendly embassy to the Court of Ava, or to give the Government the advantage of his local knowledge of Burmah in the event of an unavoidable War. On the 21st of November, 1823, our troops re-took the Island, which was at this time unoccupied. The Commanding officer was warned off by the Burmese but refused to go; when the latter having declared their conviction that war would ensue, waited quietly for further orders from Court.

Ditto ditto, 9th January, 1824.

An attempt between Captain Chesson of the Bengal Engineers and a

1823.

Dispatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors, dated 9th January, 1824.

Burmese Vakeel for the friendly adjustment of the boundary had scarcely commenced, when the Magistrate was informed that a Burmese army had left Assam for the subjection of Cachar. The Supreme Government had before taken steps for effecting a connection of a tributary and protective nature with that petty state, and therefore now warned the Commander of the Burmese force to desist.

Ditto ditto, 23d February, 1824.

Sickness at length compelled the British troops to retire from the Island of Shapoore to Tek-naaf, a post on the main land, at no great distance from it, and Mr. Robertson informed the Burmese, that any attempt on their part to retake it would be punished by us. In the mean time, the King of Ava deigned not to answer the Governor-General's letter, but peremptorily ordered the Arracan Governor to retake the island at all hazards, and a large Burmese force was assembled for this purpose. Four messengers with a letter were deputed to the Magistrate of Chittagong by the Governor of Arracan, and in the conferences which took place, these messengers declared, that they would be satisfied by a declaration, that the island should be considered neutral ground, and remain unoccupied by either party. This proposition, which if brought forward in a suitable manner in the earlier proceedings might have been admitted without disgrace, could not now be listened to, and the Supreme Government therefore determined to expel them by force. Hostilities had already commenced on the Sylhet frontier, and a strong party was now posted at Tek-naaf for repelling and adequately chastising on the spot any attempt which the Burmese might make to re-occupy the Island of Shapooree.

1824.

Ditto ditto.

January 14th.—The Magistrate of Sylhet announced, that two Burmese armies had actually invaded Cachar at the invitation of the Ex-Rajah Govind Chunder, although it had been previously intimated to them, that the British Government being in treaty with this State would not permit Burmese interference. They were accordingly requested to desist, and the Magistrate was directed to repel them by force, if necessary, and to inform them that a reference had already been made to Ava on the subject, and that after the late insolent threats of the Arracan Chiefs, they could not be permitted thus to overrun the States on our Frontier. The Burmese replied, that they had received the Royal Orders to re-instate Govind Chunder on the throne of Cachar, and to arrest the three Muni-porean Chiefs: Georjeet Singh, Marjeet Singh and Gumbheer Singh—which they were determined to do. Arrangements were immediately made for opposing them, and on the 17th Major Newton fell in with the northern division of their army, which after a severe struggle he entirely defeated. The Burmese now united the northern and eastern divisions of their Army on the banks of the River Soormah, and repeated their threat of following the Muni-pore Chiefs, without reference to whose territory they were in. Mr. Scott again made several attempts to negotiate our differences, and sent his interpreter to the Burmese Commander-in-Chief, who treated him exceedingly ill, threatened to behead him, and eventually to march his Army to England!! The Magistrate remonstrated against an order lately sent to the Rajah of Jynta, who was under British protection, "to bow his head to the golden feet, and consider his territory as an appendage to Assam."

Whilst the above transactions were going on in the north-east, matters were progressing in an equally unfavorable manner on our south-east frontier. The Arracan Rajahs, who were not thought sufficiently active had been relieved by four Chiefs from Court, whose first act was to cross over to Shapoorree Island, and burn to the ground the only habitation on it at the time, our redoubt having been razed, when our detachment was removed.

Shortly after the above violence, the Burman Chief at *Mung-doo* (opposite Tek-naaf) invited some British officers over on a friendly visit. The military refused the invitation, but a Mr. Chew, Commander of the Company's pilot vessel *Sophia*, and a person named Ross, accepted it and were immediately marched into the interior as prisoners, together with eight boat lascars. The Magistrate demanded them and threatened in vain, the Burmese refused to give them up, in consequence of the *Sophia* being anchored off Shapoorree Island, on which the Burmese had lately hoisted their standard. The captives wrote that they were well treated. A large Burmese force was collecting in Arracan.

Under the above circumstances, the British Government resolved to fortify its frontier, and commence operations in earnest, at the same time that it announced its unwillingness to accept of a suitable apology for the past, and security for the future.

Moderation and justice, however, ever had been, and still continued strangers to the councils of the Court of Ava, and so far from making reparation for the past, they were meditating only on further aggressions; and, after the failure of every conciliatory means, His Lordship in Council reluctantly declared war against that kingdom; a measure, if hailed with delight by the British army, was not less eagerly anticipated by the Burmese, who, totally ignorant of our power, and measuring their invincibility by the test of the surrounding petty states, had been accustomed to consider the British as an easy prey.

On the 5th March, 1824, the two powers were declared to be at war, and such was the activity with which the British preparations were made, that on the 11th May, Sir Archibald Campbell arrived at Rangoon with the Head-Quarters division of the army, and took the town and fort with scarcely any opposition. About the same time, a British force under Colonel Richards advanced towards Assam and the north-east frontier, and in the beginning of the following year, a third division under Colonel Morrison invaded Arracan.

To note the minutiae of the war in either division of the army, or the barbarous cruelties and savage indecencies practised upon our unfortunate stragglers, together with the several faithless overtures of the Burmese for a cessation of hostilities, would be tedious and uninteresting; volumes having been already written on the subject. I shall therefore pass on the result, which was a treaty of peace signed at Yandabo on the 24th February, 1826, by which the Burmese ceded to the British, the territories and towns of—

- 1st. Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, Tenasserim and Arracan.
- 2nd. The King of Ava ceased to have dominion over the states of Cachar, Jyntea and Assam.

1824.

Despatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors, dated 9th January, 1824.

Ditto ditto.

Despatch from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors, dated 9th January, 1824, and declaration on the part of the Governor-General in Council, dated 24th February, 1824. Despatch from the Supreme Government to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 23d February, 1824.

Proclamation by the Governor-General in Council, dated 5th March, 1824.

1826.

Ditto ditto, 11th April, 1826.

1826.

3rd. The Burmese acknowledged the independence of Manipore, and the right of Siam to the benefit of this treaty.

4th. The mutual right of keeping a resident from one state at the Court of the other.

5th. A commercial treaty to be afterwards negotiated.

6th. One crore of rupees as a token of His Majesty's sincere friendship and part indemnification of the expenses of the war.

For the accommodation of the Burmese, the tribute was to be paid in four equal instalments, the first instalment of 25 lacs to be paid down and the British Army to retire to Rangoon; the second within three months, when the army would evacuate the Burmese dominions; the third was to have been paid within one year; and the fourth within two years from the date of the treaty; but unfortunately our negotiators took no security for the punctual performance of this engagement:

When the treaty of peace was concluded, Sir Archibald Campbell deputed Captains Lumsden and Havelock to the Court of Ava with a conciliatory message on the termination of hostilities. They arrived at Ava on the night of the 28th of February, and were escorted by a numerous deputation of officers to the house of the commander of the northern gate of the palace, *Moung Shive Loo*, where they were very hospitably entertained. The king, half distracted by the termination of events, at first determined not to receive them, but at length gave them a civil though hurried audience on the 1st of March, and on the 3rd they quitted the "Golden City," apparently well pleased with their reception; although, when it is considered that they were landed late at night, that no public place of residence was allotted to them, that Moung Shive Loo, the commander of the north gate, was the only person that would receive them, and except their half smuggled audience of His Majesty, they received no public notice whatever, there was no great cause for congratulation. It would have been a much more judicious measure, as after events proved, if the British General had appointed an officer of rank to proceed to Ava, and act as British Resident, pending a reference to the Supreme Government. Such an officer might have settled all the ceremonies of his reception, and established the British Residency on a proper footing, before the British Army retired from Yandabo.

Havelock's Memoir of the three Campaigns of Major-General Sir A. Campbell's Army in Ava, p. 338 to 366, and Appendix No. 2. Extract from *Government Gazette* of 13th April, 1826, p. 215, in Wilson's *Historical Sketch of the Burmese War*.

Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, p. 416 to 449.

The first instalment being paid according to Treaty, the Army broke up; one battalion under Captain Ross, returned overland to Arracan, and the remainder retired to Rangoon under Sir Archibald Campbell, there to await the payment of the second instalment.

MR. CRAWFURD'S MISSION.

1826.

In pursuance of the 7th article of the Treaty of Yandabo, stipulating for the negotiation of a Commercial Treaty, Mr. Crawford having received the necessary instructions for this purpose, quitted Rangoon on board the *Diana Steamer* on the 1st September, 1826, entered the Irrawaddy on the 4th, and reached Hanzada on the 8th, Prome 16th, Yandabo 27th, and Kyouk-ta-loun, about 12 miles below Ava, on the 28th, where he was met by a respectable deputation of Burmese officers, who wished him to halt until orders could be received from Court, but he refused on the principle of right, and the improbability of receiving any other than a friendly

Letters of Instructions from Mr. Secretary Swinton to Mr. Crawford, dated 14th April, 30th June, and 5th August, 1826.

Mr. Crawford's printed Journal of his Embassy to Ava.

invitation from the Court, and proceeded as far as the village of Pouk-tau, 3 or 4 miles below Ava. Here he halted on learning that another and more respectable deputation would escort him thence to the city. On the following day, (29th September, 1826,) a Woondouck conducted him to a temporary house, which had been built for him a little below Ava; where the Legain Woongyee and Kyee-Woon-Atwen-Woon were waiting to receive him. This was the first suitable reception ever given to a British Embassy. Great anxiety prevailed at Court for the evacuation of Rangoon by the British troops, and on the 3rd October the Kyee-Woon-Atwen-Woon and others waited upon the Envoy, and entreated him to order them away. In reply he referred them to the treaty of Yandabo, which stated that as soon as the second instalment, at this time long overdue, was paid, the troops would depart. Ava became alarmed at the presence of his European escort, and many vague rumours were circulated as to the object of his Mission. On the 9th, at the urgent solicitation of the Kyee-Woon-Atwen-Woon, he agreed to enter upon business previous to his presentation to the King, which Burmese arrogance had induced them to fix for first "*hoda*," or beg pardon day, when all his Majesty's *Tsoubwas* and vassals make presents, "*shikko*," and ask pardon for past offences. On the 12th the Burmese Commissioners* attended in full dress, and held their first conference in a temporary shed, having previously refused to enter Mr. Crawford's house, which had been prepared for the occasion. After the usual preliminaries, Mr. Crawford tendered a draft of a Commercial Treaty, in which the free exportation of bullion and permission for British Merchants to take away their families from the country, formed prominent objects. The three successive days were devoted to boat racing, and on the 16th another conference took place, at which nothing was determined upon. Mr. Crawford's presentation was also to have taken place this day, but owing to a fall of rain, it was postponed till the 20th October, when two gilt and ten plain war boats conveyed himself and suite to the opposite shore, where they were received by a deputation of *Ts-are-dau-gyees* with seven elephants, horses, &c. &c., for their accommodation and the conveyance of the royal presents. The European escort was prohibited from entering the town with their arms, and as Mr. Crawford would not permit them to be disarmed, they were remanded to the steam vessel. The next impertinence was a request from the *Ts-are-dau-gyees*, to put down his umbrella as a mark of respect to the palace, although not within sight of it. He was then paraded round the west and south sides of the palace yard, to give all persons an opportunity of seeing him, and was made to dismount at the south east angle of the palace compound, and walk along the eastern face to the principal entrance, although the meanest Burmese officers are allowed to ride close to the gate, if they wish. It had been previously settled, that the Mission should rest themselves at the *Youm-dau*, but they were purposely led beyond it, and the *Ts-are-dau-gyee* desired Mr. Crawford to "*shikko*" to the palace; this he indignantly refused to do, and discovering the trick that had been imposed upon him, he immediately turned round, and of his own accord ascended the *youn* with his shoes on, to which

Mr. Crawford's printed
Journal of his Embassy,
p. 128 to 147.

* Two Atwen-Woons or Ministers of the Interior.

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no objection was raised, and insisted on the punishment of the offenders. Here he was kept waiting two hours and a half, and when ordered to proceed, he requested a gilt salver for the Governor-General's letter, which they refused to give and offered an old one with the gilt worn off, which he declined to accept, and the letter was eventually carried by Lieutenant Montmorency. He unslipped at the foot of the palace steps, having been allowed to wear his shoes within the inner enclosure of the palace, some distance beyond the spot where Captain Symes had been made to unslip on his first Mission, and after waiting in the Hall of Audience for about 10 minutes, His Majesty appeared, and Mr. Crawford removed his hat and *salamed* with one hand in the European manner. This was a "*hodaui*," or general beg pardon day, and to add to the insults already received, neither the King nor the Queen condescended to mention the Governor-General's name; his presents were the last received, and unknown to Mr. Crawford, a Burmese officer read an address to their Majesties, expressive of His Lordship's submission to the Golden Feet, and desire of forgiveness of his past offences. No notice whatever was taken of His Lordship's letter, which was afterwards privately delivered to a *Na-khan-dau* and the degrading ceremony broke up.

22nd October.—Mr. Crawford held another conference with the Commissioners, who were much annoyed on being told in answer to questions from themselves, that the Siamese Court is far superior to theirs, that the King of Siam had six white elephants, and that Mr. Crawford was highly dissatisfied with the audience he had received. A very lengthy discussion ensued during which the Burmese claimed the Saluen River.

Nothing settled from the 23d to the 25th. Visited the Heir-Apparent, Tharawadi and Men-za-gyee Princes. The latter kept him waiting a shorter time than the others, was more respectful, and gave a far superior entertainment.

Mr Crawford's Printed
Journal of his Embassy,
p. 177, 187, 201.

November 3d and 5th.—The negotiations were renewed. The Burmese Commissioners having previously objected to, now proposed the free exportation of bullion, and permission for British Merchants to take away their families, in return for which they asked the restoration of the tribute and all the ceded territories. These extravagant proposals were of course rejected. Finding Mr. Crawford immoveable, they attempted to bribe him with five viss of gold equal to about 12,000 rupees. He then demanded an explanation, for the opening by the Burmese Government, of some private letters addressed to him and his suite from Munnipore, the style and matter of which letters Mr. Lanuago assured Lieutenant-Colonel Burney, had given great offence, and cause for jealousy and suspicion against our proceedings in Munnipore.

6th November.—At this conference, the Burmese repeated their proposal to grant the free exportation of bullion and permission to Merchant's families to quit the country, for free liberty on their part to purchase fire-arms and ammunition at Calcutta. This proposal was also rejected, and after a long discussion on the delay in paying the second instalment, in which nothing was settled, the meeting broke up. At a conference held on the 10th, the Burmese consented to Mr. Crawford's

proposed Treaty under certain modifications, and upon condition that the payment of the third and fourth instalments should be postponed for one year beyond the stipulated time; to this he readily agreed. The Burmese then, as if fearful of having granted too much, requested a further extension of three months, which Mr. Crawford refused, and the meeting broke up for the seventh time, without any prospect of a final settlement. 12th.—The discussion opened to-day on the part of the Burmese, with a long dissertation on the advantages of upright conduct, after which they desired to know by what authority a British force was stationed at Moulmein, contrary, they said, to the treaty of Yandabo. A very long discussion ensued, at the end of which the Commercial Treaty was introduced, when it was discovered that they had clandestinely altered the 4th article regarding merchant's families, and the words "return to the country" were substituted for "quit the country." They were not in the least abashed at the exposure of their disgraceful attempt at fraud, and after some further discussion the meeting dissolved, the Burmese Commissioners agreeing to deliver the Treaty signed and sealed on the 15th, in return for which Mr. Crawford agreed that the Army should evacuate Rangoon in 20 days; also, to postpone for one year the payment of the third, and fourth instalments, and to relinquish a balance of 1½ lacs still due upon the second.

10th November.—A complaint was preferred against some of the European escort and lascars, for not squatting down in the road and "*shikoing*," on meeting His Majesty. They were consequently forbidden the town. The King was dreadfully annoyed at Mr. Crawford's refusing to give up the Ceded Territory and the remaining ½ crore of rupees, which he had been led to expect by his imbecile ministers, who had informed him of the Governor-General's submission to the Golden decrees, and that such was the object of Mr. Crawford's present Mission.

Mr. Crawford's Printed
Journal of his Embassy to
Ava. p. 225

15th November.—At the meeting to-day the Burmese refused to sign the treaty as they had agreed to do, until the whole of the British army should have evacuated the Burmese dominions. Mr. Crawford accordingly absolved himself from his former promises, which were made under an impression that the treaty, as then agreed upon, would be concluded at this meeting, and refused to hold any further discussions with them, offering to accept of any treaty they might think proper to give him. The Burmese Commissioners now altered their tone, and desired to see the paper of concessions which Mr. Crawford had drawn up, and whilst reading it, they were detected in an attempt to alter the date of payment to four months later. They then promised to complete the negotiation in two days, and departed.

19th November.—The Burmese negotiators now put off the final settlement, not having seen the King, and Mr. Crawford being anxious to depart, gave up the question of gold, and proposed the exportation of silver only, but they refused; upon which he again expressed his willingness to accept of any treaty they would give him, and laid before them a paper on the subject, but which they declined to receive.

24th November.—The Commissioners met again to-day, and without further discussion or reference to previous negotiations, declared they

Diffé ditto, p. 236, &c.

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had made up their minds what treaty they would give, if Mr. Crawford was willing to accept of it.

In this treaty, which is made between the Governor-General under the title of the "Engleit Men" the "India Company Buren" and the King of Ava, the second and fourth articles of Mr. Crawford's draft, relating to the free exportation of bullion and merchant's families, were struck out, and as there was nothing objectionable in the remaining articles, Mr. Crawford expressed his willingness to accept of it. It consists of the following articles, and was signed and agreed to by both parties.

1st.—Provides for the free ingress and egress to and from Burmah, of "merchants with an English certified pass from the country of the English ruler," upon paying the "customary duties. They are not to be molested in their mercantile transactions.

2d.—Is a mere repetition of the 9th article of the treaty of Yandabo, with this disadvantage of the vague expression as to vessels paying "customary duties."

3d.—Refers to British resident merchants who are about to quit Burmah, and is comprised in the 1st, of which it is nearly a repetition.

4th.—Provides for assistance to British vessels wrecked on the Burman coast. The Burmese to be remunerated with a suitable salvage, and all property recovered from the wreck to be restored to the owners.

The Commercial Treaty being concluded by Mr. Crawford thus accepting the paper drawn up by the Burmese Commissioners, they again wished to negotiate the postponement of the third and fourth instalments, but Mr. Crawford replied, that his business was now settled, and that he must hasten away. Between the 26th of November and 2nd of December, the Atwen-Woons visited him several times, and urged him again and again, to delay the payment of the remaining portions of the tribute, but he replied as before, that his business was finished, and urged his speedy departure.

At length, a discussion ensued relative to the captive Cassays and Assamese, who were taken at the commencement of, and during the war, and when in order to ascertain the wishes of these unfortunate people, Mr. Crawford desired they might be called before him, the Ministers cunningly observed, that he had no right to make such a demand, for by his own shewing "his business was already done," &c. &c.

December 4th.—He was informed that the King would receive him on the following day at the Elephant Palace. He again demanded the English, Cassay and Assamese prisoners, who were detained in Ava contrary to the 11th article of the treaty of Yandabo, and offered a list of their names, which the Commissioners refused to receive. He then applied for the estate of an English Merchant named Stockdale, who had died at Ava three years before, and left property to the amount of 20,000 Rs which had been seized by the Queen; but was again doomed to suffer by his own impolitic admission, for they evaded his demands by questioning his authority to treat upon such points. He relinquished the captives without further effort, though not without the consolation, that it was sufficient for himself "having formally demanded them."

Page 258 of Mr. Crawford's Printed Journal.

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P. 283 to 287.

P. 294.

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P. 298.

6th and 7th December, received audiences of the King at the Elephant and Water Palaces, at the former of which he was obliged to remove his shoes and walk over scorching bricks, a distance of about 100 yards.

December 11th.—The Burmese demanded three natives of India, (British subjects) who being anxious to escape, had sought refuge on board the steam vessel, and Mr. Crawford surrendered them taking only a list of their names.

12th.—Having received some return presents, though no letter for the Governor-General, and His Majesty having granted titles to each of the gentlemen of his suite, Mr. Crawford quitted Ava this day, and getting aground several times in the passage down, anchored off Rangoon on the 17th January, 1827, after a tedious and difficult passage of 36 days. Here he refused to meet the Viceroy on business, saying "he was now merely a passenger to Bengal without any authority;" he however afterwards met him at a private house, when the Woongyee delivered to him a respectful letter "from the Ministers at Ava, to the War Chiefs in Bengal," which Mr. Crawford received, having previously satisfied himself of the suitability of the letter, and informed the Woongyee that none but the King could address the Governor-General direct, except in the form of petition. On the 23d he quitted Rangoon, and touching at the new settlement of Amherst, arrived at Calcutta on the 21st February, 1827.

It is much to be regretted, that Mr. Crawford should have accepted the Commercial Treaty offered to him by the Burmese; indeed it is said, the Court of Ava never considered it as a Treaty, but as an "*Akhwen-dau*" or royal license, which they usually style it. This Treaty concedes to the King of Ava the right of prohibiting the free exportation of the precious metals, as well as of levying "Royal and all *customary* duties on our vessels and trade." The free exportation of the precious metals is not prohibited by the Treaty of Yandabo, and if Mr. Crawford, instead of pressing the Burmese negotiators so earnestly to permit, what it was not certain they had a right to forbid, had taken up another ground, and questioned their right to prohibit it, maintaining, that there was nothing in the Treaty of Yandabo to authorize such an obstruction to the opening of the "gold and silver road," perhaps he would have gained the point for which every other object of his Mission appears to have been sacrificed. It is to be regretted also, that Mr. Crawford had not, during his stay at Ava, endeavoured to maintain a more regular and frequent correspondence with Sir Archibald Campbell, and to persuade that officer to remain at Rangoon with the British Army, until such time as he heard that a suitable Commercial Treaty had been signed; for which purpose, four or five *dak* boats manned by Bengal lascars might have been employed. It is well known, that the Burmese Court kept up a regular and almost daily correspondence with their officers near Rangoon, and knew the moment when the British General left it.

The King finding the impossibility of collecting the amount of the third instalment within the specified time, consulted Mr. Lane, an English merchant residing at Ava, on the probable consequences of breaking his engagement. In reply, Mr. Lane explained the nature of treaties,

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P. 311.

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P. 339 of Mr Crawford's
Printed Journal of his
Embassy, 311

Article 1st and 2d of the
Treaty.

Letter from Major-General
Sir A. Campbell to Mr.
Secretary Swinton, dated
20th February, 1827.

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Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 9th March, 1827.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Swinton to Major-General Sir A. Campbell, dated 12th April, 1827.

Letters from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 8th and 17th Dec. 1826.

Translation of a document received from the Burman Ambassadors at Fort William, dated 11th April, 1827. Note by the Deputy Persian Secretary to Government, dated 26th April, 1827. Answer to the paper of Requests by the Burman Ambassadors, dated 28th April, and letter from Mr. Secretary Swinton to Major-General Sir A. Campbell, dated 9th May, 1827.

but expressed himself ignorant of the steps which the Supreme Government might adopt, and hinted in plain terms at the forfeiture of Rangoon. His replies tended much to impress the Court with a sense of the necessity of fulfilling their engagement, as well as of the justice and power of the British Government. His Majesty, therefore, proposed to pay interest on the overdue instalment, for which purpose, almost immediately after Mr. Crawford's departure from Ava, the King, in defiance of the newly formed treaty, gave an Armenian merchant named Sarkies Manook, the entire monopoly of all export trade, and laid a duty on all British goods brought into the port of Rangoon, although not intended to be landed, with the proceeds of which monopoly the Armenian bound himself to pay the interest upon the overdue instalment, should the Supreme Government agree to accept it. These infringements of the commercial treaty were speedily relinquished at the remonstrance of Captain Rawlinson, the British agent left at Rangoon by Sir Archibald Campbell.

The second instalment was paid four days before Mr. Crawford quitted Ava, and on the 9th December, the remainder of the British army evacuated Rangoon under Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, who appointed Lieutenant Rawlinson to act as British agent at Rangoon, as well for the protection of commerce as for receiving the remaining instalments of the Tribute.

In March a Burmese Embassy arrived at Calcutta with the following objects:—

1st.—To postpone for a time the payment of the third and fourth instalments of the tribute.

2nd.—To remonstrate against our occupation of a small village near Bassein.

3rd.—To object to British officers travelling through and surveying Rajah Gumbheer Singh's territory near the Burmese boundary, and also to the occupation of the valley of Kubo by that Prince.

The Vice-President in Council objected to any delay in paying the tribute, but most judiciously referred the Commissioners to Sir Archibald Campbell for the adjustment of this question, as well as of the disputed boundary of the Burmese and Mupipore dominions, and the negotiating the release of the Assamese and Cassay captives, whose case the Governor-General thought was not present to the minds of the British Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Yandabo. The truth is, the Burmese, although they desired to retain these prisoners, never questioned our right to demand their release, and the argument, founded on the words of the 11th article of the treaty of Yandabo, that they did not provide for the case of these captives, was first adduced by Mr. Crawford. The Burmese never referred to that article, and even if they had, Major-General Sir A. Campbell's proposal to meet it, by founding our right upon the 6th article, which provides that no person whatever, whether native or foreign, is hereafter to be molested by either party on account of the part which he may have taken, or been compelled to take, during the war would have been successful at Ava.

The Ambassadors arrived at Moulmein on the 3rd June, and had seven-

ral meetings with Sir Archibald Campbell, in all of which they evinced an extraordinary dread of committing themselves, and an indecision of purpose, which induced them to renounce to-morrow what they had agreed to to-day. They however pleaded their inability to make good their payments to us, and unblushingly denied the existence of any prisoners within the Burmese dominions. At length, they promised to sign an agreement to pay the third instalment within 130 days, and to deliver up all prisoners to a British officer to be deputed to Ava for that purpose; but on the following day, after dining with the General, they objected to the article concerning the prisoners *in toto*, and gave a written declaration of their inability to treat on that subject, for which they were well frightened and threatened with the fate of Tippoo in vain. Finally, they gave a bond to complete the third instalment within 50 days from the 4th September, 1827, and the fourth instalment within 50 days from the 31st August, 1828, and returned to Rangoon, no doubt delighted at their escape.

In June, 1827, the Supreme Government removed a prohibition which Major-General Sir A. Campbell had issued, preventing British subjects from importing fire arms to Rangoon for sale. The reasons which induced the Government to desire the Major-General to discontinue this interdiction were just and valid; but it is much to be regretted that he, knowing how ardently the Burmese at this time were desiring to supply themselves with fire-arms, and how much they had been willing to concede to Mr. Crawford for a free traffic in fire-arms, did not endeavour to obtain some return from the Court of Ava, for what they considered as a very great boon. In November the Governor-General in Council discovering how totally impracticable it was to ascertain the number of persons, natives of Arracan, Assam, Cachar, &c. supposed to be detained captive at Ava, or to obtain any information sufficiently accurate to enable us to claim the parties, and advertent to a statement made by the officer in charge of Sandoway, that the Burmese do not appear to exercise any restraint over the inhabitants of the adjoining territories who had accompanied them to Ava, expressed to Major-General Sir A. Campbell an opinion, that without some more positive proof than was then possessed, we must be satisfied with the assurances which the Government of Ava should be required to give us that they will not oppose any obstacle to the return of natives of Assam, Manipore, Cachar, Sylhet, Chittagong and Arracan, who may have been carried off during the war and desired to return to their homes. The Major-General was, at the same time informed, that whenever he obtained any certain information of the detention of our subjects, natives of any district of Bengal, he was to consider himself authorized to demand their release: but that officer having obtained a promise from the Burmese authorities that all such prisoners as remained should be delivered over to a British officer, Lieutenant Rawlinson was deputed to Ava to receive them, where he arrived on the 22d February.

In the mean time, as it never was the intention of the Burmese Government to part with so valuable an acquisition as these unfortunate people proved to be, they were conveyed into the interior of the country, so that after a strict search Lieutenant Rawlinson could not discover a single individual that had been captured during the war.

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Minutes by Governor-General, dated 12th May, 1827, and Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 16th July, 1827, and 28th October, 1827.

Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 11th June, 1827, with enclosures.

Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 7th May, and reply dated 22d June, 1827.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Swinton to Major-General Sir A. Campbell, dated 23d November, 1827.

Letters from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 28th October, and 26th and 28th December, 1827, 21st January, 1827, and 12th April, 1827.

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Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Stirling, dated 20th May, 1828.

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There are hundreds of captive Cassayers now in Ava and living within 500 yards of the Residency, besides many others scattered over different parts of the kingdom, the majority of these however were taken during former wars, and have become naturalized.

Letters from Mr. Secretary Swinton to Major-General Sir A. Campbell, dated 15th June, 1827, 23d November, 1827, and 20th December, 1827; and to Mr. Commissioner Tucker, dated 23d November, 1827, and 28th December, 1827.

Letters from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 19th and 20th July, 1827, 20th October, 1827, 12th December, 1827, and 26th December, 1827.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Stirling to Major-General Sir A. Campbell, with enclosures, dated 13th June, 1828; and Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Stirling, dated 20th May, 1828, with enclosures. Letters from Mr. Commissioner Tucker to Mr. Secretary Stirling, dated 23d March and 15th April, 1828.

Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Stirling, dated 20th May and 10th July, 1828. From Mr. Secretary Swinton to Captains Grant and Pemberton, dated 8th August, 1828, 13th September, 3d October, 1828. Letter from Captains Grant and Pemberton to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 17th November, 1828, with enclosures.

Letter from Major-General Sir A. Campbell to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 7th April, 1828, with enclosures.

A dispute having occurred between the states of Ava and Manipore regarding a slip of territory lying between a line of hills and the Khyendwen river styled the Kubo Valley, the Governor-General, after hearing such evidence respecting it as could be brought forward at the time, determined that the Khyendwen river was the true and ancient boundary, thus depriving the Burmese of the Valley which before the late war was in their possession. The Burmese court objected strongly to the line of boundary selected by the Supreme Government, and at length it was settled between Major-General Sir A. Campbell and the Viceroy of Rangoon, that officers should be deputed by each state to meet on the Khyendwen river, and amicably settle the future boundary between Ava and Manipore. The Supreme Government appointed Captains Grant and Pemberton as the British Commissioners, and Lieutenant Montmorency of the 3d Regiment Madras Cavalry was deputed to Ava, in order to accompany the Commissioners who might be appointed by the Court of Ava, and to bear dispatches from Sir A. Campbell to the British Commissioners, when they met on the frontiers of Manipore at the appointed time, early in the month of February, 1828. Captain Montmorency arrived at Ava, in company with Lieutenant Rawlinson; he remained four days unnoticed; at length he set out in the train of the Burmese Commissioner for the place of meeting, which he reached in the end of March, nearly two months beyond the appointed time. The season was now too far advanced, and in consequence of the setting-in of the rains, the place became unhealthy, and Captains Grant and Pemberton, who had been waiting there many days, were obliged to retire to a more healthy spot, two days' journey from the Valley, where they intended to await the arrival of the Burmese Commissioner, having left persons in the Valley to carry them the news of his approach. Lieutenant Montmorency, however, not finding the Manipore Commissioners at the appointed place, and having much reason to be dissatisfied with the manner in which the Burmese were treating him, left the Burmese Commissioner to manage for himself, and returned, without waiting for the arrival of Captains Grant and Pemberton. The Burmese Commissioner also appears to have persuaded him to admit the correctness of a Burmese map, in which a large river, which had no existence in reality, was drawn to the westward of Kubo Valley. This it was maintained, was the Ningthi river and true boundary between Ava and Manipore, and it was denied that the Khyendwen in any part of its course bore the appellation of Ningthi. Captain Pemberton immediately exposed the inaccuracy of this Burmese map, which was evidently forged in order to deceive the Supreme Government, to which another copy of it however was sent in November, 1829.

In the early part of February, 1828, some of the English merchants of Rangoon petitioned Sir A. Campbell against alleged extortions in the Burmese Custom House and Post charges, for which, however, there was not much foundation. One of these merchants went to the Rangoon

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Woongyee's house, treated him with disrespect and used indecorous language also towards the Supreme Government. Rangoon has long been notorious as an asylum for fraudulent debtors and violent and unprincipled characters from every part of India, and the only way of keeping this description of persons in order, and preventing them from disgracing the British character, impairing British interests, and disturbing the good understanding which now subsists between the British and Burmese Governments, would be by the Supreme Government maintaining always a British officer at that port, and conferring upon him the same judicial powers as are entrusted to British consuls at Constantinople and in the Barbary states.

November.—For months past the inhabitants of Moulmein had been kept in a state of alarm and excitement by the incursions of robbers from the town and province of Martaban, and the frequent and urgent remonstrances both of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Commissioner Maingy being attended with no relief, the latter gentleman, by order of the Governor-General, wrote a final remonstrance to the Court of Ava and to the Woongyee of Rangoon, informing them, that if they could not keep their frontiers quiet, we must do it for them, and that if on the next aggression of Burmese subjects, the offenders were not surrendered to our demand, a British force would be sent over to seize them within the Burmese territory. This remonstrance shared the fate of the former, and another violent outrage having been perpetrated, and the offenders not being surrendered to our demand, a detachment of British troops was immediately sent over to Martaban to seize them. On the crossing over of our troops, the Martaban authorities and inhabitants fled into the interior, the place was evacuated, and the offenders were not arrested; but some Taliens, who accompanied the detachment, unauthorizedly set fire to the town, which was totally consumed.

Letter from Mr. Commissioner Maingy to Mr. Secretary Princep, dated 26th March, 1829, with reply and enclosure, dated 27th March. Letters from Mr. Commissioner Maingy to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 11th April, 17th October, 19th October, and 13th November, 1829, with enclosures.

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This was the most wise and energetic measure which the British Government ever adopted against the Burmese, and no doubt all the quiet and freedom from depredations which the inhabitants of Moulmein have enjoyed since December, 1829, are entirely owing to this salutary example. Although the town of Martaban was accidentally burnt, the accident was not to be regretted, inasmuch as it rendered the example more signal and complete. The fame of this proceeding spread through all the neighbouring countries, and greatly raised in their estimation the character and power of the British Government.

MAJOR BURNEY'S MISSION.

At length, in conformity with the 7th article of the treaty of Yandabo, providing for the establishment of a Resident at the Court of Ava, on the 31st December, 1829, Major Burney, of the 25th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, was appointed to that office, with the following instructions.

1st.—To reside permanently at the Court of Ava as British Resident, and, to open communications by dāk with our newly acquired provinces of Moulmein and Arracan.

2d.—To remonstrate against the delay in paying the fourth instalment of the tribute, which by the treaty of Yandabo should have been completed

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by the month of February, 1828, and by an after engagement made at Moulmein between Sir Archibald Campbell and the Burmese Envoys, was postponed till September of the same year, but was not yet paid.

3rd.—To protect the British frontiers from Burmese aggression, to encourage commerce, and to observe the feeling of the Burmese Government consequent upon the destruction of Martaban, and to gather any useful information relating to the Court of Ava, &c.

4th.—To adjust the boundary dispute between the states of Ava and Munipore, and to ascertain what equivalent the Burmese Government would be willing to give, in exchange for the Tenasserim Provinces, which the home Government had ordered to be retroceded; and generally, for the settlement of such other questions as may arise.

Letter of Instructions from Mr. Chief Secretary Swinton to Major Burney, dated 31st December, 1829.

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Par. 1st and 4th of Major Burney's Journal of his Mission.

April 23d.—At *Let Tshoung-yoo* village, about 1½ mile below the capital, Major Burney was met by the Senior Woondouck and a Tsarè-dau-gyee, who informed him that a deputation of Ministers of State would receive him on the morrow, and on arriving at Ava the next day, he was welcomed by the same deputation as received Mr. Crawford.

Par. 13th of Major Burney's Journal.

May 1st.—The Padein Woongyee, two Atwen-woons and a Woondouck waited upon him and were persuaded to meet him at his own house, and not at a temporary shed as on former occasions. These officers said, they had been appointed to discuss all matters of business with him, and requested to see the Governor-General's letter; but Major Burney refused to produce it, except in the presence of the assembled Woongyees, thus at the outset objecting to intermediate and secondary agents, and endeavouring to open a direct communication with the whole of the Ministers of State, whose duty it would be to consider and decide upon his propositions. They objected to this on the grounds of its not being the custom, &c., but he insisted upon seeing all the Ministers of State, either at the Lhwottau, or some other place.

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Par. 22d of Major Burney's Journal.

May 4th.—Met the Woongyees in full Divan at the Younm-dau, which he ascended with his shoes on, followed by his native escort with their side arms. After the usual preliminaries, Major Burney delivered his letters, discussed some minor points, and presented a memorial, praying His Majesty to dispense with the ceremony of removing his shoes in the royal presence, and to receive him in the same manner as the King of Siam had done. Major Burney was in great hopes, that as the distance at which former British Envoys had been made to unslipper, had been gradually reduced from the palace gate to the foot of the hall of audience steps, that with a little management the remaining space between the steps and the hall itself might have been dispensed with. It is necessary here to explain, that this custom of removing shoes is carried to an extraordinary and most disagreeable extent at Ava. You must not be seen by the King any where, even in the high way, with your shoes. You are requested to remove them, not as in other Indian Courts just before you enter a room or step upon a fine carpet, but in the dirt and filth or hard gravel of public streets, a hundred paces before you come to the spot where the King may be sitting. Notwithstanding the good effect produced on this Court by the recent destruction of Martaban, Major Burney thought they were not yet sufficiently humbled.

May 19th.—The Ministers* met at Major Burney's house, and a discussion of three hours duration ensued, relative to the ceremonials of his presentation; they wished him to be received on a "*kodau*" or beg pardon day, and to unslipper, both of which he refused to do. On the 20th and 21st, Mr. Lanciagio, the Rangoon Shabunder, and one of the Ministers, called to know his determination on the above discussion. He continued firm not to unslipper, and informed them that any attempt to smuggle him into a "*kodau*" audience would be considered as an insult offered to the Governor-General. Mr. Lanciagio, who speaks English imperfectly, misinterpreted the above message to the Woongyees, who took offence, and refused either to see Major Burney again, or to receive any communication from him. His Majesty also insisted upon the removal of his shoes, and his being presented on a "*kodau*" day. This, however, Major Burney was resolved to resist, and having made several fruitless attempts at reconciliation, on the 27th on the plea of ill health and the inutility of remaining at Ava unnoticed, he applied for boats to enable him to quit the capital.

June 1st.—At this time the Men-tha-gyee Prince was employed in drawing up a set of frivolous charges against the Resident; the Ministers would neither answer his letter nor grant boats to convey him from the capital, and he could hire none without their consent. The King would not see him except on a "*kodau*" day, and without his shoes. Major Burney being without the means of quitting the capital, and finding that he could not remain under existing circumstances so as to be useful to the Government, chose the lesser of two evils, and resolved to concede the point of the shoes, and, as he could not now communicate with the Ministers direct, he availed himself of the friendly assistance of Mr. Lane, the English gentleman before mentioned, who had resided at Ava ever since the war, and possessed at this time considerable influence over the Court, which, at Major Burney's request, he exerted in making those explanations which were required to effect a reconciliation, just as affairs were assuming an unpleasant aspect.

The Woongyees having assured the King of Major Burney's willingness to be presented as former envoys had been, the two Woongyees, Atwen-woons, &c., obtained permission to visit him again, and at this interview he conceded the point of the shoes, upon condition of not being presented on a *kodau* day. They were happy to compromise the affair, and consented to lay his desire before the King, to whom they afterwards reported, that Major Burney was too unwell to attend the *kodau* day of audience. Had the King been apprized of the Resident's determination not to be presented on that day, there is no question that he would have refused to see him at all. On the day Major Burney and the Ministers were reconciled, they requested him to explain the objects of his Mission, which he did, and strongly urged the payment of the fourth instalment. The Ministers were very sore at the destruction of Martaban, which they were informed was an accident, against which it was their duty to have guarded, and to which the town of Men-dorin on the Arracan frontier, as well as Martaban, would be liable, if they took no means to prevent depredations and incursions into our territories.

* Two Woongyees, two Atwen—Woons Woondoucks, Tare-dau-gyees, &c. &c.

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They then claimed a Talain Chief, who had fled to Moulmein and pre-
faced their demand with the question, "are not the enemies of the
English the enemies of the Burmese?" and *vice versé*, which Major Bur-
ney answered in the negative and instanced the state of Siam. After
some further discussion, the meeting broke up. On the 3rd, the same
Ministers produced a letter which they had just received from Munipore,
dated in English "15th May, 1830," declaring that after forty days all per-
sons found to the westward of the Khyendwen, would be considered
and treated as subjects of Gumbheer Sing; a declaration which they
feared, if persisted in, would lead to a war. Before Major Burney
arrived at Ava, the Supreme Government had received and entirely ap-
proved of a report from Captains Grant and Pemberton of a second confer-
ence which they had had in the month of January, 1830, with some Burmese
Commissioners on the frontiers of Munipore, and of their having planted
flags and fixed the Khyendwen river as the future boundary between
Ava and that state. Kubo Valley was accordingly settled to the satis-
faction of Gumbheer Sing as his territory. At that conference, the chief
Burmese Commissioner, Woondouk, Moung-Khan-Yé, had contented
himself with denying the assertions of our Commissioners, refusing
to hear their witnesses, and declaring, without attempting to produce
any proof, that the disputed slip of territory lying between the Ungooch-
ing hills and the Khyendwen river, called by us Kubo Valley and by
the Burmese the territory of Thouangthwot, had been in their undisputed
possession for a period of *two thousand years*. Our Commissioners, how-
ever, considered themselves bound by their orders from the Supreme
Government to fix the Khyendwen river as the boundary, and in spite of
all the Burmese Commissioner's protests, remonstrances, and even
threats, they carried their orders into effect. The report which the Bur-
mese Commissioners made to the Ministers at Ava excited great dissatis-
faction, and believing that what our Commissioners had done at the con-
ference was unauthorized, and not to be considered as final, the Court of
Ava had resolved upon deputing Envoys to Bengal to complain of the
conduct of our Commissioners, and substantiate the claims of Ava to the
Kubo Valley, when intelligence was received of Major Burney's ap-
pointment as Resident at their Court. Major Burney found the Court
and particularly the King, highly dissatisfied with the reported conduct
of our Munipore Commissioners, and determined not to acquiesce in the
loss of the Kubo Valley; he therefore, agreeably to his instructions, per-
suaded the Ministers to allow him to invite Lieutenant Pemberton to
join him at Ava, in order to explain to them the grounds on which Gum-
bheer Sing claimed the Valley of Kubo. The Ministers had refused per-
mission to Mr. Crawford to communicate in any way with our officers
in Munipore, but they now readily promised to forward a letter from
Major Burney, and to conduct Lieutenant Pemberton to Ava in a suita-
ble manner. At this meeting between the Burmese Ministers and Major
Burney, Woondouk Moung-Khan-Yé who had lately returned from Mu-
nipore was convicted of a gross falsehood. The Ministers then requested
to see the Governor-General's letter to the King, but Major Burney
refused to produce it, until they promised to persuade His Majesty to
answer it in his own name, to which, after much trouble, they agreed.

The "*kodau*" audience took place; but Major Burney did not attend. On the 9th the negotiators dined with him, and informed him that the King had issued the necessary orders for paying the fourth instalment, and for keeping the frontiers quiet and secure.

16th.—Since the above date several fruitless attempts have been made to settle the ceremony of Major Burney's introduction, and this day the Ministers waited upon him, and proposed that he should "*shiko*" to the palace, and leave his shoes outside the palace compound, both of which he refused to do; and it was afterwards agreed that he should unslipper at the palace steps as Mr. Crawford had done, that the Governor-General's letter should be carried upon a golden tray, and a translation of it, as delivered by Major Burney, read in his Majesty's presence, who should answer it in a suitable manner in his own name, the Governor-General to be styled the "*Angaleit Men*, or English Chief, who rules over India and "the great countries to the westward;"—and as the Ministers objected to Major Burney again ascending the "*Youmdau*" with his shoes on, a small shed was to be erected for him as a receiving room, previous to entering the palace yard. The 17th was fixed for the presentation, and elephants and horses were sent for his accommodation. The necessary arrangements being completed, and the presents made, the most of "the procession," attended by some Tsare-dau-gyees, moved on to the eastern gate of the palace, where Major Burney discovered, that, Burmah-like, a suitable shed had not been erected, and they wished him to enter a small one on the ground floor, which he refused to do. The Myawadi-Woongyee then took him to a place which he called "a lesser Youm," where he was kept waiting for two hours, as his predecessors had been, until the Princes and principal officers of state had passed in. He was then conducted to the palace, at the steps of which he unslipped as agreed upon. He found the Court assembled in full dress, and in a few minutes the King appeared, and seated himself upon his throne. His Majesty enquired after the Governor-General's health, but the question was put in such an ambiguous manner, that it was doubtful whether he referred to the Governor-General, or to the King of England. The letter was then read aloud, together with a list of the presents, and after an interview of 10 or 12 minutes, the King retired, and Major Burney having received some trifling presents, returned home.

19th.—The Ministers hoped he was satisfied with his audience, and appointed the 24th for his visit to the Heir-Apparent. Major Burney then informed them, that by his orders he could not receive the presents, but they could neither discover the sense nor the principle upon which he refused to take them in a quiet way. They then begged he would postpone the payment of the fourth instalment until February next; but he objected to this delay, and they promised to procure him a private audience of the King, at which he might mention his complaints both upon this subject, and, some recently imposed obstructions upon the Arracan trade. On the 22d, another long discussion upon the Munipore boundary occurred, and on the 24th and subsequent days, he visited the Heir-Apparent and other Princes of the blood; at which nothing particular occurred.

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July 23d.—Between the above and the present date, Major Burney received several visits and communications from the Ministers, who have always evinced much anxiety to recover the Ceded Provinces, which they had heard were a great expense to the British Government, and this day, at their instigation, Mr. Lansiao sounded him upon their gratuitous restoration, believing such to be the principal object of his Mission, and that delicacy had hitherto prevented him from broaching the subject.

26th.—Received another audience of the King, and a day or two afterwards, obtained permission to pay friendly visits to the Woongyees, as often as he wished, and without removing his shoes. He, however, afterwards removed them on entering the inner apartments, out of respect to the ladies. This permission to visit all the Ministers at their private houses, whenever he wished to do so, must be considered as one of the most important of concessions, for the intimacy and friendship which it created between Major Burney and the Ministers, and the frequent opportunities which it afforded of amicable conversation between them, enabled him to carry many other points, as well as to feel his way, and quietly to give suitable explanations and instructions to the leading Ministers, before any public question was officially brought forward at the Lhwottau.

August 7th.—Attended a royal feast in honor of a large block of marble, which was to be hewn into a Burmese God, and as a Woongyee consented to conduct Major Burney, he agreed to perform whatever ceremonials were performed by the Woongyee; advantage, as usual, was taken of this concession, and the Woongyee removed his shoes on the high road the moment he saw the building in which their Majesties were, and Major Burney was obliged to unslipper and walk a distance of 80 feet through sand to the shed erected for their Majesties, who had not yet presented themselves.

12th.—Lieutenant Pemberton arrived at Ava this day. In the invitation which Major Burney had sent to this officer, he was requested not to avail himself of it, without a previous reference to the Supreme Government, to which Major Burney had reported his proceedings at Ava, pointing out the inconvenience of further inquiries and discussion, and the advantage of communicating at once its determination, that the Khyendiwen river should be the boundary. Lieutenant Pemberton, however, confident that the Burmese Ministers could not refute the grounds on which Gumbheer Sing claimed the Kubo Valley, and believing that his means of information would enable him to assist Major Burney to disprove the assertions, and answer the arguments of the Burmese Ministers, did not wait the result of the reference to Bengal, but quitted Muni-pore on the receipt of Major Burney's letter.

The Burmese have always shewn a rancorous hatred to the Munipoorees, and no sooner did they learn that Lieutenant Pemberton was approaching the capital with a good number of followers of that nation, than they immediately requested that the Munipoorees might be ordered to halt a few miles below the capital, which was done; two or three days afterwards, however, at Major Burney's request, they were permitted to come up.

Letter from Major Burney to Major Grant and Captain Pemberton, dated 5th June, 1830.

15th.—Lieutenant Pemberton was this day presented at Court. The feeling continued very strong both against himself and the Muniporees, whose champion he was considered to be. The Woondouk Moung-Khan-Yè, had also prejudiced the Ministers against him, and His Majesty looked very serious, until Lieutenant Pemberton presented him with a handsome gun, and evinced a disposition to be friendly and conciliatory. On this occasion an Assamese, Siamese, and Arracanese prince were ostentatiously displayed.

16th.—Major Burney and Lieutenant Pemberton held their first conference with the Ministers on the subject of the Munipore boundary, when the latter exposed the barefaced fabrication of the Burmese maps, and the duplicity and falsehoods of the Woondouk Moung-Khan-Yè, who, Burmah-like, had asserted that at the conference of 1830, the Munipore Commissioners gave him but one interview instead of four.

21st.—A discussion on the Munipore boundary took place on the 18th, and on this day the Ministers called on Major Burney to shew to him and Lieutenant Pemberton, extracts from their ancient records and historical works by which the claim of Ava to Kubo Valley could be traced back regularly to a very ancient date. They produced also the original writings, and allowed Major Burney to verify their extracts. At this discussion one most important fact in favor of Ava was established. Our Commissioners in Munipore dwelt strongly upon an old Shan Chronicle, which stated that the first possession of Kubo Valley by Munipore arose out of a cession made to it of that territory by a King of Pong or Mogoung in the year 1475. The Burmese Ministers, however, produced their historical records, to shew that 39 years *before* the King of Pong made such cession, he himself had been conquered and rendered tributary to Ava, to which state Pong, or as the Burmese call it Mogoung, had, not only before 1475, but repeatedly after that date, been subject. The establishment of this fact delighted the Burmese Ministers, and determined them more than ever to appeal to the justice of the Governor-General against the decision by which Kubo Valley had been conferred on Gumbheer Sing.

25th.—Munipore discussions renewed. The Ministers wished the Governor-General to depose Gumbheer and raise Marjeet Singh to the throne of Munipore; they also avowed their expectation of getting back the Tenasserim Provinces, so soon as the tribute should be paid, and pretended to be much surprised on learning the contrary. They then again agitated the Saluen boundary question, which Major Burney declared both Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Crawford to have finally settled. His Majesty was exceedingly annoyed at being obliged to submit his claim to Kubo to the decision of the Governor-General, whom he had so frequently refused to acknowledge as his equal, and the principal Woongyee, Moungza, after some remonstrance from Major Burney, was heard to exclaim "that except for the late war, he would not have condescended to speak to him."

28th.—The Muniporees were prohibited from entering the town, but two days afterwards, on Major Burney's remonstrance, the order was revoked to give them an opportunity of purchasing necessities for their

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return trip. In the intervening days, Major Burney and Lieutenant Pemberton visited the Royal boat races and Water Palace.

September 6th.—Lieutenant Pemberton received audience of leave, at which he was introduced to Petumber Sing, nephew of Gumbheer Sing, and Major Burney obtained permission to establish an overland dāk to Calcutta viâ Arracan, an object of great importance. On the following day, he paid his first visit to the Lhwottau, removing his shoes at the foot of the steps as the first Ministers of state always do, and going in and taking his seat in the midst of them on terms of perfect equality. The King was now in a gracious mood, and was pleased at Lieutenant Pemberton's request, urged by Major Burney, to grant the release of two Muniore captives as a special mark of his Royal favor. On the 8th the Kyee-Woongyee and other Ministers dined with Major Burney by regular invitation, and since this date all the Ministers of state have dined at the Residency in a friendly and unceremonious way, whenever they have been invited. This was another point gained towards establishing a greater intimacy between himself and the Ministers; and facilitating materially all public business; and it is necessary to add, that no Woongyee had ever before dined at the house of a British officer.

13th.—Captain Pemberton quitted Ava this morning, having permission to proceed by the overland route to Deng, which, as he was known to belong to the Survey Department, afforded an additional proof of the good feeling of the Burmese Court towards us at this time. This officer's visit to Ava unfortunately tended to satisfy the Burmese Court of its right to the Valley of Kubo, and consequently of the injustice of the Governor-General's decision in favor of Gumbheer Sing. The Ministers treated him, on his departure, therefore, with a far kindlier feeling than they had evinced on his first arrival.

The difficulties and merits of the Kubo question are fully shewn in Major Burney's letter to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 5th July, 1832, in which, after a long and most laborious research into the ancient records of the country, and a consideration of concurrent and circumstantial testimony, the right of Ava to the disputed territory is fully established on the following grounds.

1st.—The Kingdom of Pong or Mogoung, upon a cession from which in the year 1475, Muniore first occupied the Kubo Valley, was proved to have been conquered by, and tributary to, Ava, 33 years before that date.

2nd.—The historical and other records of Ava shew, that Kubo Valley, distinct and separate from the Kingdom of Muniore, had been, for a long series of years, considered as a part of the Empire of Ava.

3rd.—Kubo Valley, distinct from Muniore, was in the uninterrupted possession of Ava for a period of 12 years before the late war.

Mr. Crawford's Commercial Treaty gave the Burmese Government no right to levy duties on the overland trade viâ Arracan or Moulmein, and for two or three years after the war, no duties were charged on the Arracan traders, who, consequently were enabled to under-sell the British

merchants, who imported their goods to Ava via Rangoon, where the duties are very heavy. A British merchant complained of this preference, and led the Men-tha-gyee Prince to levy duties to a most injurious extent upon the Arracan trade, Major Burney remonstrated with this gentleman, on the impropriety of his interference, and after some discussion, he agreed to assist in getting the Arracan duties placed upon a proper footing; and on the 15th Major Burney held a long discussion on this subject at the Lhwottau, at which the Ministers admitted that by Mr. Crawford's Treaty they had no right to tax this branch of trade, and finally agreed to draw up a scale of duties for his approval, to be levied at Ava. It was also settled that British subjects should make their complaints through the Resident, and that he might attend the Lhwottau whenever he had any business to transact. On the 20th, a discussion took place relative to a suspected intrigue to place the brother of an Assamese Princess (one of His Majesty's ladies) on the throne of Assam, but which could not be proved, and the Ministers admitted the advantage of having a British Resident at their Court, which, they said, prevented the accumulation of petty, unfounded charges, and was a means of preserving peace and friendship. Major Burney then complained against some of their frontier officers harbouring dacoits, urged the speedy payment of the fourth instalment, and obtained permission to export gram, wheat, and copper from Rangoon, which had been prohibited by the Woongyee of that place. On the 23rd a long and angry discussion took place upon the subject of the Arracan duties, and was repeated on the 25th.

Major Burney, by his instructions, had been directed to engage the Court of Ava to send a Resident to Calcutta, and shortly after his arrival, the Ministers apprised him of the King's intention to do so, chiefly for the purpose of supporting his claims to the Kubo Valley. To induce the Ministers to send their Envoys by the overland route of Arracan, Major Burney engaged to appoint his Assistant, Lieutenant George Burney, to accompany them, and to apply for a steam vessel to meet them at Akyab. When Lieutenant George Burney was appointed to accompany them, he applied for permission to use a gilt chattach, to place him upon a footing of equality with these Officers.

28th.—Major Burney had been invited to attend the boat races, but the Ministers were too busy to recollect their invitation. On the following day, he remonstrated against their neglect, and this morning a gilt war boat and two common ones conveyed himself and suite to the Water Palace. On receiving audience, he was informed that an application, which he had previously submitted to attend the King's levee once in eight or ten days, was now granted, as well as a title, gilt chattach, and pony, to Lieutenant Burney.

October 4th.—Major Burney had already made many applications for an authentic copy of the reply which the Ministers proposed to send to the Governor-General in the name of the King, and this day he repeated his request. The Ministers refused to give it, on the plea of its not being customary. He then objected to his Assistant Lieutenant Burney accompanying the Envoys until he was satisfied not only of the respectful

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tenor of the letter, but of its being written in the King's name, upon which they acquiesced. On the 8th after many previous discussions and delays, the Arracan duties were fixed at ten per cent. for the King, and half per cent. for the local officers on imports. No export duty whatever to be charged. These duties remain to the present day.

October 9th.—The Burmese Envoys, accompanied by Lieutenant G. Burney, quitted Ava, *en route* to Bengal, bearing a letter from the King to the Governor-General, who is styled the "*Angaleit Men*," or English Chief, as had been agreed upon between Major Burney and the Ministers, in June.*

14th.—Major Burney attended the Lhwottau, and complained to the Ministers of the many extortions and obstructions to trade; nothing was settled, except that they were to meet again on the 17th, when he was also to receive an audience of the King. On reaching the Lhwottau on that day, none of the Ministers were present to receive him, and he returned home. They afterwards sent an apology, and begged he would return, which he did, and received an audience of His Majesty, who two days afterwards invited him to the Elephant Palace.

21st.—Major Burney was now in high favor with His Majesty, and consequently so with the whole Court. He was informed by the Ministers, that the King had ordered him to be furnished with a copy of the fixed chokey duties at Ava. On the 25th they denied ever having said so, and promised to lay his request before the King that day; but as usual they did not keep their promise. On the 28th, he held another and very long discussion with them on the retrocession of the Tenasserim Provinces and Arracan, in exchange for Negrais Island, &c.; but the King had determined not to part with one inch of territory in exchange for these Provinces, and on Major Burney mentioning that it was possible the Siamese might eventually make us an offer for them, the Atwen-Woon Mounge Yeet, threatened to wrest them from that State. On the 30th, the Ministers dined with him, and the above discussion was renewed; the Atwen-Woon mentioned the numerous favors which the King had bestowed upon Major Burney, as an argument in favor of the gratuitous restoration of Tenasserim.

November 3d.—Met the Ministers at Lhwottau, and settled the rate of duties chargeable on merchandize and boats leaving Ava; repeated his visit on the 4th, and applied for a copy of the chokey duties, which was refused. On the 6th, two of the Ministers dined with him, and appointed the following day for an audience of the King; but when he arrived at the Palace, they informed him that the King did no business on a wet day, and requested him to come again to-morrow, if it did not rain. On the 9th, he attended at the Lhwottau, and re-urged the punishment of the *Mapáá* Myo-thoogyee, who had been assisting and encouraging robbers on the Arracan frontier. He also urged the settlement of a Mogul merchant's claim, and other minor business. On the following day he received an audience, at which the King ordered a title and gold chain, a Burmese badge of honor and distinction, to be prepared for him. The Ministers

* This was the first time that an appropriate letter, and in the name of the King of Ava himself, was sent to the Governor-General of India.

again promised him a copy of the chokey duties, but on sending for it this day, they again refused to give it. This being the second time they had deceived him, he memorialized the King upon the subject, and enclosed the letter to the Atwen-Woons; the Woongyees refused to forward it and returned it by the clerk. Major Burney then proceeded in person to the Lhwottau, but found no one there to receive him; he therefore left the letter with the officer commanding the guard and returned home. On the 13th he remonstrated through the treasurer, and refused to hold any further intercourse with the Ministers, unless they apologized for their conduct: but on the 15th instead of apologizing they pretended to be offended with him, for sending a letter to the Atwen-Woons through them. Two days afterwards, they sent an excuse that that they were very busy when the clerk brought the letter. Major Burney, however, refused to receive such an apology as this, and wrote a statement of the insult to the King. On the 18th they sent a second excuse by a Tsaré-dangyee, which he also refused, and on the 21st a suitable apology was made by a Woon-douk, and the affair terminated.

24th.—Held a friendly meeting with the Ministers, who wished to interdict the transmission of specie from one part of the Burmah dominions to the other, in addition to the prohibition against exporting it from the country; this Major Burney objected to as being contrary to treaty and ancient custom, and proposed to them to allow the transportation of bullion from the country on payment of a small duty. He then obtained a list of the chokey duties, for which he had so frequently and perseveringly fought.

On the 25th, Dr. Richardson, Surgeon to the Civil Commissioner at Moulmein, arrived at Ava, having been ordered hither in consequence of the long impaired and declining state of Major Burney's health. Shortly after a dispute occurred on the Manipore frontier, and Major Burney anxious to obtain a knowledge of the overland route of that portion of the country through which no European had ever before travelled, proposed to the Ministers to depute Dr. Richardson on the part of Ava to the Kubo Valley, and there in conjunction with the Commissioner of Manipore and the Burmese frontier officers, to investigate certain complaints preferred against the Manipore frontier officers and others. The Ministers gladly availed themselves of Major Burney's offer, but being particularly jealous of Europeans travelling through the interior of their country, they objected to Dr. Richardson going overland. This objection, if persisted in, would have defeated Major Burney's object, he therefore told the Ministers, that he could not persuade Dr. Richardson, so soon to take another long water journey, and rather than lose his services, they sacrificed their prejudices and gave up the point, by which the Supreme Government obtained a knowledge of a portion of country hitherto unexplored by any European, and the opinion of an eye-witness as to the impracticability of moving a military force in that direction in the event of another war. On the day after Dr. Richardson's arrival, he received an audience of the King, on which occasion, as a mark of the Royal favor, Major Burney was presented with a gold *Tsalway* and a Wondouk's title. On the 29th, they received another audience, and on both occasions,

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conducted by a Woongyee, were obliged to remove their shoes 50 or 60 feet from the shed in which His Majesty received them. Major Burney now obtained the settlement of some Mogul merchants' claims, which had been pending for a long time, and but for the presence of a British Resident, had probably still remained unadjusted. After the audience, he held a conference with the Ministers, when the Atwen-Woon desired him in speaking of the Governor-General in the presence of the King not to call him "Company Chief" but "English King,"† so that His Majesty's dignity might not be compromised, by having sent a letter and Embassy to any other than a crowned head, and requested him to expunge the word "Calcutta" from his Lordship's letter, that it might appear in their history, as if the Mission had been sent to the King of England. Major Burney repeated his former observations upon this subject, and desired them not to be alarmed for the King's dignity, and refused to lend himself to any deception practised upon the King. As a method of gaining time for the completion of the fourth instalment, the Burmese now began to dispute about the quality of the silver in which the crore ought to have been paid.

December 10th.—From the above to the present date several long discussions took place, both regarding the quality of the silver and the time of paying of the fourth instalment. Major Burney in vain urged them to exertion. Mogul and Armenian traders now frequently sought his assistance, without which they might apply for redress in vain. On this day the King laid the first stone of a large Pagoda, which ceremony Major Burney attended. He was obliged to remove his shoes on entering the enclosure of the Pagoda, as it was said to be consecrated ground, and walk over hard mud and broken bricks, which, like Mr. Crawford's audience at the Elephant Palace, was "a rough and warm reception."

13th. The tenor of dispatches lately received from Lieutenant Rawlinson at Rangoon, induced Major Burney to apply to the Lhwottau for an injunction against two persons of notoriously bad character, named Low and McCaider, who were supposed to have made away with, and appropriated to their own use, property to a considerable amount, belonging to the estate of the late Captain Sumner, who died intestate at Rangoon, they having fraudulently, it was said, constituted themselves executors to a will of their own forging, to which they affixed the deceased's name with his own hand after his death. This last charge was afterwards found to be incorrect.

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Letters from Mr. Secretary Swinton to Major Burney, dated 20th Aug.

On the 2d of January, Major Burney received a dispatch from the Chief Secretary to the Supreme Government. This was the first reply received to Major Burney's communications since his arrival at Ava, and in it his Lordship in Council was pleased to accede to that officer's request to have an establishment of gun-boats and lascars attached to the Residency. These arrived in the following month, and placed the Resident at last on an independent and proper footing. The boat establishment is the most important part of the Resident's suite; through the want of such means, Captain Cox was so long exposed to insult and derision, and Major Burney, on his first arrival at Ava, was completely helpless and unable alike to resist insult, or command attention.

* "Compance Buren."

† "Engalit Men."

18th.—Early in this month, Major Burney received an audience of the King, and held two or three discussions with the Ministers, and on this day, Dr. Richardson received an audience preparatory to starting for Kendat on the frontiers of Manipore: Major Burney applied for a gilt chattah and title for him, as a mark of the Sovereign's favour, and to ensure him the respect of the people on his journey. His Majesty likewise granted a gilt chattah to Major Burney. During this interview, the King ignorantly or impertinently styled the Governor-General the "Bengala Myo-Woon,"* against which Major Burney afterwards remonstrated. On the 19th, Dr. Richardson received a title and chattah, and on the following day started for Kendat.



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28th.—Major Burney obtained judgment against an influential Mogul merchant, who had embezzled upwards of 2,000 rupees, from the estate of a deceased Madras merchant, and which Major Burney afterwards, as a special favor, obtained the permission of the Ministers, for the brother of the deceased to export. The exportation from the country, of the estate of deceased persons, is provided for by the 8th Article of the English version of the Treaty of Yandabo, which says, that in the absence of legal heirs the property of deceased persons shall be placed in the hands of the British Resident or Consul, "*who shall dispose of the same according to the tenor of the British Law,*" but this important passage is omitted in the Burmese version.

February 24th.—Dr. Richardson returned to Ava, having completed his Mission in a most satisfactory manner, and proved the complaints of the Burmese to be either altogether unfounded, or very much exaggerated. He marched from Ava to Kendat in 11 days and reported the first 4 or 5 marches from Ava to be well cultivated and abounding with fine cattle, and the rest of the journey a mere jungle.

March 17th.—Major Burney thought he had nearly obtained the permission of the Ministers for Dr. Richardson to return to Moulmein overland via Toungoo, but on this day, they decided against it, probably owing to their inability to propose the question to the King, who had now shewn symptoms of insanity, and Major Burney had not seen him for two months.

22nd.—Notwithstanding Major Burney's urgent and frequent solicitations, the Ministers positively refused Dr. Richardson's request, they also ceased to collect money for the completion of the fourth Instalment, upon which he intimated his intention of immediately quitting the Capital and returning to Rangoon, taking great pains, however, to explain, that he should quit them for a short time only, and with the most friendly feelings. On the 24th he attended the Lhwottau; the Ministers urged him to remain, and proposed applying to the King to grant Dr. Richardson's request; he agreed to this proposition, and on the 28th, received an audience of His Majesty, who, however, refused his assent.

Major Burney now caused to be apprehended fourteen convicted criminals, who had escaped from the Arracan Jail and taken refuge

Par. 625 to 628 of Major Burney's Journal, and letter to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 8th April, 1831.

* A Myo-Woon is a Governor of a Town, a rank several grades below that of a Woongyee.

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in the Burmese territory ; but the Ministers at first objected to surrender them to the Arracan authorities, as there is no provision in our treaties with Ava for the mutual surrender of criminals. The discussion of this subject lasted several days, and the Ministers insisted upon Major Burney entering into a general engagement to surrender every description of fugitive criminals. They were astonished on being informed, that it was contrary to the practice of civilized states to surrender political offenders, who might take shelter among them. The fourteen fugitives were at length surrendered ; and it was mutually agreed, that in future each individual case should be considered upon its own merits, and such fugitives only should be surrendered as the state in which they had taken shelter might deem proper.

Par. 666 of Major Burney's Journal.

On the 13th of May the Burmese Vakeels in Bengal complained, that no public officer had received them on their arrival at Calcutta, also, that they received no allowance from Government for their subsistence. His Majesty continued too ill to give an audience.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Swinton to Major Burney, dated 25th February, and reply dated 19th May, 1831.

May 19th.—In answer to Major Burney's reports, the Supreme Government objected to the practice of accepting titles from this Court, and ordered it to be discontinued, although there is no question that such tokens of their Sovereign's favor and good-will will ensure to a British Officer the respect of all the inhabitants of the country, and from this consideration, so far back as 1797, Captain Cox had been especially authorized to accept of a title. At the same time all further discussion on the restoration of the Provinces was prohibited, as well as the proposed relinquishment of any portion of the tribute as a *bonus* for the adjustment of the boundary of Munipore, and the strict prohibition against the exportation of bullion from the country was not to be interfered with.

June 27th.—The Ministers requested Major Burney to inform the Governor-General, that according to their calculation, they had completed the crore ; upon which he attended at the Lhwottau, and after a very long discussion, refused to comply with their request, and warned them that their shuffling and evasive conduct would probably lead to his recal, and the forfeiture of their chance of receiving the Kubo Valley. On the 14th of July he recommended the Supreme Government to grant a liberal allowance for the personal comfort of the Burmese Vakeels, but to treat them officially with the greatest *hauteur*, and to silence at once any attempt on their part to stipulate for ceremonials of introduction. The Ministers now positively refused to collect any more money for the completion of the tribute, until they received from Calcutta, statements of the out-turn of what they had already paid.

On the 23rd, Major Burney received an audience of the King, who had partially recovered ; and on the 3rd August, after many previous unsuccessful attempts, he succeeded in stopping the customary Government supplies to himself and followers, with the exception of rice, flour, and fire-wood which, by the customs of this Court, they said could not be remitted.

On the 6th August he complained of the Ministers having ceased to

collect money, when they repeated their determination ~~not to do so~~, until they heard from their Vakeels; he then again threatened to quit Ava, and in the evening sent in a written statement of his intentions.

Owing to the circumstance of large sums of money having been lately smuggled out of the country via Rangoon, the Ministers, about this time, as a means of detecting the smugglers, issued an order requiring all traders, on leaving Ava, to give in a list of their cargo. No one seems to have been aware of this regulation until this morning, when a Mogul merchant of Moulmein, who was conveying away a large quantity of treasure, and had made no report of his cargo, was stopped at the Burmese Chokey of Kyouk-ta-loun. Major Burney remonstrated against this act, because the recent regulation had not been properly proclaimed before the Mogul took his departure, and wrote a Memorial upon the subject to the King, which, however, the Ministers evaded presenting. He then sent to say he would be trifled with no longer, and that he would quit Ava immediately; upon which they desired to see his authority for taking such a step, but he refused to comply with their request, and repeated his demand and determination. Accordingly on the 9th, he embarked his baggage, intending to quit in the evening, but the Ministers became uneasy, and issued an order for the Mogul's release.

On the 10th Woondouk Mounk Khan Yé and the Treasurer begged of him not to quit, and in the name of the Ministers apologized for the delay that had occurred in releasing the Mogul, and engaged to pay the balance of the crore immediately after hearing from their Envoy in Bengal. At Major Burney's request they promised to give this in writing the next day, and then took their departure. On the following day, however, instead of the promised written engagement, they brought a request that he would discuss the subject with the Ministers at the Lhwottau; but he refused to hold any further communication with them until these points were adjusted. On the 12th, the Ministers finding him immovable, sent a very unsatisfactory letter, which in his anxiety to avoid a total rupture, he accepted, and engaged to meet them on the following morning. A long altercation then ensued, and notwithstanding their former promises they positively refused to fix a day for the payment of the money. Major Burney being worn out with their tergiversations and want of faith, and seeing the inutility of further discussion with such people, left the Lhwottau, having repeated his most positive determination to quit Ava the next day at 10 o'clock, if the business was not satisfactorily adjusted before that time.

August 14th.—No notice was taken of his threat and this day, at 10 o'clock, he embarked himself and suite, and quitted the capital in the gun-boats attached to the Residency. The intelligence of his departure came like a thunder-bolt upon the King and Courts, and before he had proceeded seven miles, he was overtaken by the Treasurer, who entreated him to halt. A discussion then ensued, and Major Burney promised to return to Ava, if the Ministers would agree to pay the balance in one month after hearing from their Vakeels; and as a slight concession to them, he agreed, on the part of the Supreme Government, to refund any surplus that might be due to them within a like period. The agreement

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Letter from Major Burney to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 28th August, 1831, and reply dated 2d December, 1831.

being drawn out, the Treasurer departed, and Major Burney promised to wait until 6 o'clock the following morning for the Woongyees' answer.

15th.—The answer arrived within the specified time, and he returned to Ava. On the 21st he had a reconciliatory meeting with the Ministers, who promised to annul the late regulation requiring traders to report what they may be conveying to Rangoon from the capital. On the 25th, however, His Majesty issued an order strictly and positively prohibiting the transmission of specie from the capital or any town to Rangoon; in spite of which large quantities of specie are daily conveyed from the capital. Major Burney took no notice of the recent prohibition, but allowed the matter to rest and reported his proceedings to the Supreme Government, who approved of his conduct on this head; but for various reasons, disapproved of his quitting the capital. Although the Supreme Government disapproved of Major Burney's departure from the capital, as a step once taken not easily retracted, and as likely to cause embarrassment, it is evident that this decided measure produced a most beneficial effect upon the Burmese Ministers, who, when he threatened to depart, questioned his authority and supposed the responsibility of the step too great to be taken by him, and that they could practise upon him with impunity, the same gross delays and indignities as they were in the habit of practising upon British Envoys before the war. They were consequently both astonished and alarmed, when they ascertained his departure, and knowing themselves to be in the wrong, hastened to retrieve a step, the responsibility of which they very naturally concluded, would fall upon themselves. Had Major Burney been in possession of boats on his first arrival, he doubtless would have had a much better prospect of success in abolishing that most degrading ceremony of unslipping in the presence of the King and Princes. He was then, however, in the Burmese power, and they knew it.

On the 24th he was grossly insulted by one of the city gate-keepers, and applied to the Ministers to punish the man, but they neglected to do so. On the 29th, he wrote a complaint of it to the King without effect, and two or three days afterwards, he again addressed the Ministers on this subject, who now finding him determined, promised to punish the offender.

September 13th.—Major Burney laid before the Ministers, a complaint which Mr. Commissioner Maingy had preferred against the Governor of Martaban, and warned them that a repetition of such aggressions would inevitably lead to a second destruction of that town. They took this threat very stoically, and only objected to Mr. Maingy's haste in laying every trifling complaint before the Supreme Government.

15th.—Mr. Blundell, the Deputy Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, who had been temporarily appointed to relieve Major Burney, arrived this day, and on the 17th, was introduced to the Ministers.

On the 1st October a discussion took place regarding the Islands of *Pulo-gywon* and *Kauekien* in the *Sulween* river. The Ministers maintained that no part of the Province of Martaban, in which Moulmein and these Islands were included before the war, was ceded to the British Govern-

ment by the treaty of Yandabo ; but Major Burney shortly replied, that the treaty of Yandabo expressly declares, " that the Salween river shall be the boundary," and that Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Crawford had already convinced the Burmese negotiators of the untenableness of their claim, and that the Governor-General would neither relinquish this territory now that it had been so long in our possession, nor allow our right to it to be made a matter of discussion or question.

Between the 8th and 14th, two further discussions took place relative to our right to the Islands in the Salween, when the Ministers expressed their intention of instructing their Vakeels in Bengal, to take up the subject. His Majesty, who for some time past had been too unwell to attend to public business, now appointed a commission for its dispatch, consisting of the Tharawadi, Menthagyee, Bowoon, and Thibau Princes. Major Burney preferred charges against the Governor of Martaban and complained of illegal restrictions upon commerce, both of which the Ministers promised to attend to.

30th November.—As Mr. Blundell had now become acquainted with the Ministers and their method of transacting business, Major Burney this day applied for His Majesty's permission to quit Ava on the plea of ill health.

December 4th.—The Ministers dined with him, and urged him to assist them on the points so often discussed, and in a friendly conversation which occurred this day with the Myolat-woon and the Treasurer, it was clearly evident that the martial spirit of the Court was by no means subdued, but that some of them confidently look forward to a very different result from another war. This, with a few exceptions (as far as I have observed) is the general feeling of all classes, but particularly of those who were not actually engaged with us in the late war.

Par. 848 of Major Burney's Journal.

On the 15th, Major Burney received an audience at the Elephant Palace, and on the 20th, accounts having arrived from Bengal, a conference took place with the Ministers on the subject of the balance of the crore.

With a view to gain time, and in all probability by orders from Ava, the Burmese Vakeels in Bengal had fabricated a false statement of the out-turn of bullion, by which they pretended to have overpaid 2 or 3 lacs of tickals, although they had been furnished with an authentic statement of the actual out-turn by the Calcutta Mint-Master, shewing a deficiency of a much greater amount. As the object of this behaviour could not be mistaken, Major Burney peremptorily informed the Ministers, that they were more likely to injure themselves than us by such low artifices, and that the Governor-General had ordered the remainder of the crore to be paid as usual in " Dain silver," and that our Mint Master's account should not be disputed. Several discussions ensued, at which nothing could be settled. On the 28th Major Burney proposed that they should pay the balance in 180 days from this date. They replied to this concession by denying the accuracy of the Mint-Master's account, and insisted that the balance shewn by an account lately received from Captain Robinson, the

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receiving officer at Rangoon, was the correct one, which Major Burney, of course, refused to acknowledge.

January 4th.—Another long discussion occurred, in which Major Burney explained the difference between the Rangoon and Calcutta accounts to be owing to too high an appraisal of the bullion by the officer in Rangoon; and at length the Ministers agreed to acknowledge the Calcutta account on condition of being allowed 10 months to pay it, promising to pay interest at the rate of 1 per cent. per month, for all sums that might remain unpaid beyond that time. These terms, as they would put an end to the dispute about the valuation of the silver, Major Burney thought it best to accept, when documents were drawn out and the meeting broke up. Major Burney's Journal ought to be read in order to see exactly, what extraordinary trouble it cost him to settle this balance of the crore of rupees which he claimed, but which the Burmese Court disputed. The Burmese have no regular monetary system, and no two pieces of their silver, one can be sure, are of the same value. Our officers had been receiving the Burmese bullion by inspection only, and without stipulating that its real valuation should be settled by the out-turn at the Calcutta Mint. There was a difference against us of 3 lacs of rupees between the valuation of our receiving officers and the out-turn at the Calcutta Mint of the first instalment paid to us at Yandaboo;—and on the second instalment, there was a difference in our favour of 1,70,000 rupees. The treaty of Yandabo did not specify whether the crore of rupees should be paid in sicca or Madras rupees, which last were the currency of the camp at the time that treaty was signed; and in the Burmese version of the article, the crore was termed "75,000 viss of good silver, a very vague term, and one which enabled the Burmese Ministers to argue fairly, that their *Yowetnee* or standard silver of the country, was called by them *good*, and that as they had paid us more than 75,000 viss of bullion of that standard, their debt ought to be considered as liquidated. Major Burney had to explain and argue, and prove to unwilling minds the correctness of the out-turn of the Burmese bullion at the Calcutta Mint, showing that a crore of sicca rupees would not be completed, unless the 75,000 viss were paid in silver of the quality termed *Dain*, which averages from 7 to 10 per cent. better than *Yowetnee*. At length the Court of Ava duly kept this their last engagement, and on the 27th October, 1832, they had not only completed the crore, but had overpaid 14,000 sicca rupees. During the numerous and difficult discussions on this subject with the Ministers, Major Burney had repeatedly assured them that any surplus over one crore of sicca rupees would be refunded to them; and the fact of returning such surplus unasked, will not only give weight to any future promise made to them by the Resident, but will teach them to rely with greater confidence upon the upright and just policy of the Supreme Government.

Letter from Major Burney to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated 1st November, 1832; and from Mr. Secretary Macnaghten to Major Burney, dated 16th March, 1833.

1832.

March 4th.—Arrangements were made for preserving the tranquillity of the Martaban frontier, and several minor objects settled. To-day the Tshau-Atwen-woon sounded Major Burney on the abolition of the residency, proposing to substitute a 10-yearly Embassy in its stead, after the manner of the Chinese Missions. His Majesty is known to have suffered

much anxiety and distress of mind at the continuance of the residency at the capital, and is particularly desirous for its removal, considering it as the symbol of our supremacy and his disgrace.



1832.

On the 10th, Major Burney received audience of leave, and on the 28th applied to the Governor-General's agent at Assam for the release of a son of the Burmese General Maha Theclawa, and some Khans and Burmese who were said to be detained there against their will, but which turned out not to be the case. Some Mogul and Armenian merchants complained, that a close monopoly of trade had been given to the chief *Pivè-Zas* or Agents at Ava, and Major Burney in consequence desired them to meet him at the Lhwottau on the following day. He accordingly attended and urged the complaint, but not a single Mogul or Armenian was present to substantiate it. On the 5th April, the Ministers took a farewell dinner with him, and urged and re-urged all their arguments regarding the retrocession of Tenasserim, Arracan and Kubo, the removal of the residency, &c. &c., but without offering any equivalent. Finally, the Atwen-woon informed him, that His Majesty had remarked the great increase of revenue at Ava since his arrival.

April 10th.—Major Burney quitted Ava this morning on terms of cordiality with the whole of the Ministers, and was escorted for some distance down the river by Woondouk Moungh Khon-Ye.

During Major Burney's two year's residence at Ava, he succeeded in bringing himself into frequent communication with the King, from whom he received several marks of favor, and who, through his exertions, was induced to answer the Governor-General's letter in his own name, and to submit his claim to Kubo Valley to His Lordship's decision. He accomplished a most familiar and frequent intercourse with the Woongyees whose houses he visited constantly without form or ceremony; established a *dakh* via Arracan and Moulmein; protected Indian merchants from Burmese oppression and exactions; obtained a fixed scale of duties for the Arracan trade; effected the surrender of several fugitive criminals, and arranged the reciprocal surrender of such characters in future whenever it is conformable to the usage of civilized states, and lastly, made the Court of Ava enquire into, and maintain a more strict controul over, the conduct of all its frontier officers, and thus put a stop to depredations and incursions into our territories. It is but just also to the Burmese to mention here, that during Major Burney's residence at Ava, although he received hundreds of packets from Rangoon, Moulmein, Calcutta, Arracan, and Munipore, many of them brought under charge of Burmese officers, not a single instance occurred of a packet to his address been broken open, or lost, or even detained.

Mr. Blundell having been left in charge of the residency, continued to perform the functions of resident with advantage to his own Government and satisfaction to the Burmese, until the month of October, when he was relieved by Captain Macfarquhar, who was afterwards appointed assistant to the resident and continued at Ava until September of the following year, 1833, when he was compelled to return to Rangoon for the restoration of his health. In November, 1833, Major Burney returned

1833.

1833.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Macnaghten to Major Burney, dated 16th March, 1833, with enclosures.

Letters from Major Burney to Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, dated 24th November, 1833, 22d January, 17th February, and 5th March, 1834

to Ava with a letter and presents from the Governor-General to the King.

The Supreme Government having at length determined to restore the long disputed Valley of Kubo to the Court of Ava, Major Burney was instructed to depute a British officer to accompany the Burmese Commissioner to the Valley, there to meet Major Grant and Captain Pemberton, who, on the part of Munipore, would deliver over the territory to the Burmese, and point out the line of hills which should be fixed as the future boundary. Lieutenant MacLeod, of the 30th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, was accordingly selected for this duty; and having received a title and gold chattah from the King, on the 23rd November he quitted Ava, in company with the Burmese Commissioner Moungh Bhan Yè, and proceeded by water to Kendat, where they met Major Grant and Captain Pemberton, who, according to instructions received from the Supreme Government, delivered over to the Burmese the disputed territory, and marked the future line of boundary between the two States, as follows:

1st. On the west, the eastern foot of the chain of mountains, which rise immediately from the western side of the plain of Kubo Valley, including Moreh and all the countries to the westward of it.

2nd. On the south, a line extending from the eastern foot of the same hills at the point where the river called by the Burmese "Nansawing" and by the Munipories "Nunsaunglung" enters the plain, up to its source and across the hills due west down to the "Kathe Khyoung," or Munipore river.

3rd. On the north from the foot of the same hills at the northern extremity of Kubo Valley, passing due north up to the first range of hills east of that upon which stand the villages of Choortar, Noongbree and Noonghur, of the tribe called by the Munipories "Loohoopha," and by the Burmese "La-gweng-Soung," now tributary to Munipore.

Major Grant and Captain Pemberton selected as the western boundary a range of hills sometimes named "Muring hills," and which had before been considered to be the same as that termed the "Yoma hills" by the Burmese, but the Woondouk Moungh-Khan-Yé maintained, that it was not the Muring range but another six or seven miles to the westward of it, which the Burmese considered as a part of the Yoma hills, and pressed and entreated our Commissioners to fix the line of boundary along this more western range, which the Burmese called the "Yoma," and considered to be a prolongation of the great mountainous chain which rises at point Negrais and divides the whole Kingdom of Arracan from Ava; our Commissioners, however, refused to go beyond the "Muring range, which had been specified in their instructions, and after some days of fruitless discussions, the Burmese Commissioners consented to sign the agreement drawn out by our Commissioners, on condition of being allowed to enter a protest on the part of their Government, against the line of hills now selected. They also requested, that such of the wild race of Khyens residing to the westward

of the line of boundary, as might desire to remove within the Burmese territory, might be permitted to do so, but our Commissioners refused to allow the Burmese to interfere in any manner with these people.

1833.

The agreement was then signed, after which the boundary was walked over, land marks planted, and the conference broke up.

The Mission returned to Ava on the 16th of February, and after some discussion, Major Burney persuaded the Ministers to relinquish the idea of disputing the line of boundary selected by our Officers, and to be satisfied with what had been restored to them, without attempting to prolong the discussion for 5 or 6 miles of worthless jungle. They then wrote and delivered to him a suitable letter to this effect, to the Secretary to the Supreme Government, and this question, which for years past had occasioned much trouble to the Supreme Government, and an infinity of ill-will and irritation at Ava, was finally and satisfactorily adjusted.

1834.

Letter from Major Burney to Mr Secretary Macnaghten, dated 17th February and 5th March, 1834

Lieutenant MacLeod and our Commissioners in Muniport received the approbation of the Supreme Government for the ability, temper, and firmness with which they had conducted their discussions with the Burmese Commissioners.

It is needless for me to comment upon the conduct of the last Mission to Ava, the advantages gained speak eloquently for themselves; but I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to Lieutenant-Colonel Burney, for the liberality with which I have received access to his valuable library upon the Indo-Chinese States, and his public and private documents relating to Ava, as well for the kind assistance which I have received from him in the compilation of this Memoir.

THE KING.

The succession to the Crown of Ava is by strict lineal descent, but it frequently falls to the lot of him who has most power or enterprize to obtain it, and the death of the King is not unusually the signal for a general scuffle, when the unsuccessful aspirants and their families are sacrificed to the safety of the victor. The present dynasty was founded by the Great Alompra in the Burmese year 1116, A. D. 1754, and has reigned uninterruptedly since that period. A crisis, however, is not far distant, which may establish a new line of Kings for this country.

The present state of Ava is well known; the King is deranged, alternately gloomy and melancholy, seldom violent. He is utterly incapable of attending to the ordinary affairs of state, which have consequently fallen into the hands of the Queen and her brother Men-tha-gyee, whose avaricious and grasping natures are involving the country in disaffection and ruin. Previous to his illness, His Majesty was much beloved by his people, to whom he was uniformly kind and considerate. Their loyalty is not yet shaken, although he is entirely in the hands of those whose measures are far from popular.

1834.

THE QUEEN.

Her Majesty is a person of low birth, a daughter of a former Governor of the Jails. She was a junior wife to the present King, when he was Heir-Apparent. She is clever, of an avaricious, intriguing and unforgiving disposition, and possesses an unlimited influence over the King's weak mind, which she employs for the aggrandizement of herself and relations. On the King's accession to the throne, she took possession of the royal apartments, and being a great favourite, soon persuaded His Majesty to repudiate the first Queen, and rose to her situation in the state. Her Majesty has a daughter 13 or 14 years of age, who is to be married to the Heir-Apparent.

The repudiated Queen is still living in penurious and miserable obscurity in Ava, she is the daughter of the Mek-kherra Prince, the King's uncle, who, to save his own life at the time of her repudiation, feigned madness until all suspicion and excitement had subsided.

THE HEIR APPARENT.

This Prince is the King's only son by a deceased and highly respected Queen of royal blood. He is now about 20 years of age, weak in intellect, proud and violent in disposition, and should he succeed to the throne, likely to be easily led away by the bombastic adulations of his courtiers, and to prove a troublesome, rather than friendly, neighbour. By the custom of the country he should 'ere this have been installed "*Eing-She-Men** or *Ean-ye men*, an office of great weight, and little inferior in power to the King's. He, however, is unjustly kept back by the machinations of the Queen and her brother Men-tha-gyee, whose present usurped power would be abridged by his assuming that rank in the state to which he is entitled.

To reconcile the Queen's interest with the legal succession to the crown, it is proposed to marry the prince to his sister-in-law the young princess, whom he is said to dislike. His Highness, though without much public weight, is not without influential private supporters, and should he inherit the throne of his father, he will doubtless remember the authors of his present degraded situation.

THE THARAWADI PRINCE.

The Tharawadi Prince is the King's brother, and they are known to possess a strong mutual affection for each other. He is about 42 or 43 years of age, clever, open-hearted, and liberal to the extent of his resources, which, by the bye, are by no means ample. He has always shewn a great partiality for foreigners in general, but Englishmen in particular, and although his protégés are generally of no very respectable order, still his communications with them have convinced him of the superiority of the British power over the Burmese. He strongly opposed the late war, and his oft-repeated remonstrances against it and entreaties for peace, induced their Majesties to suspect him of luke-warmness in their

* Prince of Eastern House or Crown Prince.

cause. Small paper pellets accusing him of treachery, &c. &c., were frequently strewn about the palace, and in the King's path, and powerful endeavours were used by the Queen and her party to prejudice the King against him but without effect; at length he absented himself from the Palace Councils for several months, since which time he has never taken any active part in the administration of the country. He is a great boating character, and makes this diversion an excuse for always keeping a great number of men in the capital, who serve to guard against any sudden attack upon his person, as well as to secure protection in the event of the King's death. For some time past he has been collecting muskets, and I am informed by good authority, that he has as many as 8,000. He is of royal blood, is liked by the people, and is supposed to have a fair chance of succeeding, in any attempt which he may make for the throne.

THE MEN-THA-GYEE.

This Prince is the Queen's brother, and consequently a man of low origin. He is now the Acting Regent, and is by far the most influential personage in the kingdom. He is rather more than 50 years of age, and attempts to conceal his grossly avaracious, cunning and intriguing disposition, under the garb of meekness and religion, of the external rites of which he is a strict observer. He was the head of the war party, and though immensely wealthy, for a Burman, has suffered less by the war than any other officer in the state.

In 1831 owing to the King's continued insanity, this Prince, in conjunction with three others, was appointed to form a commission for the dispatch of business, but he soon usurped the office of Dictator, and the others gradually declined in their attendance. He has now the principal resources of the Government at his command, and should he aspire to the throne, which in all probability he will do, he has a fair chance of success. He is a person of some talent and is said to feel the error of the late war, and to be anxious to avoid a repetition of it. His accession to the throne might probably be considered a desirable event, for not being of Royal Blood he is less likely to brood over the loss of Arracan, Tenasserim, and the territories to the north-west, than if he were a descendant of the Great Alompra, the lustre of whose dynasty has been so sadly tarnished.

I have thus endeavoured to give a short account of the principal characters and the state of parties at the Court of Ava. There are many other members of the Royal family, but they are not immediately connected with the succession to the throne, have no political importance, and are too numerous to require separate notice.

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Remains of Pagan the ancient capital of the Burmese Empire

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PUGAN,

THE

ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE BURMESE EMPIRE.

By Lieut.-Col. H. BURNEY, H. C.'s Resident in Ava.

[*From the Journal of the Asiatic Society—revised by the Author for this work.*]

The celebrated Venetian traveller, MARCO POLO, (see MARSDEN'S edition of his Travels, pages 441 to 451,) has given us an account of the war between the Tartars and the people of Mien (the Chinese name for Burmah), which occurred some time after 1272, and led the former to take possession of the then capital of the latter nation. SYMES and CRAWFORD, in the Journals of their Missions to Ava, as well as HAVFLOCK and TRANT, in their accounts of the late war, have described the extensive remains of Pugan, the former capital of the Burmese empire, lying between Prome and Ava, with its innumerable ruins of temples and columns. Perhaps the following account of the destruction of that city, translated from the 5th volume of the large edition of the Royal Chronicles of the Kings of Ava, (*Maha Yazawen daw gyee*,) may be deemed curious. Pugan, also called *Poukgan* and *Arimaddana*, is stated to have been founded by a king THAMU-DIRIT, A. D. 107, shortly after the destruction of the *Tharè Khettara* or Prome empire, and the king NARATHIHAPADE, in whose reign the Chinese took possession of the city, was the 52nd from the time of its foundation.

“In the Burmese year 643, (A. D. 1281,) the Talain WAREEROO killed the noble ALEIMMA, who was lord of the city of Mouttama (Martaban), a part of the empire, and set himself up as king there. In the same year, the emperor of China deputed ten nobles with 1,000 horsemen, to demand certain gold and silver vessels, on the ground that king ANAURATHA MEN ZAU* had presented them. Some historians assert that they came to demand a white elephant.

“The Chinese envoys conducted themselves in a disrespectful manner in the royal presence, when his majesty ordered the whole of the ten nobles and 1,000 horsemen to be put to death. One of the ministers, NANDA PEETZEEN, respectfully addressed the King, saying, ‘Although the envoys of the emperor of China are ignorant of what is due to a king, and have conducted themselves in a disrespectful manner, yet if it seemeth well to your glorious majesty, a report of their conduct should

* This King of Pugan is said to have invaded China about A. D. 1040, and gold and silver flowers or ornaments are the emblems of tributary subjection among all the Indo-Chinese nations.

† There is some kind of tradition at Ava, that the Chinese envoys insisted upon appearing in the royal presence with their boots or shoes on.

be made to the emperor of China. If it pleaseth your majesty to have patience, and issue such orders as may promote the interests of the country, such orders should be issued. To put ambassadors to death has not been the custom during the whole line of our kings. It will be proper then for your majesty to forbear. The king replied, saying, 'They have treated with disrespect such a sovereign as I am; put them to death.' The officers of government, fearing the royal displeasure, put the whole of the Mission to death, without a single exception.

"When the emperor of China received the intelligence of the execution of his envoys, he was exceedingly angry, and collecting an army of at least six millions of horse and 20 millions of foot, sent them down to attack Pagan; the king of which, NARATHEEHAPADE, as soon as he heard of the coming of this force, placed under the generals NANDA PEETZEEN and YANDA PEETZEEN 400,000 soldiers, and numerous elephants and horses, with orders to proceed and attack the Chinese army. The two generals marched to the city of *Nga-zoung-gyan*, and after putting its walls, ditch, and fortifications in a proper state of defence, opposed the Chinese army at the ford of the *Bamau* river, killing during three months so many of that army, that not a grass-cutter even for its elephants and horses remained. The emperor of China, however, kept reinforcing his army, and replacing those who were killed, by sending 200,000 men, when he heard of the loss of 100,000 men, and 400,000, when he heard of 200,000. Hence the Burman army was at last overpowered with fatigue, and the Chinese crossed the river and destroyed *Nga-zoung-gyan*.

"As the Nats or spirits attached to either nation were fighting together in the air, four of the Pagan Nats, namely, *Tebathen*, (the guardian of one of the gates of Pagan city,) *T'salen-wot-thakan-zoung Nat*, *Kan-shye-zoung-Nat* (guardian of the long lake or tank), and *Toung-gye-yen Nat* (lord of the foot of the mountain), were wounded by arrows. In the new *Yazawen*, *Tebathen Nat* is styled *Thanbathen*. On the very day on which the stockade of *Nga-zoung-gyan* was taken, the Nat *Tebathen* returned to Pagan, and entered the house of the king's teacher on whom he had always been accustomed to wait. The King's teacher was asleep at the time; but the Nat shook and awakened him, and said, '*Nga-zoung-gyan* has been destroyed this day. I am wounded by an arrow; and the Nats *T'salen-wot-thakan*, *Kan-shye* and *Toung-gye-yen* are also wounded in the same manner.' The priest and king's teacher called one of his disciples, a young probationer, and sent him to the king to report the loss of *Nga-zoung-gyan*. His majesty inquired how this circumstance was known, when the young probationer declared, that the Nat *Tebathen*, guardian of the *Therashya* gate, had just arrived from *Nga-zoung-gyan*, and reported the matter to the king's teacher, who had thus learned, that that place had been destroyed, on that very day.

"The king then summoned a council of his ministers and officers, and addressed them as follows: 'The walls of the city of Pagan are low, and enclose too small a space to permit all the soldiers and elephants and horses to remain comfortably within, and defend them. I propose therefore to build a strong wall, extending from the eastward from the village of *Balen*, in the upper part of the river, straight down to the

southward, taking in the village of *Yowatha*. But it is not possible just now to procure bricks and stones quickly; if we break down some of the temples, and use the bricks, we shall be able to complete this wall most expeditiously. Accordingly, 1,000 large arched temples, 1,000 smaller ones, and 4,000 square temples were destroyed. During this operation, a sheet of copper, with a royal prediction inscribed on it, was found in one of the temples. The words were as follows: 'In the city of Pagan, in the time of the father of twins, the Chinese destroying, will be destroyed.' The king thereupon made inquiries among the royal women, and learnt, that a young concubine had just given birth to twins.

"As his Majesty now believed, that even if he built the intended fortification, he would be unable to defend it, he caused 1,000 boats with figure-heads and war-boats, to be made ready, and embarked in them all his gold and silver and treasures; a thousand cargo boats, also, he loaded with paddy and rice; in a thousand state boats he embarked all his ministers and officers, and in the gilded state boats, his concubines and female attendants. But as the boats could not accommodate all the royal concubines and female attendants, who were very numerous, the king said, 'These women and servants are too numerous to be all embarked in the boats, and if we leave them here, the Chinese will seize and take possession of them; tie their hands and feet together, therefore, and throw them into the river.' The king's teacher however observed, 'in the whole circle of animal existence the state of man is the most difficult of attainment, and to attain that state during the time of a Buddha, is also most difficult. There can be no occasion for your majesty to commit the evil deed of throwing these people into the water. Such an act will be for ever talked of even among kings, and will be registered in the records of the empire. Let your majesty therefore grant permission for any person to take such of the royal female attendants as cannot be embarked in the royal boats, and by so doing, your majesty will be said not only to have granted them their lives, but to have afforded them protection.' The king replied, 'Very true,' and set at liberty 300 of the female servants of the interior of the palace, who were taken and carried away by different inhabitants of the city.

The king then embarked in his gilded accommodation boat, and retired to the Talain city of Bathien (Bassien).

NANDA PEETZEEN and YANDA PEETZEEN, after the loss of *Nga-zoung-gyan*, retreated and built a couple of stockades on the eastward slope of the mallee mountain, where they again resisted the Chinese. Both the generals, holding some *fixed quicksilver** in their mouths, leaped 15 and 16 cubits high in the air at a time, and attacked the Chinese; but whilst fighting in this manner, an arrow, which had been discharged by one of the *Nats* of the two countries, who were contending in the air, struck NANDA PEETZEEN, and threw him to the ground lifeless. In consequence of this event, and the Chinese army being very numerous, victory was

* Among the Chinese alchemists, fixed, or as they call it dead, quicksilver, is an object of great desire, with the hope of building a tower, which it is said to confer on the possessor.

unattainable, and defeat again ensued. The Chinese pursued vigorously, and the Pagan generals retreated, keeping their force as much together as possible. On arriving at *Pagan*, and finding that the king and the whole of the population had left that city and fled to the *Talein* country, the army followed them to *Bathein*.

"The Chinese continued the pursuit until they reached *Taroup mau*,* but their army, owing to the great distance which it had marched, and its great numbers, began to experience a scarcity of provisions; and was induced to turn back from that place.

"In the Burmese year 646 (A. D. 1284), two *pat* or quarters wanting to complete the 27th lunar asterism, the king *NARATHEEHAPADE* fled in fear of the Chinese. Hence he is styled *Taroup-pye-men*, the king who fled from the Chinese."

After remaining five months at *Bassien*, the king, hearing that the Chinese had retreated from *Pagan*, made arrangements for returning thither. On his way up the river, it is recorded on one occasion, his cooks having been able to serve him up a dinner of only 150 dishes, instead of the 300, to which he had always sat down every day, he covered his face with his hands and wept, saying, 'I am become a poor man.' Shortly after on his arrival off *Prome*, he was poisoned by his own son, the governor of that place.

The building at *Pagan*, which *MARCO POLO* calls 'a sepulchre of the king,' must have been one of the large Buddhist temples, containing some relics of *Gaudama*. The body of a deceased king of *Ava* is usually burnt within the palace enclosed, and the bones and relics carefully collected in some vessel, and thrown into the *Irawádi* river.

Like the early kings of England, named *Rufus*, *Beauclerk*, *Lackland*, *Longshanks*, &c., most of the Burmese kings are distinguished by some *sobriquet* or particular appellation. A king, *NARATHU*, who was killed by some *Kulas* or natives of India from *Chittagong*, about the year 1171, is styled *Kula-gya-men*, the king who fell or was killed by *Kulas*. Another of *Toungu* or *Toungngu*, who was taken prisoner and carried away from *Toungngu* to *Syriam*, by the celebrated Portuguese chief, *PHILIP DE BRITO* and *NICOTE*, about the year 1612, is called *Kula-ya-men*, the king whom the *Kulas* obtained or seized.—See *Modern Universal History*, vol. 7th, page 118.

In the sketch of the remains of *Pagan*, the large pagoda on the proper right, is called *Ananda*; it was built by a king *KYAN-ZEET-THA*, who reigned between A. D. 1064 and 1093, and was repaired by the father of the present king of *Ava*, in 1795, when Captain *SYMES* visited the place. The pagoda on the high point of land, washed by the river, is called *Lauga Nanda*; it was built by *ANAURATHA-ZAU*, who reigned between A. D. 1017 and 1059.

* Chinese Point, the same as *Symes's Tirroup-miou*.

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NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLI.

ON THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE: GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Two papers have already been devoted to preliminary observations on this head.* In the first I endeavoured to show, that though the vanity and self-esteem of the English had exalted them to an almost immeasurable height in their own opinion above the natives of India, yet that when we became better acquainted with their character and with our own, the difference might be reduced within much narrower limits; and many instances were there quoted to show that if we could claim exemption from some of the peculiar vices and follies of the natives, others of which they were guiltless might be justly charged upon us. In the second, I endeavoured to remind my readers of the immense extent of India, and the great variety of nations of which it was composed, differing in their manners, customs, and language. The general tenor of those two papers is to impress these facts upon my readers; to warn them against the absurdity of drawing general conclusions from a few local observations, in a country as large, and containing as great a variety of nations as Europe; and to urge upon them the necessity of impartiality, and of freedom from prejudice in forming an estimate of the character of a people who so greatly differ from ourselves in religion, manners, and habits.

Before entering into the detail a few additional general observations seem to be requisite; and first I would caution those who are desirous to obtain a knowledge of the character of the people of India to avoid the error of judging of every thing by an English or European standard. This is a habit much too common. We forget the totally different circumstances of the two portions of the globe; the difference in the mode of governments to which the people have been subject; and the little similarity which exists between their customs and habits and our own. We do not sufficiently call to mind the early age at which the East India Company's servants and many of the other classes leave England; but finding in general that the manners, usages, and structure of society are different from what we have been accustomed to see at home, or what we imagine to exist there, we at once pronounce upon the decided inferiority of the one, and adopt a corresponding prejudice in our own favour.

It is necessary to protest at once against such a criterion, as it is inapplicable for several reasons. In the first place, all those whose sole knowledge of England is derived from their early observations and recollections before they entered the Company's service as writers and cadets, and all those who left their native country at the early and inexperienced age at which an Indian career is usually embraced, are, with perhaps a few singular and remarkable individual exceptions, most incompetent judges of the state of society in England; and however well qualified to form an opinion of what they meet with in India, they are not to be relied on when they attempt to decide on the comparative merits or demerits of the two nations. Nor can the result of their observations on their countrymen in India be allowed to form any sufficient grounds for making a proper comparison. The chief portion of the English in this country are the civil and military servants of government; they are almost all the sons of gentlemen; have enjoyed, generally speaking, a liberal education; and are placed above pecuniary temptation by being in the receipt of good salaries. Those in the mercantile line are, or at least were, until the late failures, and the chance of circumstances in the administration of the affairs of

* See some explanatory observations published between the tenth and eleventh numbers, and No. 34.

India, in a very different situation from what they would have occupied had they remained in England. They were few in number, and enjoyed a monopoly of trade; almost all the subordinate stations were filled by natives; the greater number of the English employed in mercantile pursuits were each at the head of an establishment of which the profits were sufficient to enable them to live in a style not only of comfort but of splendour; while at the same time they could accumulate considerable, and sometimes immense fortunes on which they might retire to their native land. Of the small number who composed the miscellaneous class, the majority were decidedly better off than they would have been had they remained at home.

Among men, situated as the different classes of English in India have been, and to a considerable extent still are, it is obvious that the tone of morality would be much higher than among a similar number, taken indiscriminately from all ranks and degrees, either of their own or any other nation; and there is another powerful cause which operates most strongly to produce a general rectitude of conduct—self-interest. The number of the English in India is so limited, that the character of each individual instead of being confined to one small province, town, or even village, is well known over many hundreds of miles. In England a man who has by any act rendered himself an object of suspicion or censure, has only to change his residence to a place even a few miles distant, to find himself an utter stranger; and he will there have an opportunity of continuing his evil courses, or if disposed to become honest, and “turn over a new leaf,” he has it in his power to become a respectable member of society. In India little or no such resource is left him. If he once receives the condemnation of the circle in which he moves, a change of residence affords him no escape. His character accompanies, or most probably has preceded him, and generally speaking, he is a marked man for ever, and is either obliged to leave the country or sinks into contempt and neglect, frequently followed by penury and disease, from which his only refuge is but too often the grave. This state of things doubtless has its advantages; there are certainly some men, who are only beginning the “*descensus averni*” who would, had they been allowed some indulgence and probation, have refrained in time from their evil conduct, and regained their position in social life; but who rendered desperate by the odium with which they found themselves regarded, have sunk at once into irretrievable ruin. On the whole, however, the existence

of such a state of things has perhaps been more beneficial than injurious to the character of the English population in its peculiar situation in India. It should at the same time be borne in mind, (to our shame be it spoken) that perhaps with reference to this, we allow ourselves a very considerable latitude on many points of morality; and that much is tolerated among us here, without seriously, or sometimes in any degree, injuring a man's reputation, which in England would entirely exclude him from the respectable portion of the community.

The immense inferiority of the natives of India to ourselves is however so favourite a topic with the English, that a considerable time will of necessity elapse before we shall have sufficiently conquered our old prejudices to view the subject with a philosophic or impartial mind. Their ignorance of history; their comparative deficiency in knowledge, in arts, and arms; and the childishness of their amusements are often quoted in illustration. Here again we are too prone to fall into comparisons without considering the inadequacy of the grounds on which they rest. We find the native gentry of India very imperfectly acquainted with, sometimes perfectly ignorant of, the history of Europe and of the new world; these are the points to which our historical studies are chiefly confined, as being those which contain to us the greatest interest. We forget the wide separation which has always existed between the European and the Asiatic quarters of the globe till within a very few years; and until the late encroachments of Russia on Persia and Turkey, how little power the transactions in Europe had to affect the destinies or influence the movements of the Asiatic world. If this be the criterion of the amount of interest which should be excited in the history of other countries, it is not too much to say, that the wars and occurrences among European nations have been to the inhabitants of the East objects of as little importance as those of the African hordes are to us.

On the subject of their acquaintance with history, we should adopt a test which would enable us to arrive at a much fairer judgment. We should try them on those points which more immediately concern themselves, and the nations with whom they are and have been connected; and I have little hesitation in saying that we shall find the native gentry of the East, particularly the Mahometans, fully as well acquainted with Asiatic history as the educated classes of the West are with that of Europe. Indeed I believe I might go further, and assert that in some res-

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

pects the superiority would be found on their side; and that, to a certain degree, they are better informed on the public transactions of Europe than gentlemen in England are on those of the East. I say, to a certain degree, because I limit my observations to the occurrences of their own times. The absence of a press and other causes have operated to prevent their acquisition of the knowledge of past European history; but I suspect that the name of Napoleon is much more known in Asia than those of Nadir Shah, Hyder Ali, or Shah Zeman are in England; yet the two latter were, at no very distant period, sufficiently powerful to excite considerable alarm among us for the safety of a large portion of our Indian empire. The transactions of Europe are as well, if not better known in India than even those of the South American States are in England. We may recollect the anecdote mentioned in the notes to *Childe Harold*, of Mahmood, a boy only ten years of age, the grandson of Ali Pasha, asking whether Lord Byron and his fellow travellers were in the upper or lower House of Parliament; and Elphinstone relates, that on his stating at Peshawur, that no rebellion had occurred in England since 1745, one of the Nobles of the Court, Mirza Geraunee, remarked that he had forgotten the American war, and then enquired the reason why the insurance of ships should be raised so high by the success of the French privateers when we had so manifest a superiority at sea? The fact mentioned by Heber is perfectly correct, that the leading events of the last war in Europe, particularly the victories of Bonaparte, were often known to the natives in Calcutta a fortnight before the Government received the intelligence; and that the same priority of information occurred on the occasion of the suicide of an English Minister. Now as the news of these events must have travelled to India overland, through Persia and Kabool,—for² had it arrived by sea it would have reached the English public at least as soon as the natives—it is idle to attribute to the latter either apathy or ignorance on the affairs of foreign countries. On the contrary I think were a fair examination instituted between the parties, it would be found that as much or more general information exists among the native gentry of India relative to the affairs of Europe as will be met with among the English on the subject of Indian politics, setting aside those immediately connected with the Government or a few of those who have relations in India.

In science and in arms they are certainly at present very far behind the English and

some other European nations, but with others, the Spaniards and Italians for instance, it is probable that, on the whole, the comparison would not be unfavorable to the natives of India. Many of their amusements are pronounced by us to be childish, simply because they are different from our own. This is a point on which it is difficult to pronounce an opinion as each nation will probably prefer their own; and to arrive at any conclusion, it would be requisite to lay down some rule on which judgment may be formed. If it be this, that an amusement ought to be productive of some improvement either to the mind or body, there are many of ours which will no more stand this test than those of the natives. We ridicule them for their fondness for flying kites, playing pucheessie, chewing pân, listening to story tellers, and many other modes of passing their time. It would probably be difficult to point out the superiority of billiards, card-playing, smoking cheeroots, and drinking gin and water, or the idle and unprofitable talk which too often passes for conversation. Much of the time of the military, and of some of the civilians is spent in one or other of these modes.

Many people appear to look on the natives of India as a set of childish simpletons, and seem to be quite surprised at any trait of intelligence, or even of common sense which they exhibit. The extraordinary stories and anecdotes which are related in illustration of this idea, and which are believed by many of the English, certainly do not speak much to their judgment or observation. The following is an example, which was current in Calcutta some years ago. A gentleman sent a basket of fruits and a note to a friend, by a servant, who ate some of the fruits by the way. The note mentioned the exact number of fruits which the basket contained; and the bearer was questioned as to the deficiency. A short time after, when the same man was again sent on a similar errand, before he ate the fruit, he hid the note under a stone; and when again taxed with his fault, was quite thrown off his guard, and observed “how could the note tell tales? He did not see me when I took the fruit.” The story was I believe of considerable antiquity, and had been handed down from one set of new arrivals to another. That such an occurrence might have happened in the West Indies, among the African Negroes, is possible, but to relate such an anecdote of a people who, though they are in many things both simple and superstitious, have known the use of letters for centuries; and of a country, in which there is not a village

which does not contain individuals who can read and write, was *un peu de trop*. It is introduced here as an illustration of the extent of knowledge which many of the English acquire, and an evidence of the proportion of attention which they deign to bestow upon the natives; for this story was related and believed by people who had passed several years in India; and I could mention several others of the same stamp.*

Another striking feature among the English, is a disposition to detract from any merit which the natives do possess, and if possible to the credit of what they are compelled to acknowledge, to European agency and influence. Take for instance that beautiful building the Taj Mahal at Agra. All who are real judges and unprejudiced, allow it to be perfectly unique; and it is sufficient to quote the words of Heber. "I went to see the celebrated Taj Mahal, of which it is enough to say, that after hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations." Yet I have heard several, whose knowledge of architecture was as great as could be expected from the want of any means of acquiring it, who had never bestowed a thought upon the subject or seen any buildings better than a common brick house in England and those in the city of Palaces, profess that *they were rather disappointed*; while even those who have sufficient taste to appreciate the beauty of this exquisite work of art, are very prone to qualify their admiration by attributing either the plan or the execution to Italian artists. Though it is possible that this may have been the fact, a moment's reflection will show that the improbability is great. The architecture of the building is of the same style that may be observed at all Mahomedan cities in Hindostan and Lahore; in Kabul and Persia; and totally different from any thing to be found in Europe except where the Mahometan power has been established in Spain and Turkey. Moreover, there are in many cities of the East, buildings of a similar style of architecture, whose merit, though of a different nature, fully equals that of the Taj, and which if they must yield to it the palm of beauty and elegance, far surpass it in grandeur and splendour; and in the erection of which we know that no Ita-

lians or any other Europeans could have assisted as they were never domesticated in their neighbourhood. Under such circumstances what is the rational conclusion but that the Taj Mahal was solely planned and built by natives of the country; but in our zeal for exalting ourselves at the expense of the people of the East, we overlook all this, and having learnt that some Italian monks resided at Agra, about the period at which the Taj was built or even at an earlier date, and observed some tombs at that city with Italian names inscribed upon them, we at once jump to the conclusion that so rare a work could never have been designed by natives, but that they must have had the assistance of European artists.

The same spirit displays itself whenever Jyepoor is mentioned. The broad streets, and the regularity of the plan on which they are laid out, together with the beautiful scite of the city attract universal notice; and because an Italian is known to have resided under the protection of its founder, he of course enjoys the credit of having been the architect, yet the style of the architecture of the town and palace, and of the neighbouring palace of Ameer, is purely oriental. The regularity of the city, as justly observed by Heber, is to be attributed to its being the work of one sovereign who laid down one regular plan, and the complete division of the city into different wards is perfectly according to eastern ideas of having a separate ward for each tribe; and no more than what did, and to a considerable degree does still, exist in almost every town and even village in India. The chief superiority of Jyepoor, the breadth of its streets, may surely, without any great stress of the miraculous, be conceded to a native prince who was founding a new city. The observatories built at Delhi and Benares by the same sovereign, are generally alluded to in the same spirit; yet there is no difficulty in believing that such works might be the production of a people who not only knew how to calculate an eclipse, but who were in possession of this knowledge, when our ancestors were clothed in skins, painted their bodies, and worshipped wicker idols.

The same disposition to depreciate whatever is of native production and prefer that of European manufacture may be traced in a variety of other instances, some of them of rather an amusing description. Innumerable articles of daily use are procured at a high price from England, or from some foreign country, which might be produced equally good in India, at much less expense. Indeed the whole of the eastern world seems

* It is amusing to hear these stories and anecdotes spoken of by each succeeding narrator, as having occurred in his own time; occasionally the circumstances are stated to have happened under his own observation. I can however inform my readers on the faith of assurances from men of the late Mr. Brooke's standing, that a great proportion of these anecdotes were current in India at least as far back as nearly sixty years ago; and that most of them are inventions of Englishmen of lively imaginations to gull their newly imported countrymen.

sometimes to be placed under the ban. Some years ago, hardly any one in Calcutta would place on his dinner table any but the plainest white English crockery-ware. Even English China was objected to for fear it might be mistaken for real China, and not perceived to be of English manufacture. All the rich and beautiful materials for dress, which at home are so highly prized by ladies of fashion, are here noted "low and native-like," to use the identical vulgar expression which is adopted. To give an instance in point. A gentleman who had been for some time resident in Upper India, among other specimens of the productions of the country, had collected drawings of all the different descriptions of jewellery and ornaments worn by the native women. On a visit to Calcutta, in one of the first jewellers' shops, he observed that the ornaments of the newest fashion which had been received from England were in the Hindostanee style; and struck with the circumstance, he shewed his drawings to the jeweller, and offered to lend them to him for patterns. The jeweller thanked him, but declined the offer, observing that it would be useless to take advantage of it, unless they were first taken to England and executed there, in which case they would be considered fashionable and immediately adopted here; but that otherwise no lady would think of wearing any thing in the native style.

We may observe a kindred spirit and tone of feeling to prevail in the attempts to account for any check or want of success which has been experienced in our military enterprises. When the different hordes of Pindarries for some time eluded the pursuit of the British troops; when the Goorkas repelled our first attacks; and when the slow progress which was made in the invasion of the Burmese territories attracted public attention, we felt that some explanation must be given. The intelligence or bravery of the enemy, in some instances decidedly superior to that of our own troops, was seldom alluded to. Any hint as to deficiency of proper arrangements on our own part was scouted,* and in order to prove that we were neither beaten nor outmanœuvred by *mere natives*, it was, in each case, generally asserted as a matter of course, that the enemy had some European

leaders.* Yet with regard to the Burmese and Pindarries, there was not the shadow of ground for such assumption; and, with respect to the Goorkas, the only foundation for any such idea, was the supposed existence of an European in the Nipal territory, who never was even near one of their armies, but who was reported by the natives to be employed in one of their arsenals in the manufacture of gunpowder.

As long however as this style of thought and opinion is current, it will be in vain to hope for any correct estimate of the people of India. The situation of the English in India and the circumstances under which they come to the country, present considerable obstacles on their part to the formation of a true comparison between the character of the natives and corresponding classes of their own countrymen. But this at least is in our power; to divest ourselves from prejudice; to view the people with impartiality and benevolence; and to note carefully what we observe; giving at the same time the extent of locality and population over which our observation has extended and the reasons which have influenced our opinions. This, at least, will enable others who are competent judges of European customs, to form a comparison between the natives of the east and west, with a greater prospect of fairness than any that has ever yet been instituted.

The great desideratum for judging of the people of India and delineating their character accurately, would be a body of intelligent and well informed Englishmen of mature age, well acquainted with society in all its grades in England; men of knowledge, observation, and experience in the world, who had mixed in all classes at home, and in other European countries, with ample opportunities for noting the peculiar characteristics of each; and who should at the same time be free from that exclusive prejudice in favor of England and English habits, which has so often been attributed to our own countrymen in foreign countries, and which in proportion to its existence more or less disqualifies the mind from impartial observation or investigation. They should be prepared to treat with indifference the petty annoyances to which all travellers are ex-

* The extraordinary neglect and inefficiency of the Commissariat during the Burmese war is notorious to all, and indeed has been published to the world, both in the public papers in India, and in one publication in England. Yet to avoid the discredit that would attach both to that establishment and to Government, the business was hushed up here; and when an enquiry was held, matters were so managed as to quash what might have proved offensive. The hundreds of lives, both English and Native, which were sacrificed by the want of proper arrangement was of no more consideration compared with the bringing discredit on the Government, or those who had interest with the powers that be.

* It is quite amusing to observe the difference in the style of report adopted by Generals or other Commanding Officers when they have been victorious, and when they have been beaten. In the former cases, the devoted and desperate bravery of the enemy, the strength of his position, and the excellent disposition of his forces, are largely descanted on—the inference being plain as to the superiority on the part of the victor and his troops, to have overcome such obstacles. When a General has been beaten, he then puffs his own arrangements, and the bravery of his own forces, and attributes his defeat to some unavoidable accident which it was impossible to foresee and guard against.

posed in a greater or less degree on their first arrival in a country where every thing is so totally different from what they have been accustomed to; unimbuéd with prejudices either for or against the natives; but ready to observe, reflect, and form their judgment from what lies before them. They should possess a competent knowledge of the vernacular language; and make themselves familiar with the forms and etiquette of native society; having also sufficient leisure to devote to the object in view. With these preliminaries, they should then mix as much as possible with the respectable natives, and take every opportunity in their walks and rides, of conversing with the peasantry. But where, it may be asked, are such men to be found, and what probability is there of their enlightening the horizon of India? A few individuals have occasionally appeared possessed of the primary qualifications, but there was nothing in the object in view sufficiently attractive to induce them to undergo the drudgery of learning what was requisite after their arrival here; and they have gone their round, and perhaps published a book on their return home, in which we may indeed find correct descriptions of scenery, costume, modes of travelling, and other superficial points, enlivened by entertaining anecdotes: while of the habits, thoughts, feelings, and opinions of the people, together with the causes which have influenced them, as little has been discovered as of the treasures of a mine into which the traveller has never descended, or of the very existence of which he has been ignorant while amusing himself with gathering the flowers or weeds which cover the surface of the superincumbent soil. Both pleasure and profit may doubtless be gained from such an occupation, but he who wishes to gain a correct knowledge of what is below, must undergo the toil of descending into the mine, having first provided himself with the means requisite and the implements necessary to explore it. Of such men, one and one only has hitherto appeared—Reginald Heber. Long may the people of India deplore his untimely death, and long I fear must they wait ere they see another like him!

We need not, however, wait for such another avatar. If young men on their first arrival in India will pursue the course above suggested, and continue to follow it up when after ten or twelve years' residence they take advantage of their furlough to return to England, the result of their observations will soon enable us to appreciate both our own countrymen and the natives of India; and to form a proper comparison between the

good and bad qualities of the respective nations.

Instead of this mode of proceeding, what, let me ask, has been the conduct too generally adopted by the English? "Drest in a little brief authority" have we not arrogated to ourselves an entire and unyielding superiority over the natives of the country, and treated them with scorn, contempt, or haughty indifference? Has not our Government been one of systematic extortion and injustice? Have we not humbled their rulers to the dust, and deprived them of power, dignity, and self-respect, appropriating their wealth to swell the rent-roll of the British Government?* Have we not kept ourselves aloof from all but those whom necessity obliges us to communicate with, the lowest and the meanest of the people in the capacities of servants or officials, or rather has not our behaviour disgusted or alienated all others from holding intercourse with us? And with such qualifications and such recommendations to facilitate an acquaintance, we affect to judge of the native character, and to compare it with the only portion of the English with whom we have been brought into contact, a few selected individuals, who have every inducement that education and self-interest can give to exhibit themselves in the most favourable light! Lord Byron's remarks on the Greeks and their detractors are peculiarly applicable here. "Some of them

* The repeated assertions of the extortion of the British Indian Government may excite remark: it is however impossible to say too much or bring it to light too often, for the more acquaintance we acquire of the system, the more it glares forth in its deformity. Many instances in illustration have been given; two more are subjoined. It has actually been declared that all debtors are entitled to the benefits of the insolvent act, except those confined by a collector for arrears of Government revenue. A verbal technicality in the law has been taken advantage of to enable the British Government to commit this piece of injustice. See construction Book as to the meaning of Regulations, published by orders of the Sudder Dewannee, Nos. 24, 26, 303, 319, 326, and 372, the first dated September 20, 1806, the last December 31, 1834.

The next is as follows. In the attachment of property in the execution of decrees in favor of individuals, a proclamation of the intended sale is to be made not less than thirty days before the sale take place. All claims to the property attached are to be immediately investigated; and if proved, the property is to be released. See 1825 Reg. VII. Further if the claim be disallowed, the order for the sale shall not be carried into effect until the usual period for appeal shall have passed from the date of the order. Circular orders of the Sudder Dewannee, July 19, 1838. But when property is attached for arrears of revenue no claims to such property are even to be investigated; it is (unless the arrear be paid or security given by the defaulter) at once to be sold, and the claimant may have his redress in a regular suit in the civil court, i.e. as has been repeatedly indirectly pronounced even by Government itself, shall be virtually denied justice altogether. See Con. Book ut supra, No. 548, April 19, 1839. A legal quibble has here also been taken advantage of. Such is the difference with which the interests of individuals, and those of Government, are treated. Such decisions might have been expected from a conclave of "Crack Collectors" and "first rate Revenue Secretaries," but were unworthy of the Judges of the chief tribunal for the administration of justice. These should have exhibited a little more independence and proper feeling, and if the regulations did not admit of a construction consistent with justice, might at least have brought the subject to the notice of Government. But in many of their constructions they have assumed a greater latitude than would have been necessary in these cases to promote justice.

actually boasted of the little intercourse which they have had with the Greeks, and yet presumed to give an opinion of them. One gentleman, Mr. Thornton, claims the public confidence on the strength of a fourteen years' residence at Pera, and a few voyages in Greek vessels in the Black Sea," which, as Byron justly observes, "would give a man as much idea of Greece, as a residence in Wapping and a few cruises in a Berwick Smack, would of the Highlands and the manners of the Highland gentry: others condemn the whole nation wholesale, on the same grounds that a Turk in England might do so; because he had been cheated by his lacquey, or overcharged by his washerwoman." So is it with the English in India. You may constantly hear individuals expressing their contempt for the *black fellows*, and declaring that they have such a dislike to them that they have as little communication as possible with them; yet at the same time affect to be very good judges of their character;—and we have many Mr. Thorntons in India. In short so far from having entered the *mine*, we have not even taken the best that the surface of the ground presented: the flowers have been too often neglected or trodden under foot, we have been annoyed by the thorns and the thistles, and we have accordingly pronounced the land to be barren and incapable of improvement.

But it is cheering to perceive that a better feeling is rising among us. We are beginning to know both ourselves and the people of India better than we did, and the nature of our Government is revealing itself in its true colours. When we have advanced a little further into the study, we shall discover that the difference between us is not so great as we have been accustomed to take for granted; and that if the Hindostanees exceed us in some of their vices and follies, they are free from others to which we must plead guilty. Some of their laws and customs are of such nature that every friend to them, and to humanity, would wish to see them eradicated, but they have it in their power, unfortunately, to retort upon us in points which we shall find it difficult, if not impossible, to answer. With what face can we declaim against the tyrannical acts of an oriental despot so long as we retain the system of the impressment of seamen, a system only rendered necessary by the inadequate remuneration for service given by the English Government and the ill treatment the sailors too often receive?—Nay, we need not travel to England for examples. Notwithstanding the eloquent declamation so often

pronounced in favour of the British Indian Government, and against the "tyrannical barbarians" whom we have supplanted, the truth is at length forced upon us, that whatever might have been their situation under their former masters, we have not gained any superior favor, respect, or popularity in their eyes; but on the contrary are regarded by them with the strongest feelings of aversion, and that they would hail with joy the first opportunity of emancipating themselves from our yoke; so bitterly do they feel our oppression and injustice. Yet had this state of affairs been only hinted at a few years since: and had any one dared to warn our rulers of the precipice on which they stood; he would have been transported without trial to the utter ruin of his affairs. We point with horror to the mutilations* and other barbarous punishments inflicted on criminals by the native powers, and we forget that we introduced a law into India, by which a man whose sole crime was *misfortune* might be imprisoned for life, his prospects entirely ruined, and his family reduced to beggary, to gratify the malice of a vindictive creditor.† Indeed when we discuss the introduction of laws unsuited to the country and the people, what is to be said to the establishment of the Supreme Court, with its expensive paraphernalia, and the unjust extension of its jurisdiction over the whole of India, which has been assumed by the Judges? Put the matter home, suppose our African conquerors, so often alluded to, had established a Court of which the system of law was founded on the Koran, and the business conducted by Mahomedan Moolahs in the Arabic language, at ten times the expense of the most expensive Court in England; that this Court had been fixed at Rome, and that its jurisdiction extended over the British empire; that the salaries of the Judges and officers attached to the Court were fixed on the most exorbitant scale for which the people of England were taxed to pay. Suppose also, that when we complained of the evils and injustice inflicted on us by such a Court, we were taunted by the successive African Judges who presided in it, and told that we were now enabled to obtain justice, which it was vain

* Mutilations were common in England up to the reign of Charles First; and torture to extort confessions was regularly practised in Scotland in the time of Charles Second. It was frequently inflicted by justices and other local authorities during the last rebellion in Ireland, and is not altogether discontinued in that kingdom even in the present day. The cruelties of the Duke of Cumberland in Scotland after the "forty five" are notorious.

† Let it be remembered that, with the exception of those confined for arrears of revenue, such legal injustice and oppression could only be practised under the shadow of the Supreme Court and English law: it was unknown in the British Indian provinces.

to hope for from our own corrupt and inefficient tribunals. This is not by any means an overdrawn comparison; it would be a precisely parallel instance to the introduction of English law into India; administered solely by the Supreme Court at Calcutta. And for what purpose was this piece of oppression inflicted on the people of India?—Mainly to procure at their expense some patronage for the British Ministers.

The practice of Suttee may fairly be ranked with that of duelling; and till the former is abolished among us, we have no right to pronounce on the latter as a custom “peculiar to the barbarous and ferocious inhabitants of Hindostan,” the same feeling promoting to either practice in both nations, *i. e.* the point of honor and the dread of ignominy. In honesty if we are in some particulars superior to the natives, in others the English must concede the point to them. Falsehood and want of truth is justly attributed to them, yet in certain cases, the latitude we allow ourselves is great; for solemn declarations *on honor* are falsely made, without a man losing his consideration in society, while inaccuracy and exaggeration in common conversation are of so frequent occurrence that it become a proverb “only to believe half that is told you,” and “the difficulty of getting at the truth” is a complaint that is universal, not only in questions of *meum* and *tuum*, but on the most trivial subject that is agitated between parties of opposite opinions. In some points of outward decorum, personal delicacy, &c. the superiority must be awarded to the English; in others to the natives. When we tax them with practices which offend our notions of decency and propriety, we must blush at the sight of a party of officers, sitting up more than half the night, singing the most profane and indecent ribaldry, and finally carried to bed by their native servants, in a perfect state of intoxication; while the very next day, before they have well recovered from their debauch, some of these very officers are sitting on a Court-Martial, to try and punish a poor private for having done no more than they themselves have been guilty of!

Such comparisons might be extended to a very great length, and would tend to lessen in a considerable degree the imaginary distance between the two nations; but this is not the system we adopt when contrasting our enlightened and superior selves with the despised and degraded natives. Every insulated instance of misconduct on their part is blazed abroad with the utmost publicity, and inferences are drawn of the unfitness

of the people to be trusted or employed; while a similar occurrence on the part of an Englishman is as much as possible hushed up*, and all sorts of excuses are devised to extenuate his misdeeds. When a really fair and equitable comparison shall be drawn between the two nations by men who are properly qualified for the task, we shall possibly agree to the truth of an opinion which I once heard expressed by an old man who had travelled much and transacted business in various countries, and with all descriptions of people, *viz.* “that setting aside those who were entirely in the savage state, although between *individuals* the difference was immense, yet that if we fairly balanced one vice or virtue with another, as *a whole*, there was not ten per cent. difference between the *very best* and the *very worst* upon earth.” The following observations were made by a friend of mine, who has passed several years among the natives engaged in mercantile affairs, and secluded from European society, in reply to some queries on the subject in 1829.

“On the whole, however, I like the people, and do not think very ill of them. They are what formerly the absence of all law, and subsequently the abuse of all law, have made them, but I do not think they mean to carry their vices of falsehood, cunning, duplicity, and dissimulation beyond self-defence; and I should be sanguine of a great general improvement from their more frequent communication with men who had found out that “honesty was the best policy.” And again in the present year he writes:—“I like the people, but I am afraid I must admit that their bad qualities predominate. It is scarcely possible it should be otherwise.”—“The native is, I am afraid, bad; but I readily allow he is what his situation has made him, and as I said at the beginning of this letter, after all I like him, and indeed place more confidence in him than I do in the majority of my own countrymen. This seems somewhat in opposition to my opinions; but the fact is, I have a high opinion of their fidelity, if one goes the right way to secure it. Donald Bean would not have minded breaking any ordinary oath to oblige the clergyman who attended him at the gallows; but having sworn on the edge of his dagger, Rose Bradwardine’s secret was inviolable. So is it with the native—secure him after his own fashion, and you may rely upon him:

* The frequency with which misconduct on the part of Civil and Military officers, provided only that the natives alone suffer, and that it does not affect Government in a pecuniary point, is passed over, in order not to bring discredit on the British name in India, is disgraceful; but I am glad to see that a rather higher tone of morality than was exhibited a few years back, is beginning to appear.

and by the bye, to judge him fairly, we should be animated by the feelings which influence him, and not by those which our different habits and education have created."

That the natives have faults, I readily admit; and that as a nation they are inferior to the English I also allow, but what I wish to inculcate on my readers is that the shades which mark the superiority of the one and the inferiority of the other are neither so distinct nor so broad as we have generally supposed, and that, until we shall have learnt to bring them nearer to the eye and to compare them more minutely, our system of government and our conduct towards them can never rest on a secure foundation.

In a paper of this nature some observations of a general nature might be expected, on the prevailing features of the native character; but among a people so varied and dispersed over so vast an extent of country, subject to such infinite diversity of climate, customs, and habits, it is extremely difficult to describe any striking characteristic as common to the whole race. In reading lately some accounts of the Spaniards, I have been much struck with the great resemblance which they are said to exhibit in some points to the natives of this country, particularly in their habit of boasting, love of procrastination and dilatory proceedings, and in their natural civility and politeness. The character of the two grand divisions of Hindoos and Moosulmans, and many of the sub-divisions of each class, is in many things so radically different, that observations on a comprehensive scale can hardly be framed, so as to present a correct picture. One grand distinction is religion—their degrading superstition and abominable and absurd system of idolatry, added to the immorality of certain descriptions which it tolerates, have a tendency to render the Hindoos an inferior people to the Mahometans, whose code of morality is in many points pure and correct, being principally taken from our own Scriptures; yet strange to say that in practice, the difference in the effect produced by the two systems on the conduct of the respective votaries is much less than might have been supposed. A remark which I fear will apply but too well to the profession and practice of Christianity, or indeed of any other religion that imposes restraints upon the mind or body of man. The most universally prevailing feature, and one which will perhaps be applicable equally to both classes in India, is a deficiency in truth,—a want of exactness in their ideas and habits of estimating and de-

fining, a dislike to trouble or exertion of any kind, and the love of procrastination. Elphinstone observes of the natives of Persia and India that "a man of the first nation seems incapable of observing any thing accurately; and one of the second of describing it truly;" but I am inclined to think, that both remarks are equally appropriate to the people of India of all creeds, ranks, and classes. The origin of most of their faults, I suspect, may be traced to indolence; and with regard to procrastination, they seem too often to resemble the Spaniard in never doing any thing to-day which can by any means be postponed till to-morrow; and any one who has any transactions with them, will have his memory as well impressed with the "*hojaega*" and "*dekha chahie*," (Anglice "we will see about it") so constantly used, as he who deals with the Spaniards will remember the "*manana*" (pronounced *manijana*—"to-morrow,") of procrastinating indolence.

And here the question may be with propriety proposed what is the best mode of improving the moral character of the people? But first let me enquire what have the English done or attempted towards this desirable end? Education and the endeavour to inspire them with a higher tone of principle will undoubtedly be the surest means to be adopted; but a long period must elapse before this will accomplish the object in view; and we should endeavour to discover whether in the mean time a judicious application of legal enactments, a better system of administering the affairs of the country, and a change in our own conduct will not prove great auxiliaries. Mortifying as it may be to our vanity and self-love, it is notorious to all who mix with the people, and indeed generally allowed by almost every Englishman in India, that the more the natives have been brought into contact with the English, the more has their character deteriorated. Immorality and crime have increased; and many vices adopted from which they were formerly free. Of the efficacy of education, it is needless to descant, unless one could entertain the hope of rousing the Government to a proper sense of its duties on this head, and the legal enactments which may be suggested, may more appropriately be introduced under each subordinate head which will be discussed.

Some general remarks on the tendency of all English legislation to enact extremely severe penalties will not be out of place, for though our British Indian Code is much milder than that of England, the pernicious principle has been too much introduced into

our Indian laws. Some people advocate severity of punishment as the panacea for the prevention of all crimes. Provided we could ensure the detection and punishment of every offender, or even of a considerable majority, the plan would in the end be productive not only of benefit to the community, but be one of compassion to the evil-disposed who would thereby be deterred from the commission of crime; but as the English police arrangements (which term I here use in an enlarged sense to signify any plans for the prevention of crime) have hitherto been very deficient in this respect, I should be rather inclined to draw the attention of those who administer the affairs of the country to this point, and ordain only a moderate punishment. When this becomes pretty certain, should crime not decrease, it will then be time to encrease the severity of the penalty. In thefts, for instance, suppose that the police could be brought to that pitch of perfection, that every thief was *certain* to be discovered, and the whole amount of the stolen property certain to be recovered within a day or two after the occurrence. The restitution of the stolen property, accompanied by a very slight fine on the thief, would be quite sufficient to deter any one from committing this crime. Indeed, were such certainty attained, it is probable that the mere restitution would be sufficient, and that not a single theft would ever be committed in the country in which the Police had arrived at such perfection; while on the other hand to annex the penalty of death indiscriminately to every theft would not effect much towards annihilating the crime, if police arrangements were so lax that few criminals were discovered. It is almost needless to advert to the numerous instances in which severity of punishment has defeated the object intended, the reasons for which are various. In the first place unless the police arrangements be improved this result is certain, inasmuch as the criminals are more on the alert, and take greater precautions to prevent discovery; and consequently detection becomes much less frequent than before. Then, again, judges and juries are more lenient, witnesses hesitate in giving positive evidence, and prosecutors often decline to come forward; all actuated by a laudable feeling. The two former observe that the punishment to which the prisoner, if found guilty, will be subjected, is so severe, that he ought to be allowed every chance of escape: and the latter have frequently given as their reason that ~~they~~ they could not reconcile it to their consciences to be the cause of inflicting a penal-

ty so much more excessive than the crime deserved. It is also an observation founded on experience, that in whatever country punishments are inordinately severe, there the police is proportionably lax. Finding crime increase, instead of going to the root of the evil, ignorant or careless legislators have contented themselves with enacting an enhanced punishment, and have been surprised to find that their object has entirely failed. Indeed an over-severity of punishment has not seldom been the lamentable cause of producing worse crimes. A man who is perpetrating a minor offence, to which an over severe punishment is attached, will, if he be in danger of discovery, be guilty of murder to prevent such a chance.

This axiom has at length, after several centuries, began to be understood in England even by the lawyers, and of late great attention has been given to the improvement of the police, while the punishments for a variety of crimes have been lessened, and with good effect. In India, where we are not hampered by English law, and the prejudices of English lawyers, the discovery was made in a much shorter time. For several years, the general feature in the criminal enactments has been to lessen the punishment prescribed to various crimes, and to render the cases cognizable by the subordinate tribunals. At first, all but the most petty cases were committed for trial at the sessions. The punishment for simple burglary was at one time no less than fourteen years imprisonment. It was then reduced to seven; and in 1818 made cognizable when unaccompanied by aggravating circumstances, by the magistrates, and often punished by only one or two years imprisonment. Gang robbery cases were formerly referred by the circuit judges to the superior court (Sudder Nizamut) and the punishment was death or imprisonment for life. Since 1825—(Regulation 16) this crime, if unaccompanied by aggravating circumstances, may be punished by the sessions judge by as little as seven years imprisonment. Formerly, all cases of affrays or boundary disputes were committed to the sessions: at present minor cases are cognizable by the magistrates, with a maximum punishment, not exceeding one year's imprisonment. Several other instances might be adduced, in all of which I believe the beneficial effect has been decrease of crime; at least, it is reasonable to infer this, since a greater number have been punished than formerly. I should like to see the same experiment tried with regard to forgery and perjury.

I have before alluded to one means of checking this, and indeed many other crimes and evils, *i. e.* a more frequent communication with the people and a better acquaintance with their character and modes of thinking, and more particularly is this knowledge requisite with respect to those individuals with whom we are constantly brought into official contact. One of the best modes of ensuring this would be frequently to make local enquiries and investigations in particular case. A very different result will often ensue from an investigation so conducted compared with what would have been the case, had it been carried on in court. Our courts and public offices are held in such abhorrence by the people, as the hot beds of villany of every description, that it is the endeavour of every respectable person to avoid the contamination of any connexion with them. The very nature of the people seems to be changed when they come within their atmosphere; and almost all who do come are under some influence of fear, force, fraud, or their own bad passions, which seems to transform them into totally different beings from what they are in ordinary circumstances. In a local enquiry, the very reverse occurs. The people are in the first place taken unawares; and even if inclined, have not time to prepare a story. Seated on the village Chubootra,* one is immediately surrounded by the most respectable of the inhabitants, who will readily communicate the knowledge they possess; while those who might be inclined to conceal the truth feel themselves under the eye of all whom they are accustomed to respect and whose good or bad opinion is a matter of considerable importance, and know that should a misstatement be made, it will be immediately checked and pointed out by some of the numerous assembly. I appeal to all those who have ever made the experiment, provided they have possessed some knowledge of the people and language of the country, to corroborate the assertion, that one half hour's local enquiry will produce a more correct knowledge of the facts and truth of a case, than is usually acquired by days or even weeks of investigation in a court or office, situated perhaps from twenty to fifty or seventy miles from the scene of action.

If this mode of proceeding were more frequently resorted to, our British functionaries would not lie under the stigma of being too

stupid to discover what every clown in the village knows, or of having shared in the bribes which have been given to obstruct the cause of justice: and mortifying as the idea may be, this is undoubtedly the character we too often bear among the people over whom we are placed. In every district there are people whose chief livelihood arises from giving evidence in favor of any who will pay them. These people are notoriously known to the native public. Yet the British functionaries remain totally ignorant of their persons or even of their existence. How can the people believe us in earnest in our professed detestation of falsehood and perjury when they see such proceedings, and entertain such opinions of us as those which I have above mentioned? But how, it may be asked, can such local enquiries be conducted under the present system, when every office is so overloaded with business that to get through it in the hurried and unsatisfactory manner so often described in these papers, is all that can be expected: and when the system adopted regarding the subordinate native functionaries to whom enquiries and investigations might be intrusted, is to give salaries often literally and utterly inadequate for subsistence, so that they are compelled by necessity to use their official power as a means of extortion and corruption? From men educated in such a school, I grant that little honesty is to be expected; but I do not therefore draw the conclusion that the natives are not only unfit to be trusted but incorrigible. When the same liberal policy shall have been adopted towards them which has been introduced in the case of the covenanted civil servants, we shall then have an opportunity of estimating their characters with some impartiality, and it is probable that a very different order of affairs will then appear.

Indeed so much stress do I lay on the freedom of intercourse between the English functionaries and the people over whom they are placed, that I am convinced no man will ever be a good public officer who does not adopt this system. I mean with reference to the interests of the people; for unfortunately it is very possible to acquire a high character with government though the individual who has gained it is the object of detestation to every class of men in his district, and though he has rendered the British name a bye-word for tyranny and extortion. A man might become a "first-rate collector," and yet be extremely ignorant of the country and the people. Indeed in charity it is to be hoped that this is generally the case, for any one who was really ac-

* Chubootra a sort of raised platform constructed either of earth, masonry, or thipher, in almost every village in India; on which the heads of the community meet to discuss any business of general interest to themselves.

quainted with the state of affairs and the deplorable poverty and wretchedness which exists, must have a heart steeled against the common feelings of humanity, and ready to execute the most severe and oppressive measures to entitle him to such an appellation. Had they not been ignorant, some at least of these "crack revenue officers" would have felt some compunction, and most probably have relaxed a little in their extortions, by which their names would not have been so highly on the list of efficient Government servants. In the present day, some knowledge is requisite to form a first-rate collector, for the greater poverty of the people renders it much more difficult to discover funds for taxation. And here we should be cautious of attributing more blame than is justly due to the subordinate officers of this department. Many of them are driven to obstinacy and compelled to shut their eyes to the misery and impoverishment which they inflict; and they are only instruments in the hands of their superiors to whom they must render the full measure expected or lose their situations. Many of the "crack collectors," however, have gratuitously adopted means to acquire this title; and some have even solicited to be employed in settlement making in other districts than their own, in the hopes of promoting their advancement.*

When the English shall have mixed more with the people, and acquired a knowledge not only generally, but to a considerable degree of individual character, of those over whom they are placed, they will be able to add the weight of their private to that of their official demeanour which would greatly increase their influence. It has often been urged against the natives of India that their scale of morality is so low that they attach no disgrace to successful villainy—that men,

* One of this description of officers has been heard to boast, that he would make such a settlement. (or in plain English raise the rents to such a pitch of extortion by forcing the farmers to agree to pay them) as no one else ever did or would do again. He did as he said, but forgot that it would be one the rents of which no one would ever be able to realize; as the result proved. The discredit of being unable to collect the Government revenue, he calculated would fall upon his successor, and that he should have established his name as an efficient officer, and have left the district before the ruin to the people and ultimate loss to Government, from attempting to extort more than the country could possibly yield, should be discovered. Another declared that if the people would not consent to pay the rent he demanded, he would make the province a grazing ground sooner than allow them to cultivate their own lands at a lower rent.

It is indeed the constant boast of these officers how much they have raised the revenue, that is, extorted from the people. To show the little regard for the people which the being engaged in such proceedings engenders, and the pitch to which their anger can be carried at any opposition to their will, the following may be mentioned. A collector was heard to boast that under cover of some Regulation he had caused a fine man to be cut down out of revenge, because the proprietor had quarrelled with his servants about the sale of some fire

guilty of the greatest atrocities and the basest crimes, maintained an unimpaired station in society and are rather courted than shunned by their equals and inferiors, from admiration of their ingenuity or fear of their hostility. A case has just been brought to my notice where an individual by some fraud got possession of an estate, and kept the owners out for many years. A suit was at length brought forward, and the defence set up was a pretended deed of sale, which was however discovered, and judicially declared a forgery. Yet the guilty person is as much courted by his native acquaintance as ever, and I am ashamed to say with one exception treated with the same familiarity as before by the English functionaries, even by the man whose sentence declared his villainy.

There is, I grieve to admit, too much truth in this state of feeling; but I cannot allow that it is universal and it unfortunately tells as much in discredit of the English as of the natives. It is true that men whose evil courses are successful, too seldom meet with any change in the behaviour of their countrymen which should mark a reprobation of their conduct; but to our shame, be it said, they find as little among the English. Natives who are discharged by one functionary for the most infamous conduct, are often employed by his successor with as little hesitation as if their characters were fair and respectable. I could quote cases of native officers who had been guilty not only of receiving bribes and extortion, but of forgery, who were notwithstanding appointed by civil functionaries who were perfectly aware of their characters, to situations in the collection of the revenue. And what was the reason? In some cases it may be attributed to the constant change of the European officers and the consequent ignorance of the characters of those whom they employed; while the little intercourse they had with the people prevented their acquiring this knowledge; but in the cases to which I allude, it was done with full knowledge of what had occurred and of the characters of the parties. In some instances the British functionary professed his conviction that all the natives were equally bad, and that the individual in question was no worse than the rest; and in others it was observed that although he might be a rascal, yet he was an excellent revenue officer, and contrived to levy the Government taxes to an extent that no other had been able to do.

Besides, in forming an estimate of the people, we ought in fairness to take into con-

sideration the state of society and the feelings which exist among them. In some parts of the country, dakoitee, or plunder by banditti, is not looked upon as a theft, but as a lawful and spirited excursion; just as a foray was considered in days of yore on the borders of England and Scotland. The very man who would boast of such an exploit would scorn to commit a theft; and the inhabitants of a village who would not join in any affray upon a dispute with their neighbours, would be despised just as a man would be among the majority of English gentlemen who submits to an insult without calling for an apology or the alternative of a duel. I do not defend this state of things, and should rejoice to see them eradicated, and it is to be hoped that better feelings will gradually prevail both among them and ourselves; but in estimating the character of any people, it is but fair to view the subject in all its lights and bearings.

The English however cannot plead an imperfect code of morals, a perverted sense of right and wrong, or an ignorance of their duty to extenuate the faults which are complained of. In proportion to their superiority in all these respects over the people of India, a higher tone of feeling and conduct must undoubtedly be expected from them, and a corresponding severity of judgment must attach to their misconduct. It is with a view to remind my countrymen of this, and not to cast any additional stigma on the individuals themselves that I would call their attention to the many instances of the grossest dishonesty, immorality, and general want of principle which must be familiar to their recollection to which in some cases little or no public expression of disapprobation was awarded, and which in no degree affected the general reception of the offenders in the society of their peers. Have we not seen the successful libertine received with smiles and attention, particularly if the character of a duellist be added to the catalogue of his recommendations? The man who has cheated his friend or acquaintance in the sale of horses is equally honored provided he keep within certain limits. Is the civil officer whose infamous neglect of duty occasions the ruin of hundreds, and the oppression of thousands, made sensible of his misconduct by any change in the behaviour of his countrymen towards him. Mr. Ravenscroft, in plain English, stole two hundred thousand rupees out of the Government Treasury. Not long since a civil functionary of high

rank, was convicted of bribery and corruption to the most shameful degree. Several others have at various times been proved guilty of the same, and others, though legal proof may have been deficient, are known to have left their situations in the possession of a much larger sum than the whole of their salary accumulated would have amounted to, although it was notorious that they were not only penniless, but in debt, at the date of their appointment. Some of these have been publicly dismissed the service; yet has any one of them been made to feel by the conduct of their friends and acquaintances that they were degraded members of society? No!—to our shame and disgrace be it spoken.

In consequence of the disclosures caused by the late failures at Calcutta, was it not proved that one of the houses of Agency had for a considerable time previous to their insolvency, invested in their own name in the Government securities money which had been transmitted to be expressly invested in the names of those by whom it was sent? For what earthly purpose could this have been done, but on a systematic and deliberate intention to make use of the amount for their own benefit, or in plain English, to embezzle it, should the difficulties of the house render such a course expedient? God forbid that I should even appear to trample on misfortune. I am the last man to adopt such a despicable course; but there is a vast difference between misfortune and fraud; and the transactions alluded to are neither more nor less than robbery of the worst species—robbery under trust—robbery by which numerous widows and orphans have been rendered destitute.—Yet are the partners of the firm who were guilty of such conduct in any way shunned by society? No!—to our shame and disgrace again be it said; they are received on the same footing that they were before.

Yet we presume to taunt the natives of India with their debasement, in not marking their abhorrence of crime by excluding the guilty from their society. Let us first cast the beam out of our own eye; and when we have practically shown them that our code of morality is better than theirs, we shall then be entitled to boast; and in time may be able to convince them of its superiority.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

October 25, 1834.

SKETCH OF COCHIN.

Sketch of Cochin, subsequent to the retirement from office of the late Fiscal Mr. Henry Lendert Groenbaart, up to the month of October.

Perhaps there is no part of British India labouring under such oppression as Cochin is at the present moment; and it is evident that Government are totally unacquainted therewith, or they would undoubtedly afford relief. They suppose that the Magistrate at Calicut is competent to the due administration of justice at Cochin; but when it is recollected that the residence of the Magistrate is upwards of a hundred miles distant, and that individuals must either go to him personally to seek redress for their grievances, or make them known through the channel of the Post Office, how is it possible for them to obtain such redress without suffering great privations and hardships? If the former mode is adopted, it sometimes happens that the party aggrieved is obliged to refer his case to the Court of Appeal, and after all submit the whole of the proceedings to Government, who have been known to see into the equity of an individual's claim, in opposition even to the decree of the Appeal Court, of which an instance is said to have not long ago occurred.

If the complainant happens to be poor, and not possessed of funds to make an appeal, he returns from Calicut, overwhelmed with grief at the failure of his suit, the expenses attendant on which, including those of his journey, having most probably exhausted his limited pecuniary resources, and his family is in consequence reduced to a state of poverty. Should his complaint have been against the Fiscal of Cochin, he is there persecuted to such an extent that his life becomes a burden to him, being obliged to seclude himself for fear of persecution as long as he can, and he would with pleasure fly the place of his nativity had he the requisite means.

Should the complainant be unable from his private pursuits to leave Cochin for Calicut, without serious injury to himself or family, he is obliged to resort to the channel of the Post Office, where in the first place he must pay all postage expenses to Calicut, and, if against the Fiscal, the latter will lose no time in working the unfortunate man's ruin, if possible, before an answer can arrive, it appearing that all letters which pass through the Post Office are made into packets at the Fiscal's Cutlery; and the Post Office writer when a

representation is made on certain abuses in that department, refers the party to the Fiscal. An instance not long ago occurred, where a person sent a sealed petition to the Post Office addressed to the Magistrate, preferring a complaint against the Fiscal, and on the day following the latter got the same discharged from his employ, by which means this unfortunate man was thrown into great distress; afterwards he was forced to go to Calicut to answer a complaint in which he thought he was the defendant, and on his return, continued to be sorely oppressed. Numerous other instances of a similar nature could be quoted of the oppressions to which the inhabitants of Cochin are now obliged to submit.

The residence of a Magistrate at Cochin is essentially necessary for the public weal; indeed it is totally impossible that one residing at such a distance as a hundred miles can ever take cognizance of every complaint made to him. For instance, suppose a ship lays off the river of Cochin, and the commander coming on shore, enters into contracts with the merchants, and delivers part of his cargo upon doubtful musters, which when discovered, the commander refuses to refund the amount received, or take back the goods—what redress can the merchants get? The fiscal or monsif have no power to act, and if they write to the Magistrate at Calicut, before an answer arrives, the said ship has taken her departure, to the serious prejudice of the merchants of Cochin.

The merchants of Cochin are likewise suffering many other grievances for the want of a Magistrate on the spot, to take cognizance thereof and to report the same to Government; whereas it is impossible for them to bring the subject of their complaints daily before the Magistrate at Calicut, without incurring heavy expenses, which they naturally wish to avoid, added to the dread of being summoned to Calicut; and besides, it does not suit the convenience of most of them to enter into such detailed correspondence, from their being otherwise employed, which could easily be made known, if a Magistrate was at hand.

It is rather singular that a place of such celebrity during the last century should be now considered of no intrinsic importance; but this may be partly accounted for from

THE CINNAMON TRADE.

its present decayed state of commerce. There is, however, reason to think that if Cochinchina was converted into a Naval Arsenal, and such other assistance rendered to the inhabitants as they now stand in need of, it would in a short time become a flourishing

place. At all events considering its number of European inhabitants, and extensive native population, it perhaps requires to be as much immediately under the eye of magisterial authority as Calicut or Tellicherry.—
From a Correspondent of the Madras Gazette.

THE CINNAMON TRADE.

In the *Penny Magazine* for October 1833, we have met with an article on the subject of the cinnamon tree, supposed to have been written by Mr. Henry Marshall, formerly on the medical staff of this Island.

In the comments upon the second letter of VERAX, we recommended that all parties should enter upon the consideration of the cinnamon question with impartiality, divesting themselves of all pre-conceived opinions on the subject. No one will deny that the revenue which this Island has hitherto derived from the monopoly of cinnamon, has supplied the place of taxes which the former profuse expense of Government must have rendered necessary;—the recent reductions in the expenditure of the Island may have rendered us less dependent upon this particular source of revenue, but it will not be contended that a moderate revenue, really so harmless in itself, and which from natural causes must be payable by the foreign consumer, ought to be abandoned, for, if the Government do not need it, there are surely other taxes, which being taken off will be more beneficial to the trade and agriculture of the colony; if however the revenue now deprived is properly appropriated, we do not think that there is any real necessity for a reduction of taxation, excepting some items of export duty which yielding but little in amount act as a restriction upon cultivation, and all that can be derived from the exportation of cinnamon ought to be secured, as a means of enabling the Government to continue its improvements of the country, by the formation of roads and other measures conducive to the progress of the civilisation of the natives. Admitting this as a general principle, we propose reviewing the subject, with the advantage we now possess of a full year's experience of the effects of a free trade—we by no means mean to say that the past year's operations should be considered as conclusive of the advantage or otherwise of the new system; on the contrary, we conceive that it will take at least five years before the trade in Europe will settle itself down to the newly introduced mode of supply from this Island, of an article which has hitherto

been in the hands of a few London brokers and their more particular continental constituents. The experience we have gained is not, however, to be thrown away, many opinions conscientiously entertained must be admitted to have been erroneous, and none will be more ready to avow these erroneous opinions than ourselves.

We feel that we cannot enter upon this subject with greater claim to attention than by in the first instance candidly stating the points on which our experience has tended to alter the opinions we, in common with many others entertained, as to the quantity of cinnamon likely to be brought into the market for sale by the natives, independent of the quantity gathered from the Government plantations; and the probable price which that cinnamon would realize in the London market under the new system.

Our readers are aware that of the quantity of cinnamon collected by the Government in the time of the monopoly, a great proportion was from the private property of individuals and the jungles. At the commencement of the free trade a most material point to ascertain, was the precise quantity which might have been expected to be gathered by the natives, independent of the Government plantations; without an accurate knowledge upon this subject all speculations were reduced to a mere gambling transaction, and knowing as we do that the Government devoted their particular attention to this enquiry, it is a matter of regret and, as we consider, honest reprobation of their conduct, that they did not communicate to the public the result of the enquiry they had set on foot, and which they only had the means of eliciting.

Our opinion on one point has never yet been altered, and that is, that this Government did not enter into the spirit of the instructions from home, they foresaw the embarrassment which the free trade system would cause to their finances, they knew that the anticipation of this had induced a severe curtailment of expenditure by the home Government, and instead of boldly meeting the difficulty and endeavouring to

do their best in the introduction *here* of the new system, they took the pet, and collecting all the information they could, likely to bear out their view of the subject, they contented themselves with fixing the highest export duty their instructions would warrant (being fifty per cent. beyond the amount recommended by Colonel Colebrooke) and referred the matter to the re-consideration of the home authorities; this at least is what we learn to be the case, if it be not so, we have to thank our rulers for our ignorance, for most assuredly they have taken care not to afford the public any clue to their proceedings or intentions.

The average annual sale of cinnamon in London may be taken at 450,000lbs. and under a monopoly system the average annual sale must be assumed as the average annual supply; but under the monopoly system the annual supply did not necessarily imply the power or facility of annual production, and therefore it is not surprising that we adopted a very prevalent opinion, that a trifling increase of remuneration to the peeler would produce a more abundant supply of the commodity *to be gathered from the jungles.*

Now the average annual supply obtained by the Government under the monopoly system being 450,000lbs. it was estimated that only one third was produced in their preserved plantations, and that consequently the remaining 300,000lbs. might be expected to be obtained from the property of individuals and the jungles. When we state that within twelve months after the opening of the trade, only 200,000lbs. were actually collected for sale in the market, our readers may be surprised, but we must, to enable them to form a correct judgment on the subject, point out that the peeling season commencing in May and the trade only being opened on the 10th of July, the Government had all the intermediate time to collect, through the agency of natives, armed with roving licenses, as much cinnamon as could be gathered by them from the adjacent gardens of individuals, the spice upon which did not actually become their own property until the 10th of July, and we are assured that every exertion was made to peel as much cinnamon as possible from the private gardens in the month preceding the general surrender of those gardens to the benefit of the owners. In stating this we must beg to be distinctly understood as admitting that the proprietors of most of these lands had no cause of complaint, they held them on a certain tenure, and the right of the Government to the cinnamon growing upon their grounds was as legal a claim as they had themselves to the possession of the property;

but we do maintain that under the circumstances, a *liberal Government*, with a knowledge that it had in store a quantity of cinnamon equal to the supply of three years, and knowing also that this stock was the great bugbear which would prevent all prudent people from entering upon extended speculations in the article, ought to have been less anxious to increase it, and should the rather have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of shewing the natives, that *they at least* had pleasure in granting them the full extent of the indulgence comprised in the orders emanating from His Majesty's Ministers at home; but this opportunity, like many others, of raising the local Government in the estimation of the natives, was lost.

We have thus, perhaps, only in part accounted for the deficiency in the quantity of cinnamon expected to have been brought to market by the natives. The produce of the present year commencing from May 1834 to April 1835 may further enlighten us upon this head, but taking into consideration the great extent of ground which has been cleared of the tree, we are bound to admit that the information we at present possess does not justify our adherence to our original supposition that the native would supply the Europe market with the quantity of 300,000lbs., and therefore it is clear that, the demand continuing the same, the Government stocks must be drawn upon. Having arrived at this point in the consideration of our subject, let us devote a little attention to the Government upset prices. Supposing the quantity of cinnamon to be gathered from the private property and jungles of the Island, *not to be equal to the annual demand*, it will, we imagine, be generally admitted that the Government being in possession of the only stock from which the excess of demand can be supplied, possesses a virtual monopoly and can command *its own price*; and that price will be the gauge by which the sale of all other cinnamon will be adjusted—to *this principle we call particular attention*—and with the greatest sincerity do we beseech our friends, nay even our antagonists, to come forward and enlighten us upon this subject if we are in error; but we believe it will not be denied, and therefore we enter into the consideration of what should be the conduct of the Government under these circumstances, with reference to the general interests of the Island.

We must not omit to thank our correspondent VERAX for the suggestion that a high price of Ceylon cinnamon will prove

a bounty to the cultivation of that spice on the Malabar Coast, whence, as it is proved, large quantities have been exported, and consequently much greater quantities may in course of time and under the protective system of this Government, be expected to be forthcoming.

But we will confine our observations to the effect of the ruling price to be nominated by this Government, in the sales of its stock and the imposition of its duty (for the two conjoined must be taken as the cost of the article here), upon the cultivation of the article in the Island, for most assuredly, whilst so high a price can be obtained for a commodity which can be produced with the prospect of such ample remuneration, cultivation must increase, and in time, as a matter of course, it will so far increase, beyond the limits of the demand at a high price, that a *very great reduction of price in Europe* must be the inevitable consequence.

We are ready to admit that it will take 6, 7 or even 8 years before this increased supply can amount to the extent we have anticipated; but *in time* it will do so, and therefore we are bound to consider the position of the Government with this certainty before it.

If the Government had alone their *present stock* to consider, we might admit that it would be absorbed in the time we have mentioned, and at very profitable selling prices, but it must be recollected, that the Government plantations supply a quantity equal to the annual deficit of the exportation by the native growers, and the Government, having, as before explained, the monopoly power of fixing the price at which the consumer shall be supplied, if they do not alter that price, the average annual consumption will remain stationary, until the production of the private plantations shall render the public independent of the Government gardens, and consequently the Government stock of cinnamon in store will remain from year to year the same.

But supposing the Government to proceed upon this plan, when through the encouragement afforded by their high monopoly prices, the private plantations shall have come into full bearing, what will be the value of their stock of cinnamon still remaining in store? and, which is of much more consequence, what will their cinnamon gardens then realise? Their stock in hand will be reduced to the value of cinnamon at the actual cost of production (possibly not only upon this Island but upon the Malabar Coast), and their plantations will in like manner be valued according to their produc-

tion taken at the same valuation. We therefore address ourselves to the consideration how this is to be avoided and the reasons which should press upon the Government the necessity of avoiding such a crisis, if we may so call it, in a trade which should as much as possible be allowed to pursue an even course, unchecked by starvation of the market on the one hand or excessive supply on the other.

The Government have a stock of cinnamon on hand equal to 3 or 4 years' demand, and the Island is still able to produce an annual supply equal to the annual demand, and therefore it would be almost a blessing if this said stock did not exist; but it does, and what is more, we believe the local Government has taken credit in its accounts for the whole stock at a fixed valuation, which of course could only be fictitious. Well, then, as it would not be judicious in these times to burn the stock in hand, let us see if it cannot be made available to one general plan in furtherance of the permanent interests of the Island.

We are not at present prepared to enter upon the consideration of the controversy so ably conducted by the Editor of the *Columbo Journal* and his correspondent LIBER—we care not for the abstract principle as to whether it be right, that the greater possible amount of money should be levied in return for the least possible quantity of cinnamon or not, because we are morally certain that the trade having been thrown open, the cultivation *will increase*, and it is equally the duty of the Government to encourage, and at the same time to guard against any probable reaction which may entail a loss upon the cultivators. This reaction it is in their power to cause or to prevent, and it is our especial purpose to point out to them the mode in which they may save the Island from such a ruinous catastrophe.

In continuation of the above remarks on the cinnamon trade, we now proceed to point out the danger of a reaction which a great increase in the production of the article unaccompanied by a corresponding increase in the demand, will be attended with, and the means which we suggest as being likely to avoid it.

The Government having for many years, just fed the market with the actual quantity of cinnamon required, have been able to keep the price pretty steady at a high remunerating rate, and whilst the monopoly existed we may be inclined to admit that they were correct in so doing (saving always the consideration of the danger of stirring up the competition of cassia and cinnamon to

be cultivated on the Malabar Coast); but now we anticipate that the cultivation in Ceylon will annually progress and at the period of 7, 8 or 10 years hence the production will be considerably increased, and therefore we would endeavour to create a corresponding increased demand, and that can only be done by a reduction of price. If the Government do not effect this increased demand by the reduction of price, when the newly planted gardens begin to produce, the demand for the Government cinnamon will cease, and they will then be exactly in their present position, having a large stock on hand, but of less value than it now is, and if they should then throw their stock upon the market, they would cause the ruin of the cultivator and they would also lessen the value of their plantations which they will still have for sale, inasmuch as the produce of those gardens will be lessened in value in common with that of the private plantations. Here then is the dangerous reaction to be guarded against, and while that can be so easily done, we should hope that the Government will lend its attention to the mode we now suggest.

The grand desideratum is to get rid of the present stock, that can only be gained by an increase of demand which only can be effected by reduction of price: we for the present defer the consideration as to whether this decrease in price shall be made by a reduction of duty or of the upset prices of the Government, but content ourselves with stating our opinion that the price to the consumer in Europe being reduced 30 per cent. the demand will be increased 50 per cent., and as in the next few years the supply will remain the same, the Government *resting stock* will of necessity be drawn upon, and in the course of these few years absorbed, and thus the dead weight which now hangs about our shoulders will be removed—the produce of the new plantations will then come into the market and supply the quantity hitherto drawn from the Government stores—the trade may then safely be left to itself, as the Government no longer possessing the monopoly power of fixing the price, it will naturally be adjusted in the usual manner by the relation of the supply to the demand.

It may perhaps be doubted by some that a reduction of 30 per cent. in the price will cause an increase in the demand to the extent of 50 per cent.; but to shew that we are warranted in this position we beg to call attention to the following fact.

The largest quantity of cinnamon taken for home consumption in Great Britain up to 1828 was 15,696½ lbs.; at that time the

average price of the second sort (and we assume the second sort is that in most general demand) was 7s. 6d. and the duty 2s. 6d. so that the cost to the wholesale dealer was 10s. per lb.—In 1829 the duty was reduced to 6d. per lb. and consequently the price to 8s. or 20 per cent. less than the year previous, and the consumption rose to 45,921 lbs.; the consumption in Great Britain having in consequence of the reduction of price to the consumer of 20 per cent. increased 200 per cent; surely then it is not to be doubted that a reduction of 30 per cent. in the price to the community in general, may be safely assumed to effect an increased demand of 50 per cent. at all events having a surplus stock to get rid of, it would be prudent to endeavour to do so by trying the effect of the proposed reduction, not that the increased demand can be expected to take place in a single year, probably not even in two years, for a change in the annual consumption of what is now a luxury will naturally be gradual, but let that gradual increase of demand be encouraged by a regular supply at a moderate price, and in time the luxury will become as much a necessary of life as tea now is.

* But it will be necessary also that the Government plantations should be disposed of, in order that the whole produce of the Island may fall into the hands of individuals.

We have hitherto considered the produce of these gardens as a part of the annual production of the Island, and have always presumed the supply annually derived from them to be absorbed before the *resting stock* will be drawn upon; but in order to render the trade really free, Government must get rid of these gardens and therefore we have next to consider how this is to be accomplished.

Here we fear we have the greatest difficulty to contend against, for the Government attaching a high value to their plantations, and knowing that a reduction of the price of cinnamon will have the effect of lowering the estimated value of the gardens producing it, will be inclined for the sake of maintaining the value of their plantations, also to maintain the high price of cinnamon. This is one of the great errors of placing the Government in the position of a private trader, but we will yet hope that they may be induced to take the subject in a more enlarged and enlightened view. If a revenue is to be derived from an export duty on cinnamon, the sooner their gardens can be transferred to the more active superintendence of private individuals the better, for the sooner will the general production of the Island be increased to meet the anticipated

increased demand arising from the proposed reduction of price.

We would now endeavour to shew how the real value of these gardens should be estimated with a view to inducing purchasers to come forward, but as the foundation of all calculations must necessarily rest upon the price of the article, we will in this place enter upon the consideration of what that price should be fixed at, to create the increased demand.

We believe that no objection will be taken to our assuming, throughout our argument, the second quality of cinnamon as the standard of general value, because the proportion that it bears to the whole quantity produced is equal to three-fourths and the average betwixt the proportion of firsts at its price in Europe and that of the thirds will be about equal to the price of seconds. We may take the average price of the second sort of cinnamon for the last 6 or 7 years at 7s. 6d. and the consumption stationary at 450,000*lbs.* per annum, now the Government have in hand a stock equal to 3 years' supply or 1,350,000*lbs.* which they have valued at 4s. 6d. per *lb.* or £303,750, and we presume taken credit for this sum as *assets* in their accounts with the mother country, for what purpose it may have been necessary to make up a statement of assets, we do not know, nor does it much signify, but it may be as well to undeceive the Government upon this head, if in truth they are not the deceivers instead of the deceived.

It must be perfectly clear that the annual supply from the Island being equal to the annual demand at the ruling selling price, the demand not being increased, the stock cannot be drawn upon, and is therefore *valueless*; and again under the *monopoly system* Government did not reduce the price so as to get off their stocks, because the money return for the lesser quantity was equal to what they would have got for the larger supply at a lower price: this was the true monopoly system; but now that the trade is open, very different principles must be adopted, because the higher the selling price the greater the inducement to increase the supply by cultivation, and the less the probability of quitting the present stocks. We have already stated our object to be a reduction of 30 per cent. on the price to the consumer, and as this cannot be effected but by the Government, we must address ourselves to them, in the hope that if we can shew that they will not be losers in revenue by this reduction in price, they may be induced to assent to it.

According to the generally admitted statements of the Journal the *actual net revenue derived from cinnamon under the monopoly* was £90,000, and the annual supply being 450,000*lbs.* gives precisely a net return to Government of 4s. per *lb.* and yet in the face of this they fix their upset price of second sorts at 2s. with an export duty of 3s., thus claiming an increase of 25 per cent. upon the price formerly *netted*.

It is clear that at this price their stock cannot be decreased; nay more, an increase of price repressing the demand, their stocks will be annually augmented.

Now it will be necessary that we ascertain the rate at which the merchant will be able to purchase here, with reference to the price at which he is to sell, for it is an unanswerable position, that in the long run, the selling price in Europe will be regulated by the purchasing price here, and will fall to the lowest price which will cover the charges of transmission with the usual rate of profit derived from similar operations.

Well, then, the price at home is to be reduced from 7s. 6d. to 5s. per *lb.*

Deduct freight.....	3d.
Insurance.....	3 per ct.
Home charges	4 „ „
Loss in weight.	7½ „ „
Merchant's profit....	10 „ „
Charges here.....	½ „ „
in all 25 per cent.	1s. 6d.

Leaves per *lb.* 3s. 6d.

as the price at which the merchant should be able to ship, to cause an increase of demand: now this price is to be composed of two elements; remuneration to the grower and revenue (or export duty) to the Government, and it will require very careful consideration, as to the proportion which should be allotted to each: if a large proportion be levied for duty, the revenue derived therefrom will be the greater, but the revenue to be derived from the sale of Government cinnamon will be proportionately less, and in like manner will the inducement to cultivation be repressed, a middle course will therefore be found most conducive to the general interests of Government and the Island.

We have shewn that the merchant cannot afford to give more for the second sort of cinnamon than..... 3s. 6d. per *lb.* to induce cultivation we would

give the grower..... 2s. „ „

which would leave for export

duty to Government..... 1s. 6d. „ „

At this price let us estimate the revenue of Government after a year or two have elapsed, so as to give time for the reduction of price to effect the increased demand of fifty per cent.

Export duty on 670,000 <i>lbs.</i> at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	£ 50,625
Sale of stock and 225,000 <i>lbs.</i> at 2 <i>s.</i> ..	22,500
Sale of plantation cinna- } mon 150,000 <i>lbs.</i> ..	at 2 <i>s.</i> .. 15,000
<hr/> Total £ 88,125	

which is within a fraction of the revenue under the monopoly.

But it may be observed that until the increased demand takes place neither the sale of stock or the duty on that quantity can be received: admitted—deduct then for 225,000*lbs.* at 3*s.* 6*d.* £ 33,750, the revenue for a year or two will then be £ 54,375, being in excess by 10 per cent. of what it was estimated at by the commissioners; but if the Government will adopt this principle of the value of the article, they will find purchasers for their plantations, and thus the purchase money anticipate a portion of the revenue of following years, and by getting rid of their plantations at an early period, they will the sooner reap the benefit of the increased revenue from duties, arising from the increase of supply, for we do not hesitate stating our decided opinion that a continued and gradual reduction of price to the consumer will increase the demand to the full power of the Island to meet it—it is time only, with judicious management, that is required.

We think we have now pointed out a safe and profitable mode of getting rid of the resting stock, and have also obtained a price which we think will secure an ample revenue to the Government, and at the same time by affording fair remuneration to the grower encourage cultivation.

We have now arrived at a point in our consideration of the cinnamon question of the utmost importance, the value of the Government plantations, and the means by which they may be, with advantage to the Government and the Island generally, transferred to the management of individuals.

When we look at the great importance of the subject we have to discuss, considered with reference to the great value of the gardens themselves, the influence their production has in the market upon the price of the commodity, and the magnitude of the value of the trade to this Island, in relieving the natives as it assuredly does, of a load of taxation, we may well feel diffident of our ability to do it ample justice; we give it however dispassionate, unprejudiced consideration, and if we do err in our judgment, we will receive into our columns with plea-

sure, the opinions of those who may differ from us, with the hope that from the collision of opinions truth may be extracted, to the improvement and benefit of all.

The value of a plantation must of course depend mainly upon the price of its produce, and if these gardens were the property of one individual, he would be fully justified in estimating them at the actual market value of the day; but being the property of the Government, we conceive they ought to be guided by very different principles, for, by an *apparent* present sacrifice of value in estimation, they may secure to themselves a future permanent gain, and an accession of wealth to the export trade of the Island. The subject, therefore, must be considered entirely with reference to the principle upon which it may be decided the future trade is to be conducted, and in order clearly to shew the justice of the conclusions we arrive at, we beg the reader's permission to recapitulate the several positions we have assumed as the foundation of our argument.

It must be borne in mind, that we have never once broached the subject of the propriety or otherwise of the abolition of the monopoly, therefore the theory of high prices and limited supply or *vice versa*, was perfectly irrelevant to our subject. Had the monopoly been continued in any form, much might have been said on either side, but the cultivation of an article of value being free, must as a mere matter of course, without any power of controlling it, increase; and this we take as our *first position*. *Secondly*, present supply and demand being equal, present prices will be maintained, unless a power can be found in any party to effect an alteration in the price or supply. *Thirdly*, that power does at present rest in the Government, as the proprietor of one third of the annual production, and of an overwhelming resting stock. *Fourthly*, the annual supply being equal to the annual demand, unless that demand can be increased, the resting stock cannot be drawn upon, and is therefore *valueless*. *Fifthly*, unless means be devised of quitting this stock, the tendency of the private cultivation to increase, will in a certain number of years, render the private supply equal to the demand, when the Government stock will annually augment. *Sixthly*, were the Government then to force their stocks upon the market, private cultivators would be ruined, and their own gardens be lessened in value by a fall in prices. *Seventhly*, in order to quit the resting stock, demand must be increased by reduction of price, and that can alone be effected by the Government. *Eighthly*, this

reduction must take place principally in the duty, in order, by keeping up the selling price, to encourage cultivation, so as to meet by increased supply the demand which will arise from the reduction of prices. *Ninthly*, the quantity of cinnamon the Government will annually sell will make up for their apparent loss of revenue derived from the duty. *Tenthly*, we have assumed that the grower should have 2s. per lb. for his spice to induce cultivation. *Eleventhly*, every annual increase of cultivation must lessen the value of the government plantations, and therefore the sooner they are disposed of the better, and the more likely will they be to add to the required increased supply, to meet the demand which will in the meantime be fed by the Government resting stock. *Lastly*, if the Government will adopt these principles and fix this value to the spice, purchasers will be found for their plantations.

We do not anticipate a denial of these several positions, for we believe them to be founded upon correct principles of *free trade*.

We now proceed to apply these principles to the value of the Government gardens. It must however, in the first place, be distinctly understood, that our calculations all rest upon the position that the Government duty be reduced to our rate of 1s. 6d. per lb. for second sort, because if it be not, the value of the spice will be different, and our valuation of the gardens will be diminished at least one half, because no man in his senses will buy a property, the value of the produce of which must be acted upon by the resting stock in the hands of Government, unless he see clearly that provision be made to get rid of that stock without injury to him as a cultivator.

We have hitherto taken the value of the second sort as the average of all sorts, and with reference to the whole quantity exported it is a fair estimate, but not so with regard to the value of the Government plantations, for they produce the greater portion of all the first sort shipped, and but little or no proportion of the third. We must now therefore turn our attention to the value of the first and third kinds: taking the average value of firsts in the last 6 or 7 years at 9s. and deducting as with seconds 30 per cent. in order to increase the consumption, gives us 6s. as the selling price in London, and then, from this deducting charges as before of 1s. 9d. we have left 4s. 3d. as the price which the shipping merchant can afford to pay for it, and which also has to be divided betwixt the grower and the Government. It occurs to us that very much difficulty will

attend the collection of duties, if a scale according to quality be adopted, because in the event of the shippers not finding their cinnamon in the Europe market pass as equal to the respective qualities assigned to them, they will be constantly complaining to the Government on the subject, and with a shew of reason, but we also consider that the Government putting a higher duty upon the first sort, will tend to repress improvement in cultivation, inasmuch as the buyer having to pay an extra duty for first sort on exporting, will not be inclined to take it from the grower except at the same price as seconds, and consequently the latter will have no inducement to improve the quality of his produce, but rather be inclined to leave the bark upon the tree till it becomes thicker when it will weigh heavier. As another reason for keeping the duty on firsts and seconds at the same rate, we may observe that we shall then be justified in putting the whole difference to the price of first sort viz. 4s. 3d. less 1s. 6d. leaves 2s. 9d. and as the great proportion of firsts is grown upon the Government garden, they will reap the full advantage of this in the value of their produce. It remains to be seen whether the same reasons apply to the third sort, taking the price at 4s. 6d. deduct 30 per cent. leaves 3s. 0d. charges 1s. gives a price of 2s. for the merchant to pay, and if the duty be 1s. 6d. the grower would only get 6d. which the peeler will require to induce him to bring it in, and consequently we fear but little would be exported.—Then again we have the objection to meet of the difficulty in sorting;—we admit the evil, but we think it less than in former case, because the natives have been much more in the habit of distinguishing the third than the other two kinds, the East India Company having rejected the thirds during their contract, and the Government having always paid the peeler a very much lower price for this quality, and not having made any difference in the firsts and seconds, at all events we would rather submit to the evil than check the export of the thirds, for by encouraging the export of this sort, we gain two points—we induce the native to prune his trees, which will improve the quality of our spice, and we throw into the Europe market a powerful adversary to the progress of the consumption of cassia, for we are convinced that we have only to give them cinnamon cheaper, and we shall drive the other spice, which is but a spurious kind of our own, entirely out of the market; we would therefore recommend the export duty on thirds to be fixed at 1s. per pound.

Having thus obtained the value of the firsts and thirds, with reference to that of the seconds, we proceed with our enquiry.

The whole extent of the Government plantations, properly so called, may be taken at 9,000 acres, and from a statement now before us, the produce is estimated at 134,000*lbs.* of which we have 33,500 of firsts, 83,750 of seconds, and 16,750 of thirds which valued at our prices of 2*s.* 9*d.*, 2*s.* 0*d.* and 1*s.* would give for the annual gross value of the produce £13,818 15*s.* from which deduct expense of peeling at 5*d.* per 1*lb.* £708 6*s.* 8*d.* leaves the return £13,110 from which we have yet to deduct the expense of establishment, watching and keeping the gardens in order, and we should think the actual net income derived by Government would not exceed £10,000.

We will now consider the price which an individual or company wishing to purchase the whole of these gardens would be deemed prudent in offering.

An investment of money in houses will in Ceylon produce a net return of 10 per cent. and consequently we find the usual value of well situated houses to be *ten years purchase*; requiring not any further outlay of capital and but very little personal superintendence or judgment.

But to conduct the cinnamon plantations it will be seen that besides the purchase money, an annual outlay *in advance* equal to one third of the whole *net income* is required, active superintendence and a competent knowledge of cultivation is also indispensable, and in order to secure the money return quoted, a degree of judgment as to the time and mode of disposing of the produce would be equally requisite. These several qualifications are not always to be met with, and more especially in one individual, and therefore the possessor of them, or one who can command them, is entitled to a full consideration in return, and assuredly it is but natural that before he would invest his capital in the purchase of a cinnamon plantation, he would require that he should be able to derive from it an equal return to what would be obtainable from any other similar investment; now we believe that it will be admitted by those who are most competent to form an opinion, that in the generality of cases, a capitalist in Ceylon, possessing a competent knowledge of business and an average portion of discretion, may certainly calculate upon an annual net return of at least 25 per cent. upon his capital, and therefore, according to this standard, an investment in cinnamon gardens should

be expected to yield the same, or, in other words, that their value upon this basis would be *four years' purchase*: if this mode of valuation be admitted we find the actual value of the Government plantations to be £40,000, but we will concede that it is probable an individual would be enabled to conduct the plantations with a less expensive machinery than that employed by Government, and therefore that the same annual outlay would be unnecessary, or would if expended, produce an equivalent return by increased production, and consequently an individual would estimate his return at about £12,000 and that would produce to the Government a purchase money of £48,000, and which we consider it would be for the interest of the Island they should accept.

We have preferred considering the subject as a single purchase by an individual, but the principle to be adopted would be precisely the same in the case of a number of individuals wishing to become purchasers of small parcels of ground, and we feel assured that, if our principle of valuation be admitted, and the prices we have stated be adopted as the basis of calculation, Government have only to come to the determination and explicitly explain their intentions, present and future, to secure the almost immediate investment of private capital in the purchase of their gardens, and then, from the anxiety of proprietors to improve their plantations, employment will necessarily be given to a vast number of natives, and the Government will indirectly derive an additional revenue from the increase to the circulation of capital, and the gradual improvement of the condition of their subjects, which it will give rise to.

We have now arrived at the conclusion of our subject, and we can only express a hope that we have not entirely failed in the task we have undertaken, doubtless we have fallen into some errors, at least we can affirm, that they have not been intentional, and most thankful shall we be to have them pointed out; but we believe that the principles we have advocated are sound in themselves, and that we are fully justified in the adaptation of them to the subject; if it be considered otherwise, we invite those who differ from us to come forward and place their opinions before the public, who will then be able to judge of their respective merits.

But in conclusion we would respectfully address a few observations to the consideration of the Government, in the hope that the interest which the mercantile body have in the trade, may induce a candid consideration

of a subject, treated in a paper devoted to their interests.

We believe we are correct in stating that the revenue derived last year from the cinnamon trade did not exceed £30,000, and the Government stock must have been augmented by at least 250,000lbs. the market at home has been deprived of more than one half of its annual demand, and as a consequence, consumers will be driven to use cassia as a substitute. Let us guess at the result of the current year, and we believe that our information as to generally entertained opinions at home, is the best to be obtained. The quantity to be produced by the natives *may by possibility* be estimated at 300,000lbs. (but from the quantity of cinnamon trees destroyed we doubt it) and supposing Government to sell 150,000lbs. (which also we doubt at the present upset prices and export duty) the revenue will stand thus—

Of the native cinnamon 100,000lbs. being third sort will not be exported till March, when the duty will be reduced to 2s. giving.....	£10,000
the remaining 350,000lbs. at 3s..	52,500
and for value of 150,000lbs of seconds (first cannot be touched) at 2s.	15,000
	<hr/> £77,500

this is the very utmost the Government can venture to reckon upon, but will their stock have been diminished? and can they expect the trade at home to get settled whilst the

merchants engaged in it know that so large a stock is hanging over their heads, which may at the whim or caprice of an individual, as one theory or another may happen to have the sway in his mind, be at once thrown upon the market, and utterly confound all their calculations? Can even the merchants here, knowing as they must, that the present system *will not do*, and that the Government must in time change it, venture to recommend their correspondents to embark in it? We assert that the trade is *not safe* under the present system, and we are morally certain that at the full market prices now demanded by Government, nothing but a *starved Europe market* will induce orders for the spice—and is this a state of things to be wished for? are we for the sake of one good year to hazard the existence of the trade for the future, by driving our best customers to the use of an article, which by its rapidly increased consumption, is proved to be no contemptible substitute for our own commodity? Surely not, we will yet hope that ere it is too late, the Government will openly and fairly come forward, upon enlarged and liberal free trade principles, tending to infuse present confidence in their wisdom, and well grounded hopes of future benefit to the Island. Let them do this and we will promise them the support of those, who through extensive commercial correspondence, can direct attention to, and instil confidence in, a trade which is of not a little importance to Great Britain and of paramount interest to this Island.—*Colombo Observer.*

LAND ASSESSMENT OF INDIA.

The land assessment of India so inseparably connected with the economical, and so closely with the moral and intellectual condition of the people, cannot fail to be a matter of regard to those who have their advancement at heart. To all such the various methods which have been in use for fixing the amount of the territorial revenue, as probably involving the amount, and the equal or uneven distribution of the burthen on the possessors of land, will also appear objects of reasonable curiosity and enquiry. It must be known to all who have paid any attention to the subject that the enactment of Regulation VII of 1822 introduced a great change into the mode of assessment, which had previously been summary uncertain proceeding on the details yielded by the native officers, which varied in value with their probity and natural sagacity, and were modi-

fied only by such general and precarious checks as the European functionary, unaided by correct mensuration, or other systematic and scientific information, had it in his power hastily to apply. The law just mentioned, which, with all its defects and its redundancies is a wonderful specimen of acuteness and industry, and an interesting proof of what the enquiry and research of an active mind even when unaccompanied by a practical knowledge of details can effect, aimed at the acquisition of certain information as to the capabilities of the land, by careful measurement, by registry of the various species of soils, and of the extent and productiveness of each sort, by a record of the peculiar circumstances of villages as dependent on the seasons, or possessed of facilities for irrigation, and their situation as near, or remote from towns and rivers. Minute enquiries were at

the same time directed into the statistics of every estate. In its practical operation, however, this Regulation was a failure. It speedily appeared that the distinguishing principles of its letter and of the voluminous instructions from the Government by which it was accompanied and explained, when carried to their full extent, created a cumbersome mass of details which, at the same time, in several respects conveyed no satisfactory or trust-worthy information. The effective superintendence of the work was found to be beyond the power of most of the Collectors by whom it was undertaken. The native surveyors being thus to a considerable degree left to themselves, had full scope for the perpetration of mal-practices, which no vigilance of supervision could have entirely prevented. Frauds in the mensuration and classification of lands, and in the rates of rent imposed on the various soils must have been continual, and as it was the interest of few save an occasional and casual informer to point them out to the collectors, they must have generally escaped detection. The native officers employed on this difficult duty must also have been in many cases incompetent to form a correct judgment as to the capabilities of the several soils, even if they were honest in their intentions. These defects and dangers of the system could never be neutralized even by the experience and knowledge of the ablest European revenue officers. The systematic methods sometimes adopted by the latter to test the results obtained by their native subordinates were often such as to lead their framers into serious errors. The estimates of the rentals of villages founded on calculations of their produce, which in the absence of all confidence in village records, and the arbitrary rates proposed by Ameens, were taken by some officers of eminence as the basis of their assessments, have been in many instances proved by disastrous experience to be exaggerated. In other instances they have probably fallen short of the truth; but it is only where the estimation has been excessive that the error was likely to become known, the impossibility of a continuance of payment being speedily apparent. To these positive defects and dangerous tendencies of the system of Regulation VII. of 1822, there are other inconveniences and faults to be added. The enquiries authorized into the entire scale of interests in the land must have had the hurtful effect of disturbing the security arising from possession and prescription, in the case at least of the class of rights termed by us *zemindari*. The agitation of the question of the rights of the inferior cultivators, had the interference gone

no further than enquiry and registry, might perhaps have been productive of good, by impressing on the minds of their landlords the anxiety of the Government to protect the lower classes from exaction, and might have had the effect, when viewed in connexion with the regular march of the law, of producing a change for the better in their treatment, at least in those states where the moderation of the assessment gave no colour to the zemindar's plea of necessity as an excuse for rack-renting. But when the collectors arbitrarily proceeded under the sanction of the Regulation to determine the rates and even the exact amount which the ryot was to pay, and bound him by an engagement to discharge this sum punctually every year, the results have in most cases soon proved unfortunate. The zemindar impatient of the trammels by which the collector has attempted to confine him and deprive him of the power, or it may be the right, to make his own bargain with the cultivator, has desisted from shewing him that degree of rude consideration which self-interest previously prompted; has forborne to make those advances which calamities and even ordinary contingencies render necessary, and has not failed to exercise the right, with which the collector has armed him to demand, year by year, from his tenant that fixed sum which the latter has by the suggestion, and perhaps solicitation, of the same functionary, bound himself to make good irrespectively of the seasons. Thus is the simple yet effectual link by which mutual interest had bound together the landlord and his cultivator, rent asunder by an unfortunate though well meant interference, and a bone of contention in the shape of a potta substituted in its place.

Besides all these evils and inconveniences, the great length to which proceedings conducted according to Regulation VII. of 1822, and the instructions by which it was followed up, were found in practice to extend, and the very slow progress which had been made in a period of ten years, owing to all these causes, and also to the occupation of the collectors in other duties, concurred in demanding a reform in the system.

The steps by which this was effected, though they might be sketched from documents generally known, it would exceed convenient limits to detail. It will be sufficient to describe the result which it is understood has been at length arrived at.

The operation of the scientific survey under the superintendence of able and experienced European officers had been proceeding in some of the north western dis-

tricts under the old system; but latterly they have been extended by an increase in the number and strength of the parties, and conducted, under more watchful superintendence, with greater vigour and effect. The accurate and trust-worthy measurements of this survey, and the specification afforded by it of the extent of cultivated arable and barren land in each village, now universally form the basis of assessment. The native revenue officers then succeed, and perform their part. Having been furnished by the professional surveyors with a register of the fields composing the cultivated area of the mouza, they record the distribution of the lands, the names of the occupants of each field and the amount of rent paid by them, as stated by the parties concerned. This part of the process, however, being regarded as immaterial to the determination of the revenue, and being chiefly intended as a record of the rights and engagements existing at the time of settlement, is frequently left undone until the collector has decided the amount of the Government demand. The principles upon which it is now understood that the collectors are to proceed are the following. The whole of a pergunnah or other similar territorial tract having been prepared as above, the collector refers to its past fiscal history, to the amount of revenue which has been from time to time imposed upon it, the ease or difficulty with which generally or in particular instances the demand has been realized, the fact of the rarity or frequency of the alienation of landed property, and other circumstances indicative of the general condition of the people; he ascertains, by inspection, the prevailing character of the soil, or the proportions of the various species of land and crops, the facilities which exist for irrigation, and the extent to which it is in use in the pergunnah with the existence or absence of other natural or artificial advantages, and by a consideration of all these circumstances, viewed in connexion, a judicious officer will find little difficulty in determining the proper amount of the *aggregate* assessment which should be imposed on the *entire tract* under settlement. He next proceeds, with a statement in a convenient tabular form in his hand, exhibiting the entire area of each mouza in the pergunnah, the extent of its arable land, and of that actually under tillage, together with the amount of its present revenue, and of the average rate per acre at which that revenue falls on the whole area, on the whole cultivable and the whole cultivated lands respectively, to apportion on each village its *quota* of the aggregate pergunnah assess-

ment previously fixed by the means already described. Here a principle which is far from being recondite or far-fetched, but which would seem until very recently to have escaped the observation of the revenue officers, (at least as far as its practical application is concerned,) comes with good effect into play. It is obvious that the lands of a pergunnah must for the most part, be similar in soil and circumstances, the rate of assessment should therefore, generally speaking, be *equal*. And if any concurrence of circumstances should certainly indicate what is a *fair* amount of revenue to demand from any particular mouza or mouzas included in such a tract, the revenue, taken from the remaining estates to be *equitable* must approximate to this standard. The equal distribution of the revenue thus becomes a simple process; instances of very heavy or very light assessment can be at once corrected; and those peculiar cases in which variations may be just and necessary, will be not obscurely shewn either by a reference to the average rates of the revenue previously assessed on those particular estates and to the effects which their imposition has produced, or to other facts which intelligent enquiry will discover. Any mouza may be an exception to the general fertility or sterility of the tract of which it forms a part, or the extent of another estate and the rank or position of the proprietor may, perhaps, render its management more expensive:—these and a multitude of other circumstances—which must in each case be specially *shewn* in order to justify a deviation from the prevalent rate of the revenue—will in fairness be allowed to exercise their legitimate influence on its distribution.

The advantages of the system of assessment, of which the above is an imperfect sketch, are manifest. It secures, as certainly as the nature of the case will permit, the equalization of the public burthens, an object which though professedly and really aimed at by Regulation VII of 1822,—as its preamble explicitly sets forth—that law was utterly unfitted to effect. The separate ascertainment and classification of the soils of each mouza and the separate valuation of its produce, which whatever may have been the intention of the enlightened framer of the law was undoubtedly the course which enquiries instituted under its sanction, practically took, were arbitrary and uncertain cases of assessment. And if it at first sight seem more reasonable to judge of the productiveness of an estate by a scrutiny of the records of its past rents, a little further consideration will shew that the probity of the

interested parties is, by such a process, exposed to a severity of temptation which none but an Aristides could resist; and it will appear wonderful that experience was needed to convince us that zemindars or their slaves the putwarries do not scruple habitually to falsify those village records which are to be produced before the collectors. As the equalization which it has been shewn will be effected in the land revenue by the new system under Regulation IX of 1833 does not necessarily involve *moderation* in the rate, it being possible that the equality might as well be one of grievous weight as of light pressure, a word or two on this head may be necessary: it is generally known that there is at least one instance, that of Bundel-

kund, which has taught the Government the wholesome lesson of the disastrous effects of over assessment; other illustrations of the same truth are not unknown to those whom they concern. These bitter yet salutary results of experience, combined with the sentiments of leniency which are understood to influence the fiscal measures of the "powers that be," afford ample security that justice will be done to the country, by the imposition of a revenue moderate, as well as uniform in its pressure, and by the grant of leases of such a duration as will stimulate the possessors of land to improve their properties to the utmost by the hope of a long and undisturbed enjoyment of their enhanced resources.—*Cawnpore Examiner*.

THE OVERLAND JOURNEY FROM INDIA.

Dr. James Burnes, who was one of the passengers in the *Hugh Lindsay* steamer from Bombay, in letters to his friends, extracts of which are given in a Scotch paper,* has furnished an account of the voyage and journey, from whence we extract some of the most material circumstances.

The steamer sailed on the 1st February, under the command of Captain Wilson with an agreeable party of passengers.† She carried thirteen days' supply of coal; her average sailing was not more than six knots an hour, varying from four and a-half to eight, although the weather was fine. From Cape Fartash, which was descried on the 9th, the steamer skirted the Arabian shore, along a gloomy and thinly-peopled coast. On the 11th she took in a supply of coals at Maculla, a paltry town of dirty hovels, overlooked by barren mountains of great height, and inhabited by 1,000 or 1,500 half-naked savages, most of whom were armed with swords, daggers, and shields. On visiting the Shekh or governor and his son, whom they found seated on a mat in the corner of a wretched apartment, during the interview, some negroes among the attendants were offered them for sale by persons in the room.

Owing to rejoicings for the termination of the *Ramazaan*, the coals could not be got on board till the 13th, when the *Hugh Lindsay* weighed anchor, and on the 15th entered the Red Sea, the weather being unusually fine; but the next day her progress was checked by a strong N. W. gale off the desert island *Jabal Zyghar*, and Captain Wilson put back

to Mocha. The decline of this celebrated city, owing chiefly to the imbecile and dissolute character of the Imam of Senna, was marked by the absence of ships from its harbour; an American trader and two Egyptian men-of-war were all that were seen in the roads. The city itself was in the possession of a body of wild Bedouin Arabs, who had seized and sacked it some days before. The streets were a spectacle of desolation, most of the inhabitants having fled to the desert, and nothing being exposed for sale in the bazaars. The rude Arab chief, however, who had established himself as governor, received our countrymen very civilly.

Early on the 18th the steamer resumed her voyage, and continued to propel against a constant gale till the evening of the 22d, when off Jeddah, though she could not enter that harbour till next morning, in consequence of the dangerous coral reefs. The streets, markets, and numerous coffee-houses of Jeddah were found full of troops,—the head quarters of Ahmet Pacha, the generalissimo of the army of Hedjez destined for the subjugation of Southern Arabia, being then within a few miles of it. The soldiers were armed and disciplined in the French fashion; but were far inferior in every respect to Indian sipahis. There were eight or nine Italian officers with the army; and, strange to say, a St. Simonian Frenchman, who had penetrated into that distant country, with the double purpose of searching for the *mère*, and disseminating its doctrines. In this lately bigotted city, our travellers overtook the Rev. Joseph Wolff, who preached fearlessly with the Bible in his hand, at one of the chief entrances, to a crowd of at least

* *The Montrose Review*.

† See p. 148, *As. Intell.*, &c.

200, composed principally of armed soldiers, who offered him no indignity. The European visitors were most courteously received by Suleiman Aga, the governor: they walked without molestation through the Medina gate, to inspect the tomb of Eve, and the cantonment of the troops; and no objection was made (except by some idle children, who threw a few stones at them) to their re-entering the Mecca gate at sunset, so as to witness the departure of the pilgrims which Mr. B. describes as a most interesting spectacle. That day's caravan (for one leaves Jeddah every evening for Mecca) consisted of 200 or 300 camels, which carried the aged and infirm amongst the pilgrims, most of whom, however strode boldly forward, bare-footed and bare-headed. Amongst them were several Persian and Hindostan Mussulmans; and there were some who, from their countenances, must have met at this spot from the confines of China and Tartary, and the west coast of Africa.

On the 25th the *Hugh Lindsay* proceeded on her voyage, and again encountered an almost continual tempest to Cosseir. The decks were constantly wet, and the paddle boxes broken by the force of the sea, which was so heavy, that her speed at one time was reduced to two or three miles an hour. Late on the evening of the 28th, the land of Egypt was visible at a distance, and at 4 o'clock on the 1st of March she anchored at Cosseir; from whence, after landing some passengers for Thebes, she again sailed on the 2d, and run a distance of 260 miles, over smooth water, in about thirty-nine hours. Early on the 3d she entered the Straits of Jubal, and dropped anchor on the morning of the 4th in Suez roads. The *Hugh Lindsay* had now completed her voyage, and though struggling for nearly 1,000 miles amidst the dangers of the Red Sea, against a strong adverse gale and heavy waves, had run 3,242 miles in 31½ days, including stoppages, which amounted to 6½. She is, however, described as a vessel unsuited for long passages; and, in addition to the extra weight of coals, was encumbered with two heavy engines of eighty horse power to a tonnage of little more than 400.

Suez and Cosseir are miserable towns, composed chiefly of clay built houses, and almost entirely dependent on the pilgrims who pass through them for Mecca. The *Cavendish Bentinck*, an English ship, having carried 500 or 600 of these wanderers from the former, a few days before the steamer arrived, it looked particularly desolate. The of Cosseir, however, were full of

well-dressed Mahomedans of all nations; and the number of vessels in its port showed it to be a place of considerable resort, though it can never be a populous town, as it contains no water except what is sold in the bazaars, and which is brought from the banks of the Nile, 125 miles across the desert. At Suez, the water is so bitter as to be scarcely drinkable. On the 5th of March, the passengers disembarked from the steamer, and after taking a slight repast in a room which had been occupied by Buonaparte, about 2 o'clock commenced their journey across the Isthmus of Suez to Cairo, 75 miles, Captain Wilson and two of the officers of the *Hugh Lindsay* having resolved to accompany them. The caravan consisted of twelve gentlemen mounted on dromedaries, attended by Arab guides, and followed by thirty or forty camels, carrying the water, baggage, tents, and requisite supplies. This journey was accomplished in four days, and was attended with few of the usual discomforts, as the party had furnished themselves with most of the comforts and even luxuries of life, in respect to provisions. One had brought London soups and Scotch salmon: another produced a ham and tongues: a third, French *bouille*, champagne, claret, &c. Fowls, mutton, and bread were in profusion; and, in fact, there was an abundance of every thing except water, which some of the party had neglected to bring in bottles from Bombay, and a quart of which was considered more valuable than wine before the journey was over. On the 8th they met the poor Dey of Algiers, who with his harem and attendants was proceeding to Mecca; and by 1 o'clock they entered one of the stupendous Saracen gates of Cairo, having in the course of a short half hour made a transition from a silent wilderness into the heart of a mighty metropolis, swarming with human beings, and filled with interesting objects.

They remained at Cairo five days, inspecting the curiosities in the city and its neighbourhood, and were presented to the Pacha, who though the war in Yemen appeared to be his favourite topic, declared his intention of making a rail-road across the isthmus of Suez, for which purpose English engineers are already engaged in surveys. On the 13th Dr. Burnes and some of the party embarked at Boulac, on the Nile, entered the Mahmoudieh canal, and arrived at Alexandria, which on the 20th he left, with the Rev. Mr. Wolff, for Malta, where they arrived on the 4th April, and were shut up in the Lazaretto for twenty days.

The following details which have been transmitted to us by another of the travellers, will be useful to those who contemplate the overland journey.

Required by a party of three travellers (the most convenient number), proceeding from India to Europe *via* Cosseir, Thebes, and Alexandria, for the Egyptian part of the journey.

Spanish Dollars.—Four hundred and fifty, of which about eighty each may be, exclusive of interpreter's pay, considered ample for the Egyptian part of the trip to Europe; the rest of travellers' funds by letter of credit on London or good bills on ditto. In Egypt the exchange on London is in traveller's favour generally.

Interpreter.—One to act also as servant; and, as much of their future comfort in Egypt depends on him, the party cannot be too particular in selecting a proper and well qualified person; usual pay of such a person from 300 to 500 rupees.

Tea.—Three months' supply (or more than may be calculated on as necessary), as it should run short it cannot be replaced.

Sugar.—One month's.

Coffee.—To be laid in at Mocha, or any other port in the Red Sea.

Sherry or Madeira.—Two dozen; each bottle of this and other liquors to be separately packet in straw or coir.

Brandy.—Two dozen; a most acceptable present to camel and boat-men.

Water in bottles.—Two dozen, well packed.

Water in kegs.—A couple of small kegs for servants and cooking, which are to be well-looked after, to prevent camel-men from helping themselves.

Hermetically sealed Bouill  or Ox-tail Soup.—One dozen canisters; this is the best, most portable, and quickest prepared food for the desert. Two canisters with bread form an abundant meal for three persons, and almost supersede the necessity of any other food.

Table Salt, Pepper, Mustard, &c.—Enough for one month.

Candels.—The same.

Canteen.—A small one, containing all requisite apparatus for breakfast and dinner-table, and which ought to be chiefly of pewter or other metal.

Eastern or Cabin Lamp, with oil burners.—One.

Powder and Shot.—The former a welcome present to Arabs; occasional shooting on the Nile, particularly of pigeons, which are good

Enough to secure baggage on ca-

Cooking Utensils.—A small assortment, including kettle, pestle and mortar, &c.

Camp Table.—One.

Camp Chairs.—Three.

With nails, hammers, gimlet, twine, sail-makers' needle, brass or pewter basin and ewer, flint and steel.

Besides the above in common, each traveller should provide himself with pistols, umbrella, green gauze veil or goggles to ward off the heat and glare, plenty of warm-clothing, including blankets and cloak, a Mirzapoor rug or carpet, about three dozen shirts, with corresponding stock of stockings, towels, soap, &c. and bedding, which with his sea cot placed on a pair of trunks at night, will serve him to sleep on; or still better a common stout but narrow charpoy or camp bed, well clamped with iron at the corners, and with posts and thick curtains will supercede the necessity of any tent in the desert, and will also be useful on the Nile, more particularly if provided with musquito curtains.

A tent is not necessary, as it is never required, at least from November to March, except at night, when as there is no chance of rain, it may well be dispensed with; and at any rate, the agent at Cosseir will supply one for a trifling gratuity.

Before starting from Cosseir, a sufficient supply of bread, butter, eggs, charcoal and fire-wood for four days ought to be laid in, and a milch goat (with a cradle to place it on the camel,) with food for it, will also be a very grateful addition to the travellers' comforts. Previous to leaving Cosseir, or rather India, one box ought to be exclusively set apart for the four days' consumption of such liquors and other supplies as may be required in the desert; for unless things are easily come at, fatigue and want of attendants will prevent their being at all available. This and a similar caution in regard to clothes and dressing apparatus will greatly tend to lessen the inconveniences of travelling across the desert.

In regard to the mode of conveyance across, decidedly the easiest is sitting on the cot, mattress, placed over a pair of bullock trunks, on the back of a camel, which may be varied occasionally by riding a donkey.

With exception of the first day, when it is usual to start about noon or shortly after, in order to make a short march to the *Beer Inglez* or English well, the best plan is to get up about day-break, and after taking a cup of tea or coffee, while the camels are loading, move on till a well (of which there are four with brackish water in the desert) or a rock for shelter from the sun,

with towards mid-day : when about an hour's halt is made to breakfast and refresh men and cattle ; then mount and proceed again till sun-set, when arrangements are made for dinner and passing the night, at which making the camel-men keep alternate watch and fire off occasional shots to deter thieves are not the least requisite. In this way the desert may be passed with but slight fatigue in about forty-four hours' actual travelling.

Although Thebes is about equi-distant with Kenne (or Ghennah) from Cosseir, it is most advisable to proceed, in the first instance, to the latter place, where alone arrangements can be made for future progress. At Kenne a kanja or boat for proceeding up to Thebes and thence to Cairo, ought to be hired for from 400 to 600 piastres : but it is exceedingly difficult to procure that or any thing else for less than double the proper price, more particularly if any impatience to get on is betrayed. The boat before starting ought to be sunk, and that completely under water for several hours, to kill vermin, and the travellers should superintend this operation themselves, as also smoking her well afterwards, for with every precaution, it is scarcely possible to prevent annoyance from bugs and other vermin. At Kenne, foul linen can be washed, and a day of the time which will be taken up by these arrangements, may be occupied in viewing the magnificent ruins of Dendera, which are about an hour's ride on donkeys from the opposite side of the Nile.

The Spanish dollar is worth from 15 to 18 piastres in Egypt. The hire of a camel for the trip from Cosseir to Kenne, from 8 to 12 piastres and in abundance, though probably, on first landing, the authorities will intimate that there is not one procurable.

On reaching the banks of the Nile, supplies of milk, butter, eggs, fowls, &c. will be found in profusion, and the water of the Nile is considered perhaps the finest in the world. At Cairo there is a tolerable hotel, kept by an Italian, with whom a previous bar-

gain must be made. About a dollar and a-half *per diem* for bed and board we paid a-head.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the rest of the Egyptian part of the expedition, as the trip from Cairo to Alexandria down the Nile to the canal (where a change of boats is necessary,) cannot be attended with any difficulty.

At Alexandria opportunities of proceeding to Malta or Marseilles are almost of daily occurrence. From personal experience, the traveller is recommended to select the former to perform his twenty days' quarantine in, as the accommodations afforded at the Lazaretto there are excellent, and a well-supplied table from Beverly's, at a moderate charge, with the perusal of English papers and new publications. Also rowing about in the harbour will make the first half of the time pass off merrily enough, while it must be acknowledged that the latter part would be found exceedingly irksome. Some of these weary hours were passed in drawing up what is now offered for publication in the *Asiatic Journal*, and which it is hoped may prove acceptable to such of the writer's fellow exiles as may contemplate following his track.

In conclusion, it may be stated, from Malta he proceeded through Sicily to Naples; thence to Rome, Florence, Milan, across the magnificent road of the Splügen to Zurich, down the Rhine to Rotterdam and London.

The Italian part of the trip was performed in the best and most expensive mode ; that is, the party of three purchased a carriage at Naples and posted to Zurich, where they parted with the carriage. From Zurich they went by the Diligence to Carlsruhe, near to which they embarked on the Rhine, and finished the rest of the journey to London on steamers.

The whole expence of this journey to London from Bombay, including Rs. 1,200 passage-money on the *Hugh Lindsay*, cost each traveller about three hundred pound sterling.

M.
Madras Herald.]

TOWNS OF INDIA—SAHARUNPORE.

There's two Wallies/Walligons,
And two Jamie Jamigons,
And two long legged Sows
In the Lang toon o' Kircaldy.

In general we know as much about the towns of the country we live in as the above grotesque description gives us of my ain guid' brose eating town of Kircaldy. I propose then to commence a series of short statistical accounts of such towns as in my

peregrinations I have visited, and for which I hope you will be able occasionally to afford me a little space in your journal.

I begin my lucubrations with the first town of any consequence at the head of the Doon, a country well known as situated at the bottom of the lower range of Sewalik hills, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna to their junction at Allahabad, and known to

most natives under the term of Meean Doob. The town of Saharunpore (often within 20 miles of its suburbs round the shaher) gives name to a very extensive and populous district formerly possessed by Tulsita Khan and Gholam Khadur, (the *nee-mukh karam*), but I will not trouble your readers with a disquisition on matters irrelevant to the subject I have taken in hand, but proceed immediately to the description of the town which is situated on the west bank of the Pondhoo *nudee*, one of the numerous streams which take their rise from the bottom of the hills. The Pondhoo joins the Dumola *nudee* a little below the town; this stream is also a mere hill torrent, and flows into the Hindun river about 8 miles farther south, a little below the bridge built over the Hindun on the Meeruth road. The town originally appears to have been a long, narrow street from which others have diverged as the place increased in size; the principal shops are in this street, and from its extreme narrowness and filthy state, particularly after a little rain, a residence in it must be any thing but agreeable. I have been through the whole of Delhi and Benares, but for filth and heat have seen nothing to equal this. The principal streets, narrow as they are, have a gutter or common sewer in the middle, which not being properly drained off fills up the whole street in rainy weather, and some of the streets are in the rains impassable except for an elephant. The population of the town and suburbs may be estimated at 25,000 souls, or by way of making a comparison a little less than Paneput; the inhabitants are probably half of them Mussulmans and half Hindoos. The principal suburb is on the east bank of the Pondhoo called Kuthill Gunge, the communication is over a small bridge in bad repair; at this bridge there is a hot bath establishment where English gentlemen sometimes resort; a little farther on to the east we pass the Botanical Garden and come to Nuwab Gunge or the Surree. The Nuwab Ahmad Khan resides here, but in small state and his Nuwabship is merely assumed; beyond this we come to the fort which has been put into a tolerable state of defence by the Government, sufficient to have resisted any invasion of the Goorkhas in former times when they were in possession of Dehra Doon. The fort is called Kumee Bahadoor *ka* Gunge, and it was a principal residence of Zalata Khan's family, at present it is used as Jail. The most interesting addition to the town since the British rule is the flourishing and active bazar called Moore Gunge, established by Moore the collector, whose name is

likely to be handed down to posterity in this unassuming place. Here are neither pukka walls or Corinthian pillars, and yet we see it daily covered and the street filled with merchandize quite a triumph over your famous Delhi Gunge, a lesson to some of our great men, that trade in this country can only flourish when it is left to itself unhampered by restrictions, which though they appear trivial to Europeans yet effectually debar timid natives from entering into it with energy.

The trade of Saharunpore is considerable in comparison to other towns of its size. The hill states send down vast quantities of musalus, which are so much used all over India, and take back grain and sugar. Refined sugar is better and cheaper at Saharunpore than at any other city I know up here, which I attribute to the plentiful and fresh supplies of the vegetable used in refining, which is produced in great quantities in the Pondhoo *nudee* and is called jungar by natives.

Coarse and fine cloth is made in great abundance, and that kind of cotton cloth called *khase* is of the best description, and the manufacture of Saharunpore well known all over these parts. There are also a number of dyers and chintz-makers, blacksmiths and carpenters under their several branches, superior to what we generally find in this country.

Previous to the Goorkha war a considerable force was stationed here. Saharunpore was formerly remarkably healthy and reckoned the Montpellier of India, but about 10 years ago it began to get unhealthy, and the insalubrity of the climate, particularly west of the Pondhoo, has continued to increase so fearfully that the situation the inhabitants find themselves in, has at length roused them to action. The Pondhoo *nudee* is filled with vegetable productions of the most rank kind, and frequently during the rains it overflows its banks, bearing deposits of vegetable and other matter to produce malaria in a more extensive degree. To this cause, and the filthy state of the streets and suburbs no doubt the Saharunporeans owe the present state of the climate in their own immediate neighbourhood.

I was told by a gentleman, capable of giving the best information, that the Regiment stationed here subscribed a sum of money to clean out the Pondhoo *nudee* twice a year. Some corps omitting this precaution, the unhealthiness first appeared among the troops, and they got so sickly that the campment was removed to the east of the Dumola *nudee*, where the civil station now

fourishes, and which is tolerably healthy. The civil station communicates with the town over a very fine bridge on the Dumola nudee, a little below where it is joined by the Pandion. Many of the inhabitants lay the blame of this sickness on the canal, the ramifications of which extend on both sides of the town; but this is certainly not the case, the sickness commenced many years before the canal was opened; and no other place has been similarly affected by the canal.

The inhabitants being much alarmed at the state of the city from sickness, every family having suffered severely, a meeting was lately held, and about 2,000 rupees were at once subscribed for the purposes of effecting a general cleansing of the Augean stable. This object has no doubt been brought about by the worthy Magistrate, who has always evinced a wish to put matters to right, but it was only at this present time that the Saharunporeans could be made to feel the necessity of their stirring to save themselves; and now it is hoped the city will soon be relieved from the causes which have

so powerfully operated to produce such an extent of desolation from disease as has lately been suffered; but moreover we have here the first germ of public hustings in this country got up by its native inhabitants spontaneously, for the general good and welfare, and I hope the hint may be improved upon elsewhere. I am told the public spirit exhibited by all classes on the occasion was quite refreshing. The Saharunporeans are good subjects, apparently much attached to Government, and on the best of terms with the civil authorities, who exert themselves in every way to conciliate them.

The low lands are all rent free excepting about 20 beegahs, and on some pretence in former times a land revenue of 900 rupees was imposed, it is said, for these 20 beegahs, and which continues to be exacted and paid; and if this is the case, the Government it is to be hoped will come forward and assist in the laudable endeavour of the inhabitants to improve the state of the town and its vicinage.—*Delhi Gazette.*

THE CONSERVANCY OF CALCUTTA.

To the Owners and Occupiers of Premises in Calcutta.

Gentlemen,—It is now some months since I addressed to you two letters on the subject of the Conservancy of Calcutta, and proposing to you the establishment of a Committee as an experiment in one division of the Town to watch over these affairs. Such of you as take any interest in such matters at all know that no Committee has yet been formed, and some perhaps wonder why it is so, and one or two of you connected with the public press, boldly accuse me of having abandoned the plan.

Gentlemen, I have not abandoned the plan, and am as ready now to foster the slightest appearance of zeal in the cause as ever I was.

Let me recall to your recollection the manner which this scheme was received; two of the daily papers were against it, one had but cold approval for it, and a fourth supported it. Amongst my acquaintances most men said "the plan is very good, but you will never get the people to take the necessary trouble;" others wholly disapproved of it; and amongst the public in general there was not one man to come forward and say "I will lend my best support to this plan, I exhort you to go on." The Grand Jury would not notice it, and I sent circulars to a number of people, taking the names at random from the Assessment Books, not one-half of which were ever answered.

The plan you will recollect is based upon the supposition that the inhabitants would willingly come forward to support it,—does the above narrative shew any such willingness?—Gentlemen, I believe that if I had got a few friends to call for a public meeting to enter upon and settle the plan, it would have been a complete failure. In doing so I should effectually have abandoned the plan.

I am thoroughly persuaded that the Town never will receive the improvements which it requires, till the great mass of the inhabitants are brought by degrees to understand that it is their Town, and that the inconveniences and annoyances which vex them, if beyond the reach of the means and funds at present authorized, are things which it is their own affair to remedy or let alone. The interference of Government to compel the people to provide funds for the execution of improvements which they are indifferent about, is in my judgment unwarrantable.

It is on this ground that I am anxious to witness an interest in these affairs; it and it only will lead to the formation of Committees. Neither the terror of law nor the persuasions of Magistrates will ever do so.

In the conclusion of my last letter to you I said, municipal reforms of this nature to be effectual, must be demanded by the people.

I certainly have not found any such demand. If I have looked for it in the wrong quarter, or failed to take the proper means to develop it, I am open to correction, and as ready now as ever to answer the call of any considerable body of persons who may wish well to it.

In regard to the division chosen for the experiment, I may I think say that Government will willingly grant authority for selecting the one that shows the greatest desire to carry the arrangement into effect.

It is, however, my deliberate conviction, that no sufficient interest will ever be excited in the question till Government shall so arrange the funds applicable to Police purposes, that the inhabitants may know distinctly what is the utmost amount of assistance they can expect from Government. This point being fixed, they should be left to tax themselves for every thing else required to be done, or if they are willing to submit, Government may tax them and do the work for them.

Gentlemen, I think this a favourable opportunity for calling your attention to an Act of Parliament in operation in Ireland.* It lays down a complete code of procedure to be followed in those rising Towns which the prosperity of the British Islands brings from time to time into existence; and I confess I should be glad to see the law enacted here, with modifications suited to local circumstances: when once placed upon our book of statutes, it would remain for any of the divisions of this large Town, or all of them, to apply for and put the law in operation; commencing probably with the execution through this process of some special improvement the inhabitants might desire to effect, such as the construction of some great main sewer, of foot pavements, of improved lighting and watering, and ending, if the institution worked well, in the entire management of all the executive arrangements of their division, including, of course, the present assessment of 5 per cent.

The bill is necessarily long, and I can only give the heads succinctly, avoiding the details which are extremely full and complete.

In any City or Town the lighting, watching, cleaning, or paving of which is not provided for, 21 householders, each occupying a house of the annual value of £20 or more, may apply to the Lord Lieutenant to require the Mayor or two Justices to call a meeting of the inhabitants.

At such meeting every inhabitant assessed by the Vestry on a house of the yearly value

of £5 and upwards, is entitled to vote. If in a year they shall not vote.

Such meeting, presided at by the Mayor or Justices, shall decide by a plurality of votes, whether the act shall be put in force for the purpose of raising a rate for all or any of the above purposes.

The question being once settled in the negative by any such vote, shall not be raised again for three years—after three years the same process may be again gone through.

If the raising of a rate for all or any of the above purposes is resolved upon by the meeting, they are to elect Commissioners to carry into effect the subsidiary details. The Commissioners to vacate their office after three years, and to be capable of re-election.

Persons occupying premises of a less amount value than £5 not liable to rates or competent to vote.

Tickets of Registration to be granted.

Commissioners to meet at a given place on the first Monday of every month, any householder may appear at such meeting and prefer any matter of complaint he may think proper concerning any thing connected with the act.

Commissioners to appoint officers during pleasure, and keep books of proceedings, to frame estimates of yearly expense, and impose rates according to a scale, the highest a shilling in the pound, except an extraordinary assessment be agreed upon at an extraordinary general meeting.

Then follow detailed Conservancy rules to be put in force by Commissioners.

Annexed is a view of the receipts and expenditure of the Calcutta House Tax during the year 1833-34.—I have the honor, &c.

D. MCFARLAN, *Chief Magistrate*.
Calcutta, Police Office, 15th Nov., 1834.

P. S. In the above report I have inadvertently omitted to notice the service rendered by Baboo Dwarkenauth Takoor in this matter. With much zeal and liberality he caused a Bengallee version of the original proposals to be prepared and circulated.

CALCUTTA POLICE.

Expenditure & Receipts in the Assessment Department, from 1833-34.

Establishment of Police Thannadars,	
Barkundases and others, &c. &c. &c.	Rs. 1,45,000 2 7
Materials for repairing Roads, &c. &c.	15,257 2 8
Labor in ditto ditto, &c. &c.	12,184 0 5
Repairing Cross Bridges, &c. &c.	10,667 1 6
Sundry charges, including Thannah Rent, new Carts, Bullocks, repairs of Buildings, Office charges, &c. &c.	12,245 11 2
Labor in cleaning the Town, &c. &c.	64,748 12 13
Feeding Bullocks for cleaning, &c. &c.	6,806 2 5

Rs. Rs. 2,69,971 0 9

Net collections of Assessment, &c. &c. Rs. 1,95,792 10 9

Excess paid by Government, &c. &c. Rs. 74,178 9 0

THE COORG CAMPAIGN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MADRAS MALE ASYLUM HERALD.

Sir,—In forwarding to you the accompanying “ sketch of the operations of the western auxiliary column Coorg field force” at so late a period, it becomes necessary to state the reasons which have delayed it till now.

In G. O. G. G. 17th May, 1834, the Right Honorable the Governor-General having notified that “ the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson in command of the north-western column being under investigation, His Lordship refrains from making any remarks on the operations of that part of the force,” the publication of any statement of these operations during such investigation would have been improper; but as in General Orders by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated 9th September, it is notified that the Governor-General “ has much pleasure in publishing his concurrence in the opinion expressed by the committee which sat to investigate the conduct of that officer” (which opinion was entirely in Colonel Jackson’s favour)—the bar to the publication of any detail of the operations of that column is now removed. Should therefore the accompanying sketch be still deemed of sufficient interest, might I request you will be good enough to give it a place in your valuable columns, as from it I hope will be seen that the “ western auxiliary column” did its duty, and though not favoured with praise, is at least not undeserving of it.

I remain, Mr. Editor,

Your obedient servant,

ONE OF THE W. A. C. C. F. F.

October 10, 1834.

Sketch of the operations of the western auxiliary column of the Coorg field force, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel GEORGE JACKSON.

The W. A. C. of the Coorg field force, consisting of 150 men of H. M. 48th regiment and the head-quarters of the 40th regiment N. I. 400 strong, having been ordered to be formed at Coomlah, these parties marched respectively from Cannanore and Mangalore so as to reach that place

on the 24th of March last, where they united, and Lieutenant-Colonel George Jackson assumed the command, Captain M’Cleverty, H. M. 48th regiment, being Brigade-Major.

Bullocks not being employed in Canara as carriage, and there not being time to procure them from the Mysore country, and every endeavour to obtain them either through the civil authorities in Canara or the Commissariat at Cannanore having failed, the officers of the 40th regiment were obliged, with the exception of a very few bullocks purchased in the lines of the regiment, to employ bearers and coolies at great expense to carry their tents and baggage, which was reduced as much as possible.

The column halted at Coomlah from the 25th to the 28th of March, during which time the Commissariat, which was also obliged to employ coolies to a great extent instead of bullocks, procured grain, &c.; and every endeavour was made to establish camp bazaars independent of the Commissariat that the latter might be enabled to carry on their supplies of grain untouched for as great a length of time as possible. This through the assistance of Mr. Maltby, Assistant Collector, who was at Coomlah to superintend the arrangement of the supplies, and who spared no personal trouble, was accomplished by a native undertaking to supply the camp with the common necessities of life. While halted at Coomlah 1 jemadar, 2 havildars, 2 naiques, 1 bugler and 34 privates, instead of 50 as ordered, joined the force.

On the 29th of March the column moved right in front at 3 A. M. without drums or other signals that the enemy, who were known to be at a fortified place called Bailcottah about six miles distance, might not be aware of our march towards them; the light company of the 40th under Captain Rawlins in advance, followed by the Sappers and Miners and the column, the detachment of H. M. 48th leading, followed by the 40th regiment—the quarter guards of both forming the rear guard. The road from Coomlah is over very rocky ground, in most places rough but in many completely broken into deep steps, causing much impediment to the advance of the column. About day-light a piquet of the enemy was seen under a large

tree, of whom three or four were taken prisoners but no firing took place. After advancing further along a very indifferent road for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles Bailacottah became visible, when a body of the enemy under a leader on horseback who seemed to have come out to reconnoitre our motions, were seen retiring towards it. The fortifications consisted of a stone wall breast high on the crest of a rocky hill, with a gate in the middle; the left of the wall joined a precipitous hill which was unassailable, and the right rested on another rocky hill which could be ascended, but from its steepness and roughness with difficulty; the road leading up to the gate was in a hollow betwixt these two flanking hills; in the rear of this wall at some distance, but concealed by jungle, was a stockade with a gate in the centre; its left resting on a rocky and wooded ridge and its right extending towards a ravine running into the jungle.

The stone-wall above-mentioned was lined with armed men and the column prepared for the attack. Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Smith with a party of H. M. 48th regiment and two companies of the 40th under Captain Noble and Lieutenant Cannan moved into the hollow to force the gate in the centre of the wall, while the remainder of the force under Colonel Jackson closed up and mounted the face of the rocky hill to the right of the wall to turn the enemy's right flank. So soon as the enemy perceived the head of the column outflanking them, they called a parley, on which the column paused, when that part of the enemy, to the right of the gate, moved off to their right and rear towards the front of our column as if they intended to give in and join our party, they moved on and were closely followed by the column. The party with Captain Campbell, seeing the right flank turned, charged the gate when those having the left of the wall ran, part of them across towards the head of the column to join those already there, and under the same impression that the former party had given in, they were allowed to do so without molestation, while the rest retreated through the jungle betwixt the wall and the stockade. Captain Campbell's party then moved on towards the stockade by the direct road, while the column followed the body of the enemy through a very deep and dense jungle towards the same point. As soon as the enemy had reached the stockade itself at Bailacottah, they suddenly opened a fire on our front and right flank, which from being fixed too high did little damage; the column returned the fire

and immediately advanced when the stockade was taken possession of, the Coorgs flying with precipitation into the ravines and fastnesses where they could not be followed, leaving the ground strewn with arms, accoutrements and rice.

Lieutenant Smith who was with Captain Cambell's party which arrived first at the stockade, had at its entrance a personal encounter with one of the Coorg sirdars, which ended in the former giving the latter a severe sword cut in the neck.

The column halted for some time about a couple of hundred yards beyond the stockade, to reconnoitre in front, and to give time to destroy sufficient of the stockade to let the elephants with the European tents pass, and for the baggage to be got into order again as the bearers and coolies had thrown down their loads on the firing commencing, but were prevented from making their escape by the nature of the country and the rear guard.

The column moved on about three miles further through a very difficult and hilly road, the country affording many favorable points for the enemy to occupy for the purpose of stopping our progress, but which they neglected to do. We encamped on a table land in an excellent position, being free from jungle and having no hills near enough to cause trouble, although the enemy might have given us some at the watering place. This day's march was reckoned by the route furnished to be 9 miles, 2^o furlongs and 110 yards beyond Coomlah but appeared considerably more.

The column halted on the 30th and 31st of March for the purpose of completing our bazaars, &c. when the fatal mistake of having bearers and coolies for the baggage began to manifest itself by their desertion in considerable numbers, causing much anxiety regarding our future progress and consequent success. The Mangalore bearers and coolies in particular deserted, and their places were supplied by others from Coomlah, who in like manner took the first opportunity of slipping away. On the morning of the 31st, Captain Noble, 40th regiment, and Captain McCleverty, Brigade-Major, proceeded in advance to reconnoitre, accompanied by the light company of the 40th under Captain Rawlins, the information received and the route furnished not agreeing with the real face of the country. They brought back information of the road being clear of obstacles for about seven miles, where there was a stockade on

the top of a high hill which was abandoned.

On the 1st of April the column moved off right in front at 4 P. M. preceded one hour previously by the Sappers and Minners and 50 rank and file of the 40th regiment under Captain Noble for the purpose of destroying the abandoned stockade. No opposition was made to the advance of this day, but the road was steep and rugged in many places. The encamping ground at a place called Rourika, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the last ground, was a small confined spot completely commanded by jungly hills. The detachment of H. M. 48th was encamped to the front and right of the 40th on ground separated from the latter by a deep ditch and acclivity; this was unavoidable as no other place of encampment could be found within several miles. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile in advance of this ground was the above mentioned stockade, well situated on a high hill; it was composed of trunks of trees from 10 to 14 feet high, placed upright in the ground close to each other, merely leaving small loop holes to fire through, the whole being bound to and fastened with stakes behind. It was a formidable defence, but could have been turned though not without considerable loss on the part of the assailants; the gateway and a space sufficient for the passage of the elephants were cut down by the Sappers and Miners.

On this day several of the inhabitants of the country made their appearance in apparently a pacific manner, but no indication of inhabitants in general. Every protection was given to their houses and fields near our encamping ground to shew to them that we wished not to treat them as enemies.

Ensign Johnstone, 51st regiment N. I., arrived at this encamping ground to act as Quarter Master to the 40th regiment in the room of Lieutenant Cannan, who had left for the purpose of proceeding to Europe on sick certificate.

2d April.—The column moved off right in front at 4 A. M. through a most difficult road, being a succession of ascents and descents and over hills in general jungly but near the road in many places densely so and intersected with ravines. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond the stockade above mentioned is a small rocky table land surrounded by hills, beyond which for about two miles is a deep pass lined on each side with dense jungle, through which and along the edge of the hills the road winds, exposing those upon it to cross fires in many places; and about one mile beyond this pass is a flat piece of ground, with a stone

and mud wall across the centre of it, having an opening in the middle; deep ravines covered with jungle flank the whole of this flat ground.

The column moved on about four miles further through a country comparatively open, to a piece of encamping ground near a place called Eshwarmungul or Mudanoor, which was surrounded by hills, but the jungle on them was generally low; water was only procurable at one spot, and would have required a covering party if the enemy had taken advantage of their ground. The column was not molested during this march, although the country afforded many excellent positions for offensive operations.

At this encamping ground the potail of the village of Padampollie, about three miles to our left and rear, which is in the extreme confines of the Company's territory, came into camp. At this place also the first information was received of a formidable stockade about five miles in our front on the road we were to move by, and that a reinforcement had joined it the day before from Upper Coorg.

During the last two days constant desertions took place amongst the bearers and coolies, causing much inconvenience, a very few bullocks had in the meantime been procured from amongst those which had brought up bazaar articles.

3d April.—A party under the command of Captain Noble, 40th, consisting of 40 men of H. M. 48th regiment with Lieutenant Smith, the grenadier company of the 40th regiment completed to 80 men and 40 men of the light company, accompanied by Brigade Major M'Cleverty, and Ensign Johnstone, 51st regiment as Interpreter, left camp about 6 A. M. to reconnoitre the road and stockade at Kolathugay, said to be in front, while a detail of H. M. 48th and the other half of the light company of the 40th proceeded on a road to our right for a similar purpose. The latter returned in about two hours; but about 10 A. M. a heavy firing was heard in front in the direction of the former party. A detail of H. M. 48th under Captain Campbell, with Lieutenant Tidy, and a company of the 40th under Ensign Latour were ordered off to favour their retreat as the firing obviously was approaching the camp, while a small party of the 40th, under Captain Wright of that corps was ordered to follow and take up a position as a reserve for the whole to fall back upon. By degrees several wounded men made their

appearance and then the original party quite exhausted and considerably reduced in numbers.

The reconnoitring party had advanced to about 100 yards of the stockade when it halted, being under cover from any fire which might be opened from it, while the reconnoitring officers went forward to a tree about 30 or 40 paces from the stockade when a full view of the gate was afforded. The stockade was found to be of the most formidable description, and in the opinion of those who saw it, it would have been scarcely possible to have taken it with a force so small and armed as the W. A. C.; the road up to it was lined on both sides with dense jungle, along which the party had been allowed to proceed unmolested till the object of reconnoitring being accomplished, it was faced about for the purpose of returning to camp, when a heavy discharge of fire-arms from an invisible foe took place, which killed several of the European soldiers at once, Ensign Johnstone was twice wounded and then cut down. The party moved on steadily towards the camp, engaged hotly on both flanks and rear until they were met by the supporting party under Captain Campbell which, allowing the reconnoitring party to pass to their rear, advanced to the top of a rising ground over which the road led, when they found a body of the enemy exposed on the other side, following up the returning party, but ignorant of the approach of the advancing one, which poured a volley amongst them, doing considerable execution and driving them back for a time. Captain Campbell's party then retired towards the camp warmly engaged with the enemy, till they came within about a mile of the camp, where the road passed along the edge of a narrow strip of a cultivated ground, which was bounded on the opposite side by a high hill covered with thick jungle at the bottom but thinner towards the top, a high hill with thin jungle skirted the other side of the road, and a low isolated hill closed in the cultivated ground towards the camp, allowing a passage on either side but commanding both. The Coorgs pushed along the thick jungle on the opposite side of the fields apparently with the view of either getting possession of the low hill, which completely enfiladed the road, Captain Campbell's party were marching by, or of pushing through the opening round it and intercepting that party which was still fired upon from the rear and right flank; but the hill had previously been occupied by Captain Wright with a part of the reserve, while the remainder of it flanked the

opening at the bottom of it towards which the Coorgs were pushing. This occupation of the hill was no sooner observed by the enemy than they withdrew from the jungly bottom of the hill beyond the fields and part ascended to line its top. This relieved the retiring party which proceeded into camp, and the Coorgs after exchanging shots with the party of the reserve on the top of the hill ceased their exertions, and the reserve was shortly afterwards withdrawn by orders from camp.

The number of killed and wounded on this occasion was—

Killed, H. M. 48th regiment 1 sergeant and 8 privates; wounded, 1 lieutenant and 7 privates—total 17. Killed 40th regiment N. I., 1 ensign, 2 havildars, 1 naique, 1 bugler, and 16 privates; wounded, 1 havildar and 28 privates, total 50.—Grand total 67.

During the day arrangements were made for the safety of the camp, in case of an attack at night, by bringing the stores, commissariat supplies and sick into the centre, and the Sappers and Miners were employed making litter of jungle wood for the conveyance of the wounded, the 40th regiment having only 10 doolies, while there were 29 wounded to be conveyed. Towards evening it was found that 77 coolies belonging to the commissariat department had deserted (21 having done so the day before) and out of 55 dooly bearers furnished to the 40th regiment only 17 remained, and these were Madras bearers, chiefly procured from the detachments of the 2d regiment on relieving those of the 40th, the rest, Mangalore men, having fled; the whole of the bazaar-men who supplied the bazaars of the camp also deserted, thereby completely paralyzing the operations of the column, for although even the stockade in front had been forced, which with guns could have been done, or even without guns might have perhaps been so with the sacrifice of a great part of the men, yet the impossibility, with the now crippled means, of bringing up and ensuring a supply of provisions or of carrying off our wounded who would be materially increased as we advanced, would alone have prevented any attempt to push further into such a country; the information afforded regarding which was found so incorrect, while the column was not strong enough to have advanced and left a sufficient guard to have protected the wounded had they been left in camp. A considerable number of the officers' servants and most of their coolies also deserted this day.

In the evening about sunset an alarm was given that the enemy was advancing, which proved to be a false one, and the requisite arrangements having been made by posting a party of H. M.'s 48th, with a company of the 40th to the right, the same to the front, a company of the 40th to the left, and one to the rear, the whole, with those left in camp, lay on their arms all night.

6th April.—Information having been received that large bodies of the Coorgs had passed during the night to our front on the Coomlah road with the view of attacking us, for which the road betwixt our encamping ground and Bailacottah afforded every opportunity. Colonel Jackson, wishing to avoid further and unnecessary loss of life, moved in the same formation as before, across the country towards Cassergode through a range of lower hills than those further in the interior and which were also comparatively bare of jungle, thereby affording, should the enemy be able to put in upon us, less shelter to, and bringing us more upon a par with them. About four miles from our encamping ground the road was found to be impassable from a nullah which was dammed across for the irrigation of the fields. A detention here of about 1½ hour took place until the Sappers and Miners had cut the dam down to allow the water to decrease sufficiently for the force to pass over; this being accomplished it proceeded and arrived at Cassergode about 6 P. M. The road this day was excessively bad, indeed in several places so much so as not to deserve the name of a road; but with exception of one or two places, the enemy could not have availed himself of the ground, and from these he could have been speedily driven. One of the privates of H. M. 48th who had been wounded on the 5th died on the road and was buried on the arrival at Cassergode.

Thus the W. A. C. C. F. F. made good its retreat, surrounded by the enemy, deserted by its followers, denied assistance by the Company's villagers, and beating the enemy at every point when they attacked it. No men could do more—the patience with which both the Europeans and natives bore the privations to which they were exposed was most praise-worthy, and the kindly feeling which existed betwixt the two was most exemplary. Caste and prejudice seemed to be put aside, and the Europeans and sepoy mingled together as if they were of the same nation and same regiment, mutually regretting that they had not an opportunity of

meeting their enemy on fair ground where they might avenge the murder of their wounded comrades.

7th April.—Halted to re-organize the force by procuring fresh carriage, &c. The wounded of H. M. 48th were sent by sea to Cannanore and those of the 40th to Mangalore; the greater part of the medicines and all the surgical instruments having been lost on the 5th by the desertion of the coolies, &c. This evening the flag of truce from the Coorg Rajah made its appearance in the camp, instead of reaching it on the 4th, which it might have done, and thereby saved the necessity of the force retiring further than Padampollie.

8th April.—Halted at Cassergode. 9th April.—Marched to Coomlah where the force was ordered to halt till further orders. On the 11th fever began to shew itself amongst the detachment of H. M. 48th, which on the 12th had increased to such a height that 22 men went into hospital.

On the 22d April the Sappers and Miners marched for Bellarypett to join the 9th regiment Native Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel James which had come down the ghauts from Upper Coorg, and on the 28th, in conformity with orders received, the W. A. C. C. F. Force was broken up and the detachment H. M. 48th marched to Cannanore and the 40th regiment to Mangalore; the former giving the latter three cheers on parting in token of the good feeling which had throughout existed betwixt them, thus completing the service of that column in the Coorg campaign, which though only denominated an auxiliary column and the last warned for service, (the first information received by the 40th regiment being only on the 9th of March, while it had to recall detachments from the distance of 180 miles), yet was the first and the last in action, having commenced its operations on the 29th of March, three days previous to any of the other columns, which enabled a most disproportionate force to be concentrated to oppose them. This force from information since received, of the correctness of which there is no reason to doubt, amounted to upwards of 300 Coorgs, regular fighting men, from above the ghauts under the command of a Dewan, father-in-law of the Rajah, upwards of 1,000 Shoolia Coorgs, the best soldiers below the ghauts, and 1,400 armed inhabitants of Lower Coorg, all of whom were trained to the use of arms, being obliged to serve as feudal militia, a force strong

enough in such a country to have annihilated so small an invading column.

The mere withdrawal of the 300 men from Upper Coorg and preventing the Shooliah men from proceeding above the ghauts by giving them sufficient employment below was of use, as it relieved the columns in that direction of that number of opponents; and had the W. C. C. been furnished with guns, there cannot be the least doubt but it would also have performed the part laid down for it as well as the others, the moral effect of guns being such on the inhabitants of Coorg that before marching from Coomlah it was understood to be the common talk of the Coorg people, that if the W. C. C. brought guns they would not fight, but that if it did not, they would, and the same was repeated during the march by such inhabitants as were seen, and on the morning of the 3d of April, when the reconnoitring party were on their way, they fell in with an old man, an inhabitant of the country, who on being questioned concerning the stockade at Roluthugay, described it as very strong, saying "there are plenty of men, but if you had a gun they would not remain there;" had the column had guns, it would have enabled it to have cleared the jungles with them instead of only opposing the fire of muskets against that of matchlocks, which carry nearly double the distance and consequently whose shots told where ours would be thrown away; besides the presence of guns would have instilled so much confidence into the minds of the followers that probably the desertions would have been but few in comparison to what took place and the efficiency of the force been left unimpaired.

On the breaking up of the column the following order was issued by Colonel Jackson, to whom sufficient praise cannot be given for his patience and ability in obtaining information in the heart of an enemy's country, without a map (none being procurable) and with no assistance but that afforded by a common peon, who fortunately was an intelligent man for one in his situation, the information regarding the country previously received having been found incorrect, and for the judicious retreat he made, completely baffling the plans of the Goorgs, by misleading them regarding the road the column was to take, thereby enabling it to retire to where it could obtain fresh carriage with but small loss on its part, while from all accounts that on the part of the enemy, especially on the 5th, was very

General Order by Lieut. Colonel Jackson.

Camp Coomlah, 27th April, 1834.

"On the occasion of the breaking up of the brigade Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson offers his best thanks to Captain Willtas commanding the detachment of H. M. 48th regiment and second in command with the force, and to Captain Wright commanding the 40th N. I. for their zealous and steady support and assistance in the execution of his orders upon all occasions during the late service. The Lieutenant-Colonel desires likewise to convey to the officers of both corps his sense of their zealous and officer-like conduct, also to the non-commissioned and privates for their general steadiness and soldier-like bearing, especially to those of H. M. 48th, whose examples on the 3d and 5th merit his highest praise.

"Referring to the operations of the reconnoitring party on the 3d, Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson cannot refrain from particularly noticing the high sense he entertains of the soldier-like conduct of Captain Noble who commanded that party and Captain M'Cleverty who accompanied it, and considers his acknowledgments justly due to these officers notwithstanding the unfortunate result of the service on which they were employed. The activity and bravery of Lieutenant Smith commanding the detail of H. M. 48th regiment, as reported by Captain Noble on the above occasion, merit particular notice.

"To the memory of an unfortunate comrade, Ensign Johnston, the Lieutenant-Colonel takes a melancholy pleasure in paying the tribute due to courage and high character, for both of which he was eminently distinguished.

"Independently of the occasion which has already been alluded to regarding the services of Captain M'Cleverty, Major of Brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson desires that officer to accept his unqualified acknowledgments and thanks not only for the unremitting attention to every part of his official duty, but for the aid and assistance he has afforded in every respect while acting under his orders.

By order,

(Signed) W. A. M'CLEVERTY,

Brigade Major

NOCTES OOTACAMUNDIANÆ.

No. I.

PERSONÆ DRAMATIS.

*Dominus Bataviensis, Ptsittacus, Bombeiensis.***SCENE.**—*A handsome dining room. Wine, decanters, glasses, &c. a good fire blazing on the hearth.*

Dom.—Pray allow me to ask Mr. Ptsittacus why *you* come out to these parts of the world.

Ptsit.—To lay up money and lay down the law.

Dom.—Very good—objects praise-worthy both, and for the former purpose it cannot be denied that no further knowledge is requisite, with an income like yours, than will enable you to make a safe remittance; but with respect to the latter, do you not think that some little acquaintance with the people for whom we are to legislate—some slight knowledge of their laws as they *are*—of their habits, manners, customs, prejudices, even superstitions and mode of worship, would not be found disadvantageous to their future law-giver. For my own individual part, I have been some twenty years off and on, trying to qualify myself after my manner in the knowledge above specified, and trying my hand at law tinkering, and I am not altogether satisfied that I am master of the business yet.

Ptsit.—I think it will not be considered either vain or presumptuous for one who conquered or acquired, for conquest and acquisition, according to Blackstone, are one and the same, or perhaps I should more fitly say mastered the Italian language in the short period of six weeks to assert that in six weeks he can master the whole of Hindoo and Musselman Law. Pythagoras—

Bomb.—D—n Pythagoras. — Begging your pardon.

Dom.—You need not beg my pardon, he is no friend or acquaintance of mine, nor can I imagine that Ptsittacus can esteem him other than an imbecile, seeing that he came to these realms to imbibe a knowledge of men, laws and customs, at an age at which Ptsit. comes to diffuse and teach it.

Ptsit.—It may be rather a pedantic observation to say that in every kind of know-

ledge *discimus docentes*; and to speak more accurately I came out to this country with the complex object of saving money and of gaining money—of law making and of law learning—of laying it down and picking it up, and indeed what method can be more effectually adapted both for the acquisition of a Solon's knowledge, and the promulgation of a perfect code, than the happy opportunity afforded here of trying the effect of every kind and variety of law, regulation and enactment that imagination can suggest.

Dom.—Allow me to ask have you already turned your attention to the future legislation of these dominions.

Ptsit.—I have already dedicated a very serious portion of time and labour thereto, the result of which I will to-morrow submit to your examination. In the meantime I may intimate that I have drawn up a table for the classification of future enactments, which will comprise: 1st. Laws immutable, irrevocable, permanent and irreversible. 2d. Laws tentative, experimental—experimental in corpore vili. 3d. Laws of Janus or ambiguous, uncertain, double-faced laws, capable, if one mode of construction don't answer, of receiving, on appeal, a different interpretation.

Dom.—I had been led to suppose Ptsit. that the great beauty of a law was its certainty.

Ptsit.—Your——is to consider that in the enactment of laws there are two parties to be considered—the law makers and the law-obeyers. A wise legislator like a wise general will therefore so dispose of his forces that he expose not himself—upon whose safety the success of the expedition, and consequently the safety of the whole army must depend—to unnecessary danger. Now a skilful legislator, knowing that it is not in the compass of human nature to enact a perfect

code, will ever aim at that which will produce the same effect as far as *he* is concerned, that is to say, he will enact such laws as if they be found to work ill under one interpretation, will leave room for him to turn round upon the Judge, and reprehend him for a mistake in judgment, whilst at the same time he passes a declaratory enactment, giving the other interpretation. This is the origin and source of that glorious uncertainty which has raised England to its present pitch of greatness.

Dom.—Why, Mr. Ptsittacus, I always was given to understand that you were a reformer in its most extended sense, a whig at least of the most liberal views, and surely these sentiments of yours do not correspond with the principles of whiggery.

Ptsit.—It is always advantageous for those who are to labour in the same work to look as much as possible the same way. I shall therefore explain as candidly as possible my notions regarding party. In order to do this, a familiar illustration may perhaps serve much better than an elaborate definition. I recollect an old country gentleman, of good estate, one of the old school who used generally to dress in a blue coat and red waistcoat, kept an excellent table, a good pack of hounds, and all the usual appendages of a country squire. This gentleman had three sons, the eldest whose name was John, he brought up from his very childhood to hard labour. He was from morning till night toiling and sweating, ploughing and harrowing, now in the smithy looking over the blacksmiths, now in the factory among the cotton spinners, and in a word, he got no rest till a hard day's work was done, and then went to sleep upon a crust or at best a pot of porter, and bread and cheese. He kept his old father, however, in good and flourishing condition, and he did not care for the labour. After some years the old gentleman had two other youngsters by different wives (some slanderous people would have it by kept mistresses) whose names were Tom and William, smart clever chaps, very much alike in their general characters, though their poor old father thought them quite different both in complexion and disposition. As these two youngsters grew up, they each fancied they could manage the old man's estate much better than he could himself, and were constantly urging him to entrust all his affairs in charge to one or other of them. Teased out of his life, he at last consented and made Tom his manager and steward. Will did not at all like this; so what does he do but go to John, who was a great, big, brawny fellow, of prodigious strength—

had he known how to use it—and cries “brother,”—(*that* was the first time he had ever called him brother)—“brother you work very hard and get very hard fare; I really feel commiseration for you; what do you think, there's father has put Tom over *us*, (he never said *us* before to poor John in all his life) and Tom swears he'll make you work twice as hard and eat twice as little as you do now: listen to me. If you will come to father and take my part, and threaten to knock Tom down if he don't get out and let me into the steward's place, I'll take care you shall have your pot of beer every day of your life as you ought, for you work very hard for it.” “That is true,” said John, and on these conditions John doubled his fist, and a devil of a fist it was, and the very sight of it, together with the reasonableness of John's demand, operated so strongly upon the old man and upon Tom and his rascally friends, that he took to his heels, and Will took possession of the steward's room. After a little time, however, Will, ~~saying it necessary to make up a large demand from the upholsterer, on account of some hangings furnished upon occasion of a wedding~~ in the family, began to nibble at John's beef and porter himself, and though he softened matters down as well as he could, John bore it very surlily, and Tom one day watching his opportunity took him aside and said “brother John,—(he never called John brother before in *his* life)—what do you think that rascal William is about? you know he accused me of spending the rent and profits of the estate upon my cast off mistresses. Do you know: I can prove it, he now wants to reduce you to small beer for that very purpose himself.” “Does he,” cried John, “by jingo—why he's ten times worse than you, the—what shall I do?”—“why,” cries Tom, “if you will only double that fist of yours—I never remarked before *what* a fist you have brother—go with me to father and Tom and tell them that he must get out and I get in again, I will take care you shall have your regular allowance, which is but just and right, seeing that you work very hard for it.” “That is true,” said John, and forthwith he went and acted in respect to Tom as he had before done to Will. This kind of manœuvre had been repeated so often that when I left England, I called Tom and Will together, for I have an interest in the family, and gave them my parting advice in these words—“Tom and Will, I observed your brother John the other day scratching his head, and I am exceedingly mistaken if he

has not at length begun to find out a matter, which it is only surprising we have been so long able to keep him in the dark about. He is rather slow of apprehension, but dependent upon it, if like John Kemble he is slow in taking a joke, when he *does* find out what very serious jokes you have both been playing off upon him so long, he will be not unlikely to give you both such a thump as will disqualify you from taking your seats upon any other place than the stool of repentance for the rest of your days: a whig and a tory we know are identical, and like a Spartan thief, have but one crime—to be found out—and as I very much fear brother John has hit it at last, I'm off to-morrow."

Dom.—Ha, ha, ha! but see we have despatches—let us see what news abroad.

Enter servant with a paquet of letters.

Ptsit.—I find by the public journals that the venerable bishop is absent from Calcutta upon an eastern visitation, by which I shall be deprived of the unction of his blessing upon my arrival; he goes I see on board the *Enterprize*, steamer, it is said by the express desire of a party, for whom I have a very great respect (looking complimentarily.)

Dom.—Humph.

Ptsit.—(aside.) Now is that humph I wonder meant for my compliment or the matter of the steamer? (aloud.) It is perfectly in keeping with the dignity and importance of his lordship's mission, that the best steamer should be put in requisition upon such an occasion.

Dom.—Humph.

Ptsit.—The motion of the paddle wheels, the hissing of the boiler and the smoking of the chimney, are altogether admirably adapted to the composition of homilies and pious discourses.

Dom.—Humph.

Ptsit.—The revolution of the first will suggest to the exuberant imagination of the pious orator a thousand allusions to the changes and variations of human fortune,

the resisting medium of the water may be likened to difficulties in the way of the propagation of faith, the boiling cauldron and sulphurous fumes will furnish images, calculated to awaken the slumbering sinner—what a pity it is there were no steamers in St. Paul's day.

Dom.—If our bishop make as many Christians with the aid of steam, as St. Paul made without it, I shall think he has preached very effectually.

Bomb.—Do you think that at all probable? If he does he will well deserve a salute from the Fort upon his return.

Dom.—He shall have the salute whether he does or no.

Bomb.—It strikes me, however, and I speak in all humility—it strikes me that there is something not quite congruous and consistent in the saluting a missionary of peace, of charity, and of life, in the thunders of the engines of war, the instruments of destruction and implements of death. I question whether St. Paul would have approved a discharge of Catapultæ or Ballistæ upon his landing at any given port. I rather think that had some zealous proselyte in authority ordered 19 blows of the *aries*, or battering-ram against the city wall, in celebration of his arrival, he would have reprehended such method of doing him honor as utterly incompatible with his mission.

Dom.—I am no casuist in these matters, but for my own part though I am no missionary I would rather avoid these explosions. It is however a matter of taste.

Bomb.—I observe some strictures upon the expensiveness of this trip thus performed in a steamer. If I may be allowed to give an opinion, I should say that the man who can censure expense on such an occasion, deserves to be blown away in a great gun. But the folly of the fellow neutralises his own argument; he talks among other items of the "insurance"—now what captain or owner would ever think of throwing away his money by insuring the vessel that carried a bishop—"quid times—episcopum vehis."

No. II.

Dominus Bataviensis, Ptsitacus, Bombeiensis, Madracus, Miles.

Pass the bottle Madracus.

Whether the Coorgs are not with the Gurgashites of old, is a

question involving many important considerations, and requiring the deepest research into antiquarian and traditional lore.

Ptsit.—And intimately connected with the object of our present meeting.

Bomb.—Homo sum Mr. Ptsittacus and Man whether Girgashite or Coorgh is my proper study.

Dom.—I question much whether they would thank us at the Aula Plumbea, though we settled the matter beyond dispute, unless at the same time we could shew that a Coorgh could pay as good a tribute as a Girgashite. "The gold of that land is good": will form the most interesting point of resemblance between the two peoples that we can furnish in our despatches. Our business is the ways and means. Think of that gentlemen, and abandon all idle and useless discussion.

Bomb.—Idle?

Miles.—D—ned idle. The only question we have to look to is, how to raise the wind. We must make a little fuss about law mending and legislating, but our proper function is getting in the cash. It were useless *among ourselves* to mince the matter. This country is like an Irish estate, our masters are the absentees and we are the middle men—and we all know a middleman's duty, eh!

Omnes.—All—all.

Ptsit.—As we are all unanimous as to the chief end of our mission, let us give our earnest thoughts to the means, that is, the question—*nocturna versate manu versate diurna*—and let me tell you that we must exert ourselves, for just before I left England a circumstance occurred in the Aula Plumbea which excited a wonderful sensation, and is likely not to be forgotten.

Omnes.—Aye, what was it.

Ptsit.—It was upon a day dedicated to the open discussion of subjects connected with oriental literature, more especially as regards the learning which treats of fiscal and financial matters and the art of saving. I was present myself and was listening to an harangue from the curule-spokesman, the whole hall—and the hall was full—was wrapt in deep attention—the speaker paused when lo! a voice other than that of the orator—a thrilling, sharp, sonorous, penetrating, supernatural voice, was heard to utter forth in accents which the deaf might hear, and which made the roof and rafters ring—

CLIP THE CLIPPERS!!!

[Here all start from their seats with looks of horror and exclaim—clip the clippers—oh we're undone!]

Ptsit.—Aye, clip the clippers was the sound—it yet rings in my ears—and well might it make an impression on me; for I had that very morning received official intimation of my appointment.

Dom.—(After a glass of wine.) That sound have I heard in my dreams—clip the clippers! well Mr. Ptsittacus—(despondingly.)

Ptsit.—But this was not all—for on the instant the sound of, as it were innumerable fighting men, an army in short, was heard repeating "clip the clippers;" then came a sound like that of 100 millions of turband men shouting aloud "kulip the kulipers." It was awful and it went to the very bottom of my breeches pocket.

Mad.—This is indeed a touching affair, and though it never could affect me—my remuneration being far inadequate to my office, I think your pockets may tremble, and your purse may wince Mr. Ptsittacus.

Ptsit.—We may all tremble, for I understood on very good authority that a very able fellow is preparing a pamphlet at home to prove on incontestible proof, by figured statements, that had the system of saving commenced at the head instead of the feet, began at the great stream and ended at the little rill, had cut down the Leviathan instead of the fry, the Triton instead of the minnows, a greater saving—*salvâ dignitate non obstante* would have been effected than ever yet has been accomplished by the operation of the cabalistic Greek word αλφ βάρρα or the conjugation of the verb κλιπω in all its moods and tenses.

Bom.—I do not think our masters will allow it, provided we do all we can to clip every one beneath us. What has been our master's maxim of late but to pay the best price for the best clipper and squeezer.

Dom.—There is one consideration, gentlemen, that alarms me, but only on your account. Suppose my master should not be satisfied with clipping subordinates, but constituting me clipper of clippers, should require me on peril of being subjected to the same process, to adjust your pay exactly to your necessities and wants, or still severer, to your meritorious claims. The great object that my master John had in giving me a very large and unclippable salary was, that I might have no sympathy with those the clipping of whom I was to superintend. I was a soldier and therefore might have sympathized with soldiers. I was a man and might have sympathized with men, (if I had been

poor or subject to contingencies. Such gentlemen, being the state of the case, I am apprehensive on your account.

Mad.—I don't think you'll clip me in a hurry.

Dom.—Stronger wings and higher flyers may find their master and feel the shears.

Mad.—There's Miles, you may clip him as much as you please, but I am a Domine as well as yourself, and I must be spared.

Miles.—You could be spared very well I am sure, but why the deuce am I to be made the scape goat?

Mad.—Why, because you are a soldier to be sure, and the poorer you are the better you'll fight. You are not yet half poor enough to fight well.

Miles.—You had better not try the experiment.

Mad.—Poh, poh.

Miles.—Poh, poh—don't poh poh me. I came here to give my opinion on great questions, not to be poh pohed.

Mad.—Your opinion on great questions! If the magnitude and importance of the question be proportional to the depth and weight of the opinion, we great guns are I suppose assembled here to settle the vexata questio "*Si unam halecem et dimidium pro uno obolo obtineas quam multas proudecim obolis emes?*"

Mil.—You may be the "first of men" in your own estimation, but you are the last in mine, and if we were in another place I would let you know what I thought of you.

Dom.—Gentlemen, this is no place for a quarrel. If you intend to squabble you had better go out.

Mad. and *Miles* go out.

Dom.—What with their bickerings and sparrings and our isolated situation, we get through very little work, really gentlemen this won't do.

[Here two shots are heard.]

What the deuce, have they been fighting—a pretty mode of sitting in council truly. Why, it will be said that we came to this out of the way part of the world merely to be free from interruption whilst settling our affairs of honor—a shooting party in the hills—sporting in the wilds indeed!

Ptsit.—We might it is true occupy our time more philosophically and more profitably—but here is news.

Enter a servant with letters, &c.

Ptsit.—Ha, the crisis has passed—my friends have survived the blast—but let us see how have they settled the Irish Church question—a commission! humph—a commission—why I see they avow a principle of interference, then why delay putting it into effect?

Miles.—(Speaking as he enters.) That fellow is invulnerable. I swear my bullet hit him on the head; it struck firm on the hard substance—the only fire he ever shewed—he's *adam an't* he—

Ptsit.—If Mr. Stanley's doctrine hold, and his party get in, we shall have a vast accession to the clergy in this part of the world.

Dom.—Why so?

Ptsit.—He insists that wherever there's a protestant there must be a clergyman maintained for him. Now the same holds as good in this country as in Ireland, and every indigo and silk factory in the Mofussil may claim its clergyman.

Dom.—I would not recommend it but—(pausing.)

Bom.—If a Catholic who is a Christian must pay a protestant clergy who are no clergy to them, surely heathens, pagans, and idolaters ought at least to do the same and to the same extent, that is, wherever there is a protestant indigo factor or silk grower.

Dom.—The comparison is convincing and puts the matter beyond dispute.

Eusebius having entered and heard the last remarks.

Eus.—When George the 3d was applied to on behalf of Dr. Dodd, the argument which convinced him that he ought to sign the warrant for the execution of that unhappy being was this. "If I don't hang him I murdered the Perreaux." This mode of reasoning was doubtless *conclusive* to the Doctor, but how it is possible for those in whose hands are placed the awful responsibility of a fellow being's existence so to reason, is altogether inapplicable. George the 3d's argument amounts to this: "If I don't commit another murder I am guilty of one"; and with this deplorable paradox, this lamentable aberration of head, and

apathy of heart, the monarch slept soundly upon his pillow in confidence that he had done and acted according to the dictates of conscience! The argument is the same, just as strong, just as fallacious, and probably just as effective in reference to the protestant clergy, and may be thus framed. "If we compel the Irish Christian to pay for a clergy whom he does not recognise, and do not compel the Hindoo pagan to pay for a clergy whom he does not recognise, we commit injustice, far greater injustice indeed than George the 3d when he hanged Doctor Dodd, because he had hanged the two Perreux, for the Perreux were Christians as well as Doctor Dodd, and the Irish Catholic is a Christian, and a Hindoo is not. Now I must confess that whatever degree of luxury, moral or physical, this climate may produce, I cannot yet bring myself to concede all this. I think George's logic was bad, and Mr. Stanley's worse.

Dom.—I have no doubt that George the 3d on the occasion you mention acted conscientiously.

Eus.—Nor have I the slightest. He did act conscientiously, and I am sorry to say, it is a melancholy truth that he did so.

Dom.—How, I pray you?

Eus.—I argue not as to whether Dodd ought to have suffered or not, but his death, determined by such reasoning, shews that whether the monarch be good or bad, merciful or cruel, MEN HAVE NO SECURITY IN KINGS—the wretch for mercy, the honest man for right.

Dom.—We are talking confidentially I presume.

Eus.—Strictly, but if such were not the truth I should not be here.

Dom.—Why so?

Eus.—Every aspiring mind who knows what kings are, is a republican, but a republic can never be in my time, at least in England, nor could I aid it, nor indeed is England yet fitted for the change.

Dom.—Do you think she will ever be?

Eus.—Think! I am as sure, eye, surer than that the sun will rise; for both are matters of inference and calculation, and I can calculate more correctly upon human conduct than I can dare to presume upon the continuance of the solar system.* The sun and the stars will pass away, and I know not when that will be; but of the period when kings and monarchs will pass away, I can form a pretty correct judgment. It would not be very difficult to frame the horoscope of monarchy for the next century.

Dom.—I should like to see it under your hand.

Eus.—You shall upon this day week. In the mean time you may receive this as a maxim, that as sure as the tendency of tyranny is to produce revolution, the tendency of reform is to produce change: revolutions being generally the result of madness and fury, seldom produce good; changes in political government, being the result of deliberation, are calculated to work improvement. The tories in one respect are wiser than the whigs; they know that the spirit of reform neither slumbereth nor sleepeth; that it is an active, vigilant and persevering spirit, to which corruption can never say, "thus far shalt thou go and no further;" hence with much consistency they strive to stifle it outright; but the whigs think that they can prevent the tide which has carried them into port from carrying them farther than they wished to go. They are mistaken, and know not what they wish; were that tide to ebb, whiggism would at once be left upon the shoals a naked, deserted, melancholy hulk, an inert mass, helpless, hopeless—swamped to eternity.—*Bengal Herald.*

* The several advocates of the ether and non-ether systems are reviving with the discussion of the numerous questions a dispute as to the probable duration of our existence. We think that when astronomers are led into discussions of this kind by a study so glorious, the stars are sure to outlive them.

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLII.

ON THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE, FALSEHOOD, FORGERY, PERJURY.

This is one of the features of the people of India, which has attracted the attention of all who have ever had any dealings with them. The accusations to which they have been subject for their want of truth have been universal; and their best friends must allow that these have been too well founded. Although there are undoubtedly some exceptions, yet it may be affirmed of the nation at large, both of Hindoos and Moosulmans, that truth is not in them. The slightest interest is generally sufficient to induce a native to say what he thinks will best promote it, without regard to the accuracy or inaccuracy of his statement: often, indeed, are we disgusted with hearing them utter falsehood without any conceivable motive being apparent for so doing; and it is a common remark among official men that a cause is frequently lost, and a criminal prosecution has failed from the improbabilities and even impossibilities which are sworn to, whereas success would have been complete had the parties concerned merely related the simple truth.

This is certainly a serious charge to bring against the character of any nation in the mass, and will require to be impartially discussed. And in the first place, it should be considered, that a very broad line must be drawn between a wilful falsehood or fabrication and an unintentional deviation from truth. We must also bear in mind the great difference of ideas on the subject which exists in the minds of the natives of India, and those which prevail among the English; and due allowance should be made for this difference instead of a rigid adherence to our standard.

Under the first head must be placed their proneness to exaggeration, even in the commonest affairs of life; and in matters which are not of the slightest importance. Figurative language and amplification in the extreme, have long been the characteristics of oriental nations. Thousands and millions are words of common use to signify a considerable number: a man who has been struck, generally represents himself to have been nearly murdered: he who has been defrauded of a few pence usually asserts that he has been plundered and ruined beyond redemption: another, who is seeking for employment, styles himself to be your humble slave, ready

to follow you to the world's end, and to lay down his life in your service: and so on. Those who make use of these expressions by no means intend that they should be taken literally; they are mere words of course, and are understood as such by all who are acquainted with the character of those by whom they are adopted.

But the evil consequences which this laxity of speech engenders, is a far more serious question than the intrinsic evil of a few hyperbolical expressions. Those who are in the habit of using them are too apt to lose sight of truth altogether; and when any point arises in which their own interest is concerned, constantly make the most extraordinary exaggerations and the grossest misstatements that can well be conceived; of a nature too, which has a material effect on the point at issue. They seem to entertain a notion that such a practice is necessary to ensure their being attended to, and that in order to obtain ten, it is best to begin by demanding a hundred—a practice, by the way, by no means unknown to the dispensers of that law which they would have us believe is the perfection of human wisdom. English lawyers, either in framing a criminal indictment, or in bringing an action for damages, seem to have as good a notion of this mode of proceeding as any class of natives of the East.

The effects which the Governments of oriental nations have had on the minds, morals, feelings, and habits of the people, is not generally taken sufficiently into consideration in our attempts to form an opinion regarding them. A pure despotism is not the most favorable state for developing the better qualities of human nature; and where this exists, many a man, even a superior man who naturally professes and would practise a high tone of morality, is driven in self-defence to say and do many things at which his mind revolts. Can it, for instance, be supposed that the English merchants in the interior of India have any predilection for a system of giving bribes and douceurs to the native officers of our Courts? Setting moral feeling aside, can it be imagined that they would not prefer a system by which justice should be attainable by fair and open means? and that they would not be glad to avoid the expense which this bribery entails upon them? Yet

they are compelled by imperious necessity to have recourse to such proceedings, because a refusal to pay those exactions to a set of officials whose extortions are virtually sanctioned, would cause great injury to their concerns. If the English merchants are driven to such practices, how much more must it be the case with the natives? and when men have long been habituated to such measures, and have been forced to pay bribes in order to obtain their just ends, is it to be wondered at, if their minds and feelings become so changed, as to induce them occasionally to offer a bribe to secure an unjust advantage?

The people of India possess not only a laxity of morals and of speech, but of ideas, which leads them to treat as venial, or even to attach no sense at all of criminality to actions which, in our estimation, would be viewed in a very heinous light. I have not unfrequently known a man come forward as a witness, and swear to having witnessed facts of which he was perfectly ignorant, as far as his own observation went. The real person was either absent from illness or some other cause, and those interested had brought a substitute, who had been duly tutored as to what points he was to testify. I have even known instances when some one present has pointed out the substitution of the attending person for the real witness, which the former has at once acknowledged, observing, "True enough; my real name is B.—A. whom you summoned is my brother, (or cousin, &c.) he is unable to attend, but I have often heard from him the facts of this case, and am just as well able, as he is, to tell you about them: he desired me to attend in his stead: what more do you require?" On one occasion, an English merchant had a cause called on, and a most material witness was absent. A native friend of his, who was of the same name as the absent witness, chanced to be in court: he immediately stepped forward, swore to the execution of the document on which the suit was founded, and a decree was accordingly given: when he next met the merchant, he incidentally mentioned the lucky contingency which enabled him to do this piece of service, without taking particular credit to himself, and seemed quite at a loss to understand some observations which his remark elicited from the Englishman: "What," he exclaimed, "have I acted improperly? It is true I did not see the bond executed; but I perfectly well know that the money is due to you, and the effect of my evidence is not to do the other any injury, but to promote justice; he owes you the amount, and ought to pay it."

Another extraordinary notion entertained by many of the natives of India, when summoned as witnesses by a particular person, is that, if they consent to give evidence for him, it is their bounden duty to swear to any thing and every thing which may tell in his favor, or in any way promote his interest, and, if possible, not to divulge any thing which may be turned against him. On one occasion, the merchant just alluded to had a suit in court in which a Brahmin pundit was a witness. He had given his evidence clearly and satisfactorily, for it was a plain straight-forward case, when the judge asked an immaterial question on a point of which he knew nothing: he swore, however, without hesitation, to the fact. On the merchant's asking how he could think of doing so, and pointing out, moreover, that it was a gratuitous falsehood, for it could not bear on the issue of the trial; he observed, that "this occurred to him at the moment, but that as he had not time to reflect upon the judge's object, he thought it best to act as he had done, for fear the non-establishment of that point might prejudice the suit; that no one had been injured by what he had done; and that although, strictly speaking, he had deviated from the truth, the fault was so venial as scarcely to deserve the designation of a lie."

I recollect another instance, in which after a witness had given his direct evidence in favor of the prosecutor, on cross-examination some facts were disclosed which tended greatly to exculpate the defendant from some suspicions of fraud, without in the slightest degree injuring the cause of the person on whose part he had been summoned, and which were of a nature to have been embodied in the evidence he had previously given. To the question, "why did you not mention all this at once," the reply was—"I am not C——'s witness. I am summoned on the part of the plaintiff."

From these and numerous other anecdotes and instances which might be adduced, it is obvious how much knowledge of the native character is necessary to enable us to know how to treat them; how far we may rely on what they say; what is the best mode of eliciting the truth; how imperative it is that those who are placed over them in the situation of judges and magistrates, should acquire this knowledge; how much the difficulty is increased when these officers are foreigners; and how unfit those must be for these duties who seclude themselves from the people, and hold no communion with any but those with whom they are brought into official contact! The following remarks of

Johnson on the Highlanders, are extremely applicable to the people of India :

"Many of my subsequent inquiries upon more interesting topics ended in the like uncertainty. He that travels in the Highlands may easily saturate his soul with intelligence, if he will acquiesce in the first account. The Highlander gives to every question an answer so prompt and peremptory, that scepticism itself is awed into silence; and the mind sinks before the bold reporter in unrelenting credulity: but if a second question be ventured, it breaks the enchantment, for it is immediately discovered, that what was told so confidently, was told at hazard, and that such fearlessness of assertion was either the sport of negligence or the refuge of ignorance. If individuals are thus at variance with themselves, it can be no wonder that the accounts of different men are contradictory. The traditions of an ignorant and savage people have been for ages negligently heard, and unskilfully related: distant events must have been mingled together, and the actions of one man given to another. These however, are deficiencies in story for which no man is now to be censured; it were enough, if what there is yet opportunity of examining were accurately inspected and justly represented; but such is the laxity of Highland conversation, that the enquirer is kept in continual suspense, and by a kind of intellectual retrogradation, knows less as he hears more."—*Johnson's Tour of the Hebrides: page 111.*

And again:—

"He that goes into the Highlands with a mind naturally quiescent and a credulity eager for wonders, may come back with an opinion very different from mine; for the inhabitants, knowing the ignorance of all strangers in their language and antiquities, perhaps are not very scrupulous adherents to truth; yet I do not say that they deliberately speak studied falsehood, or have a settled purpose to deceive. They have inquired and considered little, and do not always feel their own ignorance. They are not much accustomed to be interrogated by others, and seem never to have thought upon interrogating themselves, so that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewise do not distinctly perceive it to be false."—*Ibid: page 272.*

Another remarkable feature in the character of the people of India, is the inaccuracy of their memory; and the little attention they pay to matters on which we are accustomed to lay considerable stress. Certain prominent facts usually remain well impressed on their minds, but in the detail their want of observation or of recollection is most extraordinary. The following observations of the Judge of Circuit in the Rajshahy division in 1808, are well worthy of note. "Every day's experience and reflection on the nature of our Courts, and the minds and manners of the natives, serve to increase my doubts about our capacity to discover truth among them. It appears to me that there is a very great deal of perjury of many different shades in our judicial proceedings; and that many common rules of evidence would here be inapplicable and absurd. Even the honest men as well as the rogues are perjured. The most simple and the most cunning alike make assertions that are incredible, or that are certainly false. If the prosecutor, in cases of dacoity was always to be disbelieved because there was perjury, scarcely a dacoit would be con-

vioted. By cross-examination you may draw an honest witness into as many absurdities and contradictions as you please. It is not easy to detect the persons who come forward, as eye-witnesses in cases of dacoity: their story is all true—but one point, the identity of the persons whom they accuse; and how can you discover whether this be true or false? Some witnesses are loquacious—some taciturn; some frigid—others over-zealous; some willing—others unwilling; some bold—some timid; some scrupulous—some come to give false evidence in favor of a friend or a master—some to ruin an enemy; and the signs of the different modes that disguise truth are so very equivocal, and often so unintelligible that nothing can be depended on. There is not one witness in a dozen on whom you can rely for a purely true story. It has very often happened, that a story which, by attending only to the plain, direct course of things, I believed to be true, has, by examining into matters, apparently connected in a very distant degree with the case, turned out to be entirely false. I am afraid that the evidence of witnesses in our Courts is for the most part an instrument in the hands of men and not an independent, untouched source of truth."—*See App. to Fifth Report: page 589.*

Times, seasons, dates, even to the month or year, are often stated with the greatest inaccuracy. An event that happened two or three months back, will, by different witnesses, be described to have taken place at various times from one to twelve months previous. A variation of as many years will often be given to the date of an event which happened one or two years before; and all this too, in cases in which the people have not the remotest idea of telling an untruth: the discrepancy arises from that want of thought and of the habit or reflection, which is one of their strongest characteristics. Hardly a native in the country, whether Hindoo or Moosulman, educated or uneducated, can tell you precisely his own age, or even that of his children, without consulting his family priest or private memoranda. In the Himaleyah mountains, the people are still more ignorant than in the plains, to an extent which is scarcely credible by an Englishman. They have literally no conception as to time and space. With regard to time, they have certain eras to which they refer: these are commonly the periodical twelfth yearly grand fair at Hurdwar, called the *Koomb Meela*; to which, at the present day, they add the Goorka invasion, the British conquest, and the year in

which the cholera was so destructive, which is emphatically called "the year of death;" a famine, flood, or other general calamity would give another era; all that can be usually ascertained is, that certain transactions occurred before or after one of these periods. A man will often describe an occurrence as having taken place a year ago, which when you come to refer to one of these eras, you find to have happened twelve or even twenty years previously. An event will often be said to have occurred "*purson*" (literally, the day before yesterday) of which the real date was a year or two before. Nay, to an occurrence of a considerable time past they will apply the term of "*purson pfunda*"—of which the best translation I can give, is "yesterday a long way off." With respect to distances, their ideas are equally lax: of any thing like a measured distance in *koss* (miles), they have not a notion: the expression usually is "a day's journey" or "half a day's journey;" under which a distinction is drawn for a loaded man, or a messenger.*

It is obvious that it must be out of the question to expect from a people of such vague and inaccurate ideas, that exactness in giving evidence and describing transactions which we are accustomed to think necessary. The very attempt to exact it only bewilders them still more, and renders the inconsistency of their testimony still more irreconcilable. To make any progress, we must learn to give up our own preconceived notions, make ourselves acquainted with the character and peculiarities of the people with whom we have to deal, and accommodate our mode of conduct accordingly. For instance, an English judge would frame a question as follows: "Were you, on the 15th April, last year, about ten o'clock in the day, at such a place, in company with such an one?" The prompt reply from an Englishman would commonly be "I was;" from a Hindostanee peasant, it would probably be, a repetition of some part of the question followed by "I am a poor illiterate man, Sir, I know nothing about it." The only way to extract evidence at all, so as to afford a chance of its being satisfactory, is to say, in a mild, encouraging tone of voice, "well, my friend, what do you know about the matter?" To let the witness tell his own story in his own way, even at the risk of a little prolixity; and then

putting questions to him on those points which require further elucidation.

It has been truly observed that by cross-examination you may draw an honest witness into as many absurdities as you please; although, on the other hand, they sometimes doggedly stick to one point, and profess ignorance of every thing else that can be asked. But this is, in some measure, to be attributed to the extraordinary notion before alluded to, so prevalent among the natives, that it is their duty to swear to any thing which may, by any possibility, turn out in favour of the person on whose part they are summoned to give evidence. For instance, when the defence of a person accused of any crime is an *alibi*, that he was a couple of hundred miles distant from the spot where the offence had been committed, and had been there for a whole month, and did not return until some days after the occurrence—suppose a question were put respectively to the witnesses—"Did you watch the prisoner all day and night for a month together that you speak so positively?" In such a case, in England, some witnesses might be puzzled, others might laugh at the absurdity of the question, and the greater number would rationally reply—"No, but I saw him every day at work, and he never was out of my sight a sufficient length of time to have enabled him to go such a distance and return again." There is, perhaps, scarcely a man in England who would do what three natives out of four would—that is, swear unhesitatingly in the affirmative: yet these very men, if a little pains were taken to explain to them the absurdity they were uttering, would immediately retract the assertion, and observe, "of course I do not mean to say that I watched him day and night, but merely that I know the prisoner was at such a place during the whole of such a month."†

The mode of questioning and speaking to the people is also well worthy of consideration. When an unsophisticated villager is dragged into a Court of Justice, and pushed up through the crowd into the presence of the Judge or Magistrate; when we consider the strangeness of the scene, the white face of the presiding officer, and even the appearance of the building, all which are so new to him and so different from any thing he has been accustomed to see, it is no wonder that

* The difficulty of seeing and observing correctly, is not however confined to the natives of the East. After the battle of Marston in which Henry IV. of France was wounded, he inquired from the officers collected round his bed, what had passed subsequent to his having left the field. No two agreed in their narratives. "And yet 'twas it is that history will be written!" he exclaimed. We have a still later instance. The battle of Waterloo was stated by different generals to have begun at various hours, by some as early as ten A. M., by some as late as half past one.

† I recollect a circumstance which occurred in a London Police Office. It was necessary to prove the ownership of a gun, for which purpose an Irish witness was produced, who swore "that he knew the gun well, having known it ever since it was no bigger than a pistol." The Magistrate rather angrily asked if he meant to say that the gun had grown from a pistol into what it now appeared; which was answered in the affirmative.

he should be in some measure confounded; and, indeed, the degree of self-possession which the common people retain, is certainly extraordinary, and probably greater than would be shown by English peasants under similar circumstances. Still, if they be addressed in a loud tone or a harsh manner, they are soon frightened, and are then easily driven into inconsistencies. Questions put in an authoritative manner, will produce replies in the affirmative, or else a denial of all knowledge of the circumstances of the case, coupled perhaps with an assertion, in order to prevent any blame resting on him for refusing to give evidence, that his attendance had been caused by the person on whose part he was summoned, solely out of spite, in order to injure his business.

As an illustration my readers may recollect the anecdote of an over-zealous Missionary, who in a tone of authority was putting questions to a native on points of faith—as “Do you not perceive the truth of this axiom? Do you not perceive the absurdity of such a notion? and so on; to all which he replied most certainly.” At last the question was asked, “How long have you resided here?” —“Most certainly” was the reply. The fact was, that the poor man hardly understood what was said to him, but fancying the Englishman was rather angry, thought it best to agree to all he said. I recollect a precisely similar instance in England. The master of a school with whom I was acquainted was very passionate, and as may be supposed would sometimes behave very unjustly. On one occasion one of the boys was accused of some heinous offence, no less than plucking a couple of plums on his return from Church, from the branch of a tree which overhung the road. All of a sudden the master burst into the school room, seized the unfortunate culprit by the collar, and without giving him the least intimation of the cause of his displeasure, began shaking him violently, and dragging him round the room, exclaiming, “What do you mean by it Sir? You will be sent to jail. You will come to the gallows. You will go to hell! Where do you think you will go to?” “To hell, Sir,” answered the affrighted culprit. On this the master all agast turned to the other boys, vociferating—“Do you hear such depravity! He has actually made up his mind to go to hell!” The fact was, that the poor boy not having a conception of what all this business was about, his offence having entirely escaped his recollection, and frightened out of his wits, thought the only thing he could do to appease his master’s wrath, was to agree to every thing he said; while the latter was too much

blinded by his passion to have any perception left him.*

Another circumstance is worth noting as illustrative of the carelessness in the manner of doing business among the people of India: The mode of drawing up bonds and deeds is quite at variance with the regular habits of transacting affairs to which we are accustomed. In a suit founded on a bond, it appears all plain and straight-forward: the money is sworn to have been lent, and the bond executed in presence of the witnesses; yet, in perhaps nine cases out of ten this is not the real fact. When a man wishes to borrow money of another, a bond is usually drawn out at once; and the money is sometimes paid simultaneously; sometimes not till several days after. Some days also elapse before the signature of the witnesses is affixed, which is done when any convenient acquaintance of the lender chances to drop in; and these witnesses sometimes ask the borrower if he has received the money, but as often neglect to do so, if he should not happen to be in the way when their signature is affixed. Even in the factories of English merchants and indigo planters, a mode of transacting business obtains, which would be deemed very extraordinary in England. At the period of making advances on indigo engagements, perhaps twenty cultivators will attend at the time the advances are made; but in order to obviate delay and detention from their work, the bonds are often not written at the time. A very common mode is the following:—The treasurer sits down in company with a writer, and three or four people, as witnesses; as the money is given, a memorandum merely is made, on a slip of paper, of the sum paid to each, who departs immediately on receiving it; and when the whole is done, in the evening or perhaps the next day, the bonds are respectively drawn out on the prescribed stamped paper, and the signature of the borrower, as well as of those who were seated as witnesses, are all written by the clerk, in whose department this part of the business lies. The witnesses again, who were perhaps talking among themselves, totally inattentive to the business transacted, have so little recollection of the detail of what took place, that in the event of a suit being founded on one of these bonds, unless their memories were refreshed when they were summoned to give evidence, they would be utterly unable to give an account of what had occurred.

The little education which is received by

* A literal and unexaggerated fact, I beg to assure my readers.

a large portion of the common people in India, who are unable to read or write, which renders it necessary to write their signature for them, is one cause of this lax mode of proceeding; and it is also one reason of the ease with which a deed may be forged, and destroys one great means of detection in the authentication of a signature. This is still further aided from the absurd affectation in which those of the better classes, who can write, indulge, of affixing their seal instead of their signature to a paper. It would be a very wise measure if Government were to endeavour to alter this custom, which might be done without any great difficulty. At present, police and revenue officers, moonsiffs, kazees, vakeels, (attorneys) and even law officers of the Sessions Courts, often affix their seals only to papers. With regard to all in office, a simple order only from Government, that the signature as well as the seal should be affixed would be sufficient. If these officers were ordered to oblige every person who signed (if the expression be allowable) an official paper before them to do the same, it would extend the practice; and it might be still further ordained, that in the event of any document being filed in a public office, purporting to bear the signature of any person who could write, but not actually written by his own hand, he should be called on to supply the omission, and pay a slight fine. This would, ere long, render the custom of autograph signature universal, and tend greatly to check fraud, without producing any evil whatever.

The question which naturally arises is, what is the best mode of checking this propensity to exaggeration and falsehood? But, first, let me inquire, what has hitherto been done by the English towards this desirable end? It is allowed to be an undeniable fact, that wherever the natives of India have seen most of the English, there has morality been at a lower ebb than it was before; and, among other crimes, that falsehood and perjury have increased to a frightful extent, under our system for the administration of justice.* The evil, as at present existing, is allowed by all, and the necessity is imperative to endeavour to adopt some measures for remedying it; for the barefaced, unblushing way in which falsehood and perjury is too often exhibited in our Courts, is perfectly heart-sickening. In all attempts hitherto made to correct it, it is lamentable to perceive the same fundamental errors which pervade English legislation, punish-

ment for the crime after it has been committed, and that too, in many cases, with an indiscriminating over-severity, unaccompanied by any measures of prevention. In others, undecided half-measures and deficiency. Until the year 1817, the punishment awarded to perjury and common forgery, was disgraceful exposure, thirty stripes, branding on the forehead the words "perjured," and seven years imprisonment. For forgery of coin or stamps, the period of imprisonment was fourteen years, for a sort of minor species of perjury, in making false, malicious, or vexatious complaints, both civil and criminal Courts had the power of imposing fines to a certain extent, commutable to imprisonment if not paid. By Regulation XVII. of 1817, the Court has the power of mitigating the punishment, in the first case, to three years simple imprisonment; and in the second, to seven years.

It should be observed, that although these remarks are general, and apply more or less to the whole of the Regulation provinces under the Bengal government; yet, that considerable variety will be found in the people of the different sub-divisions, and even among different castes and sects in the same district.

Few persons are, I believe, sufficiently aware of the impunity with which, under our rule, the most gross cases of forgery, perjury, and false accusations may be committed, and the little disgrace or punishment which is attached to them. The people themselves are lost in amazement, at the practices which they daily witness in our Courts and offices, and do not fail to draw comparisons to our disadvantage between what they there see, and what would have occurred under their own tribunals, where such proceedings, they remark, would never have been tolerated. It is much to be hoped, that a new system will be introduced. The first step should be to call the attention of the different functionaries to the subject. Every instance, not only of perjury and falsehood, but of prevarication and exaggeration, should be carefully watched, noted, and punished; and a very considerable alteration both of the law and the practice of the Courts must be introduced.

With respect to a positive forgery of a deed, it is needless saying much: so palpable a case as this, if proved, will not, I hope, as has hitherto been too often the case, be passed over, without the parties being committed for trial; but there are a variety of instances, which, morally speaking, are nearly as bad, but which do not amount to positive forgery; others again are supported by

* The names only of the authorities, Civil, Military, English Lawyers, Judges of Supreme Court and others, who might be supposed to prove this assertion, would fill a page. The fifth Report in Mill exhibits a tolerable catalogue.

perjury. But here, I will do the natives the justice to say, that, generally speaking, they are not prone to bring forward a plaint founded on downright forgery or perjury. There are, undoubtedly, in every district a certain number whose livelihood is notoriously made by this practice, and by extorting money, by threats privately given of bringing forward false suits; and others are tempted to be guilty of this out of malice; but the majority, I certainly acquit of any such general accusation. On the part of those who come forward as plaintiffs, whether in civil or criminal cases, there is, unhappily, a great deal of prevarication and exaggeration; but there are usually some grounds at the bottom to shield them from the charge of a totally false complaint. It is on the part of the defendants and prisoners, that the abominable cases of forgery and perjury are so often manifest, in their anxiety to defeat a just demand, or to escape punishment; and this should be borne in mind, which it never has been sufficiently, in the observations on the litigiousness of the people of India. This too, will account, in some measure, for the disgusting sight, so often observed, of sets of witnesses swearing to facts diametrically opposed to each other. I will endeavour to illustrate this, by an example:—A. files a suit against B. for a sum of money due on a bond. B. in his defence admits the bond, and having received the money; but urges having repaid it, or a considerable part of it, and brings forward witnesses to swear to this: as a reason for not having retaken the bond, he declares, that on asking for it, the plaintiff made some excuse, such as, that his partner or brother had got the key of his box, and promised to return it the next day: or should only a part have been paid, of course the reason given is, that A. promised to endorse the receipt on the bond. A. stoutly denies having received a farthing of the money due on the bond. Now the real facts of a case like this, are very often as follows:—Besides the sum on the bond, B. has received goods on credit from A. which the latter has, in good faith, neglected to take a note of hand for, or to enter in a regular business-like manner in his books, a suit for which would consequently be rather difficult to prove. Having afterwards some suspicion that B. is a fraudulent character, and will endeavour to avoid payment, he demands the amount on the bond, which is a good document, and having received it, makes some excuse for not returning the deeds, places the sum in his own mind to the other's account, and sues on the bond. He carefully avoids making any

allusion to the other account, knowing that if he should acknowledge any payment, and the defendant deny those items, his present suit would be dismissed as the payment would have been held to have been made on the bond. B. also avoids the subject, knowing that the other will find it difficult to prove the running accounts, and that if he should admit it, or even mention it in open Court, it would supply good presumptive proof. Where the case is conducted by vakeels (attorneys) and written proceedings have been prepared in the office, it is impossible to learn more of the case than what is just mentioned; and the judge leaves the Court in disgust at the abominable perjury of one or other of the parties. But if the witnesses be examined by the judge personally, and especially if the parties themselves are called and questioned pretty closely, the whole business will generally be brought to light. In such cases as these, a moderate fine should be imposed on the plaintiff. Strange as it may appear, I can assure my readers, that setting aside the regular bankers and merchants on a large scale, such laxity in the mode of conducting their business is extremely common among the retail dealers and their customers. It is in such cases as these that the benefit of the Local Moonsiff's Courts is felt; and I am convinced that, on the whole, the amount of real justice dispensed in those Courts is infinitely greater than was received from the Courts in which a British judge presided under the old system, and fully equal to what is to be obtained at the present day. I could mention many other cases in illustration, but they will come more appropriately under the head of "*litigation*."

But to come to the point as to plaints which are positively and literally false, and supported either by forged documents and perjury, or founded on accounts supported only by perjury. There is not a court in the country in which causes of this nature have not been brought forward, discovered, and dismissed; in many, the Judge has openly recorded in his proceedings his conviction that the suit was a completely false one. Here one would suppose punishment would follow, or at least a committal for trial; yet such is rarely the consequence. Why? Here we have a specimen of the anomaly and indecision so characteristic of the British Indian Administration. Should the Judge show any indication of any such intention, the plaintiff would of course appeal the cause to the superior Court, and in his petition, most probably deal largely in aspersions on the Judge and his officers. The appeal would

of course be admitted, and would lie from two to ten years (under the system which has hitherto existed) and virtually quash all criminal proceedings. But, it may be asked, "why not fine at least the plaintiff under the regulation (II. of 1803) which authorizes such a proceeding. The same system would nullify the order here also. An appeal would, of course, be preferred; of course, admitted: and the Judge, of course, ordered to stay all proceedings until the appeal were decided: this would be after the lapse of several years, when the chance of the fine being enforced would be small indeed.

Many suits are, of course, dismissed, in which no fraud whatever is attributable to the plaintiff. Claims to real property, of the truth of which he may feel a tolerably strong moral conviction, are often difficult to prove legally from lapse of time, loss of documents, or death of witnesses, or are defeated by superior tact and roguery on the part of the defendant. Others again are brought forward under a mistaken notion of the nature of their rights; and in complicated transactions between merchants, a man whose claim is just, occasionally sues the wrong person. Of such I am not now treating; but where suits are pronounced openly to be positively false, I think some provisions should be enacted to provide for immediate punishment to the plaintiffs and witnesses also, if these should be found to have been aware of the real nature of the case. If the present system of committal for perjury or forgery be retained, it should be provided that no appeal of the civil suit should be heard until the criminal case were decided. But the same person who holds the office of Civil Judge, presides also in sessions: of course his decision in his latter capacity would support that which he had just given in his former one; and the prosecutor and witnesses would needlessly be compelled to undergo two more attendances: once at the Magistrate's office and again at the sessions: for although practically it is little more than a form, a Civil Judge does not actually commit a person for trial at the sessions; he sends all the parties to the Magistrate who makes out the commitment.*

But the misfortune is, that if all were committed who had been guilty of perjury, according to our idea of the crime, the number would be immense: therefore, while the severity of punishment remains so great as it is at present, Judges are reluctant to have recourse to the measure, and the law defeats its own object.

In civil actions, it is on the part of the defendants that the most barefaced cases of perjury and forgery occur. Men who are in the possession of property unjustly acquired, when a suit is brought against them, do not scruple to forge deeds and bring witnesses to support them. Others, when sued for money, forge receipts, and attempt to prove them by false evidence. Repeated experience has shewn them that the chance of punishment is extremely small; the only loss they anticipate is the costs of the suit; the chances of success in the defence are considerable, and the positive gain certain in keeping possession of the money, and enjoying the usufruct—for it is rare that the plaintiffs are allowed any interest, so great is our horror of usury—and they realize thereby much more than the amount of the costs of the suit. Nay, were the legal interest of twelve per cent. always given, the delay in the decision is so great, that the defendants would gain by resisting the demand. They probably employ the money at twenty-four or even thirty per cent.; so that allowing for some bad debts, they realize more than the legal interest and costs awarded against them. This is another cause of the increase of forgery and perjury caused by the system we have introduced.

The same observations will apply to criminal as to civil cases. Occasionally positively false complaints are brought forward; but it is among the prisoners and their witnesses that the most numerous cases of perjury are to be found. Among the prosecutors, it is generally exaggeration upon some foundation. Almost daily are petitions presented to every Magistrate regarding assaults, each setting forth that the petitioner has been severely beaten "with fists and feet, sticks and shoes," for no cause whatever. Now, supposing, as is generally the case, that some provoca-

* There is a great want of arrangement in the law and in practice. Reg. XVII. of 1817, Sec. 14, provides that no charge of perjury and subornation of perjury in a civil suit, shall be founded in, unless the Civil Judge takes up the matter. This officer is to investigate the case, record his opinion, &c. and then "the whole of the original papers relative to the case shall be transferred to the office of the Magistrate, that the order of the Judge may be carried into effect; and the case brought before the Court of Sessions, in the same manner as if the charge had been instituted, and proceeded upon in the Court of the Magistrate." This has in practice been usually understood to mean that the Magistrate is to sign the final order of committal, and such has been the course adopted, with which it has also been found by the superior Court. But in Reports I find a case decided November 20, 1850,

Government v. Neamat Oollah and Aman, in which the proceedings were annulled because the Magistrate had signed the committal instead of the Judge. On this another question arises as to the trial of such cases. The Civil and the Sessions Judge in each district are now the same individual. As Civil Judge he is to investigate and commit the case; as Sessions Judge he is to try it. Yet the same individual is prohibited from trying a case as Sessions Judge in which as Magistrate he even issued any preliminary orders; one would suppose this principle would apply in both cases. Again, suppose a false suit be preferred founded on a forged bond and supported by perjury: the Judge is to commit the witnesses for the perjury—the Magistrate will commit the Plaintiff for the forgery. Surely these anomalous rules should be rectified.

tion has been given by the prosecutor; this is according to the definition laid down; a positive forgery; for in *all* criminal cases, however petty, the prosecutor is obliged to testify on oath to the truth of his petition of plaint. The definition of perjury as laid down by Reg. II. 1807, Sec. 4, is as follows: "giving intentionally and deliberately, before a Court of Judicature, Magistrate, or other authorized public officer, a false deposition, upon oath; or under a solemn declaration taken instead of an oath, relative to some judicial proceeding, civil or criminal, and upon a point material to the issue thereof."

Now as the deponent has declared on oath that he has been beaten without cause or provocation, and as it will be allowed that the fact of his having given provocation or not, is very material to the issue of the case,—as the law stands, the complainant has been guilty of perjury. Yet in a case where the utmost penalty will be a slight fine on the defendant, surely no one who knows the native character would advocate that every one who brings forward a complaint of this sort should be committed for perjury, for which the least punishment is three years' imprisonment. Accordingly, by Regulation VII. 1811, Magistrates are authorized to punish a plaintiff in a case like this by imprisonment, according to the circumstances of the case, but not exceeding six months. The anomaly is, that this provision does not extend to the witnesses, supposing them to have supported the plaintiff's statement in every particular; if punished at all, they can only be so by committal for perjury. The consequence is that, practically, the conduct of the witnesses in such cases is rarely noticed. Some Magistrates do occasionally fine them on that plea of great latitude, "contempt of Court"—a very proper proceeding morally considered, but I do not know how far it may in a legal construction.* In the trials in sessions the most bare-faced cases of perjury are exhibited, in the attempts on the part of prisoners, to set up alibis. And here, I must again allude to the difference in the mode of committing a case by Magistrates in England and in India. In England, if an accusation be consistently sworn to, in general no notice is taken of what defence the prisoner may have to offer. (It is indeed only within these few years that a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace has been pronounced to possess the power to do so) but he is told to reserve it for the sessions. In India the very reverse

6 In a story in the Nizamist Reports July 27, 1923, under the heading "The Nizamist Reports," it is indicated that a man named "Hawthorne" is in the gallies of a crime may be punished for contempt of court.

takes place. A Magistrate attends to every thing the prisoner has to urge; summons witnesses in his behalf; investigates most fully the whole case, and then, if it seems well founded commits it; or if he think the charge not proved dismisses the prisoner. All this he is compelled to do for his own sake to avoid the reprimand which he would receive on committing a case without sufficient grounds. After all this, so considerate is our Indian code for the prisoners, that at the time of committal, they are asked if they have any additional witnesses whom they may wish to bring forward at the sessions. Should any be mentioned, their names are taken down, and they are summoned on the part of Government without a farthing of expense to the prisoners; nay, to such a pitch is this carried, that although the prisoners may at the period of committal say they have no witnesses, yet, if at any subsequent period they intimate a wish to have any called, the Magistrate is obliged to summon them, or even when on their trial, should they express a desire to produce any, the Judge is required to cause their attendance. At least one half of these give the names of several persons! In general, those named have never before been alluded to in the investigation before the Magistrate by the prisoners, which if their evidence really were good, would hardly have been omitted. They are generally the friends or relations of the prisoners; often the participators in the crime, whom it is intended to summon with the intent to prove an alibi. They are all summoned accordingly by the Magistrate, and sent up to the sessions, and swear to the alibi. A part of the form is to have their depositions taken first in the Magistrate's office, which is usually done by some native subordinate, and signed by the Magistrate. The latter rarely questions them himself—his time being too valuable to give to what is considered a mere matter of form. What is the consequence? The prisoners are pronounced guilty, an observation being recorded by the Law Officer and corroborated by the Sessions' Judge or the Sudder Nizamut, that the prisoner's witnesses do not prove any thing in their favor. I have heard many Judges say, that if the case for the prosecution be consistent, and well proved by circumstantial as well as positive evidence, they never pay the least attention to mere alibi witnesses, whose names have only been mentioned by the prisoners at the period of committal, yet no notice is taken of the number of these alibi witnesses; they are summoned to perform themselves at the sessions, and to return to the Court, and there to be examined.

time, and hoping to be more fortunate the next.

I am not blaming the principle laid down for the guidance of Magistrates in India, in the investigation of charges which will ultimately be committed to the sessions; it is founded on a laudable anxiety to give the prisoners an impartial hearing, and is one of the points of great superiority of our British Indian Code over English law. I would give every facility to prisoners to exculpate themselves; and there are many cases in which it is highly consonant to justice to summon witnesses in their behalf for the sessions, although these may not have been alluded to in the preliminary investigation by the Magistrate.

Sometimes the evidence in favor of the prisoner is of a nature that could not in any way affect the decision of the Magistrate as to their committal for trial, although it may very materially influence the sentence which may ultimately be pronounced. For instance, such as witnesses to a good character, or in case of an assault, to the provocation the prisoner may have received. But this deliberate encouragement to perjury which is afforded by the system of allowing the sort of alibi witnesses alluded to, to pursue the course which is now followed, without the slightest notice being taken of it, is carrying the principle of the tenderness a little too far.

The consequence is that the system of bringing forward these alibi witnesses on trials in sessions, is becoming daily extended. The parties concerned perceive that they have nothing to fear, and that there is a chance of the prisoner's acquittal: indeed, since the plan of district sessions, and trial almost immediately after committal has been introduced, a refinement in the mode of proceeding has been adopted. It some times happens that the trial follows so speedily, that the prisoners have not time to send to their witnesses to instruct them on what particular point they are to swear in order to prove the alibi, consequently the witnesses decline all knowledge of any circumstance in favor of the prisoners. The mode of proceeding very often is to decline wishing to call any witnesses when asked by the Magistrate—immediately to send some friend to make arrangements with some of their relations, or with men who make their livelihood by giving evidence when required, and this done, to give in a list of their names, and they are accordingly summoned upon the trial.

If a judge wish to punish such miscreants, his only mode under the present system is to send the case to the Magistrate: and this in-

volves either a protracted attendance to all those who would be required as prosecutors or witnesses, or attendance at two further additional investigations—once before the Magistrate, and again at the sessions. These parties have, in addition to the inquiry they originally sustained, perhaps already spent a month or more in attendance at and in journeys to and from the different courts; and the dislike to occasion them any further annoyance, added to the pressure of business, is probably one reason why no notice is taken of these cases of perjury. It seems expedient that some plan should be adopted to enforce immediate punishment to the guilty.

When two sets of people swear diametrically opposite to each other, it is evident that one must be in the wrong. Whether wilfully so, or by mistake, is another question. There are certainly cases of this nature which are doubtful; and in these we naturally lean to the side of mercy and acquit the accused. In some, such as identifying a particular person or article of property, each person may conscientiously believe that they are right; but in these alibi cases, to which I am alluding and in which it is evident, from the whole tenor of the proceedings, that the witnesses for the prisoners come prepared to be guilty of deliberate perjury, I think that where the prisoners are found guilty, the judge should, without any further investigation, be empowered to award punishment to their perjured witnesses.

Another point deserves to be mentioned. It repeatedly happens that before the session Judge and witness give statements very different from those they made before the Magistrates. Sometimes the difference is immaterial, at others it arises from forgetfulness, or the want of exactness so characteristic of the lower orders in India, but not unfrequently it is deliberality done for a bad purpose.

The superior Court have, in a Circular order, (date July 16, 1830) required the superior Judges always to note such instances in their proceedings, it is supposed with a view of punishing the parties concerned; but here one of the anomalies of the British Indian legislation nullifies all such intention. The proof on which a sentence of punishment would be founded, would, one might naturally suppose, be the discrepancy between the evidence offered to the sessions Judge, and in the recorded deposition of the same person before the Magistrate. Strange to say, this is not considered sufficient proof. The attention of the Magistrate, a man who is vested with such extensive powers, to the deposition, passes for nothing, unless he should have taken the precaution to have caused

two or three people to witness the deposition and attest it by their signatures. The sort of people usually selected for this purpose when it is done, are petition-writers and a species of low attorney called Mooktars; but it is never done in the Magistrate's office, except in confessions. The pressure of business prevents it in ordinary cases. The reason for this anomaly I imagine to be the well known mode in which depositions are too often taken in a Magistrate's office, viz., by a native writer; and after being muttered over to the Magistrate in *Persian*, signed by him and filed with the case as described in No. 22 of these papers. That this mode of doing business is unavoidable from the overplus of business I am well aware, and the superior Courts have acknowledged it, as is sufficiently proved by the circular order once before quoted. It is an additional argument, if any were wanting, for increasing the number of officers sufficiently to enable them to perform their duties properly; and then, the attestation of a Magistrate to a written deposition might be considered a sufficient proof of its having been made. As matters are at present conducted, all such cases as those now discussed pass without notice.*

There is an extraordinary notion prevalent as to what constitutes perjury, which should not here escape attention. Suppose a man accuse another on oath, before a Magistrate of any crime, and that after investigation the latter is committed for trial; that the accuser, on coming before the sessions Judge, voluntarily retracts his first assertion, which, however, he allows that he made on oath, declares the whole to be false, and that he was instigated and suborned to make the accusation by some one who bore an ill-will to the prisoner. Such cases do sometimes occur. Surely the confession voluntarily made before the sessions Judge is sufficient evidence of the perjury: or granting that the first accusation were correct, that the accuser has been since bought off, and induced to accuse as his instigator some person against whom the prisoner bears malice, he is, morally speaking, equally deserving of punishment. Yet some British Judges and Mahomedan law officers actually have considered this insufficient, unless the prosecutor make this second statement on oath before them, and actually proceed to administer to him the oath, take his deposition, after which the perjury is complete, and the man is punished—such abominable prostitution and degradation

of an appeal to the Almighty is execrable; yet such has actually occurred in the British Indian Court.*

Much falsehood has been caused on the part of native witnesses, by our attempts to introduce a preciseness in giving evidence, which is quite foreign to the ideas of the people. We are not content with a general description; we either forget or are ignorant that the common people, when giving true evidence, are unable to particularize, and that an attempt to extract such particulars as we are accustomed to think necessary, will only drive them to the impression of contradictions and absurdities. However desirable it may be to obtain evidence given with precision, we must too often, when the common people of India are concerned, be content with generalities, and by the concurrent testimony of several, and collateral facts and assertions, draw the best inference we can. But in some cases, the English judicial officers commit the most extraordinary absurdities in their zeal for precision. For instance, an affray occurs between the inhabitants of two villages, in which perhaps fifty, a hundred or more persons are engaged, of whom some have gone expressly to join in the affray, others to prevent it, and others, as we should express it, "to see the fun;" almost every one being armed with either sword and shield, spear, club, bow and arrow, some with more than one weapon, and which ends in two or three being killed, and six or eight wounded. The evidence in all these cases, is none of the best; that the wounded were concerned in the affray is sufficiently clear from their wounds; but as to the others, generally speaking, the only evidence which can be obtained is the accusations respectively of the opposite party; and some of each side are allowed to come forward to prove the guilt of those who appear most to blame. It is rare, indeed, that in cases of this sort any really independent testimony can be procured. Now, in by far the greater proportion of these cases, were the witnesses to speak "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," it would be to the following effect:—That among the crowd they distinguished such and such persons; that most if not all were armed; that they observed such and such persons certainly to have been so; and that such and such persons appeared to be the most forward; but that they could not possibly tell who had struck the blows that had occasioned the deaths or the wounds; though in some instances, of course, this may be partly as-

* The attestation of the Magistrate alone is not, I believe, ever considered sufficient; but there have been cases in which the evidence given and recorded was considered proved, by the depositions of the writer, and person who administered the oath. See Nishmut Reports, July 23, 1829. Government of Calcutta and Bhowanee. But such cases are rare.

* About two or three years ago, some extraordinary trials took place in the Moradabad Division, in which men were made to swear backwards and forwards in the most unaccountable manner. Some account of the proceedings appeared in the public papers.

certained. In examining the early records of our Courts, we shall find that such was often the tenor of the evidence in cases of affray, and it is so occasionally still; but this did not suit our English notions; we must have each man's share of guilt positively ascertained; consequently, all sorts of questions were asked as to who struck each particular blow, accompanied by observations "you are concealing the truth," &c. "you must have observed more than your state, &c.," till the poor witnesses were so badgered, that in despair they used to manufacture details suited to what they imagined the meridian of the English intellect. As this practice gained ground, the people to save trouble have got into the habit of manufacturing the story beforehand; and now it is usual for a witness to go on as readily as if he were repeating his creed. First of all A. cut B. with a sword, in the leg. Then C. struck D. with a club. Then E. speared F. Then G. cut B. again on the arm. Then F. came up and knocked down G.—and so on, and give as a reason, that unless they are so particular, the English Judge will be angry. Of course, after a man has given details of this sort to the Magistrate, when he is called on at the sessions, which, till the new system, were held at six months or a year apart, to do the same, some discrepancies will often arise; and this has not unfrequently resulted in the acquittal of prisoners, and a tirade against the perjured natives.*

Another great encouragement to exaggeration and false complaints, is afforded by the English mode of proceeding, in receiving appeals from the decisions of inferior tribunals. In a petition of appeal, it has become an almost established custom, to indite a certain portion of abuse against the subordinate authority. Accusations of bribery, partiality, refusal to hear the petitioner's witnesses' protestations that he will be utterly ruined, &c., are the ingredients selected with no unsparing hand, in a petition of appeal. Sometimes being directed against the subordinate functionary himself, sometimes against the officers of his court. Whether the petition be presented against the decision of a British Judge, Magistrate, Collector, Commissioner, or of a native functionary, the style is usually the same: and what is the extraordinary part of it is, that no notice is, generally speaking, taken of such. Some think it too much trou-

ble; others are flattered with the neat compliments to their own superior sagacity and discernment which are usually insinuated in a petition of appeal to the individual appealed to, and do not like to find faults; and all this is allowed to pass without question. Indeed, it usually happens that the more violent a petition of appeal is the more likely is the case to receive immediate attention. It is astonishing that our different functionaries should never have been struck with the tendency which the allowing such proceedings to exist, has to degrade our courts and officers in the eyes of the natives, more particularly as every man feels this, when he is himself subject to it. I have known natives, who believed that English functionaries were as ready to take bribes as any of the people of India, appeal to this very practice as a proof, and observe "that the English would never allow their own characters to be so aspersed, if they were not conscious of the truth of these statements, and that it was better to pass it over and not provoke inquiry." The best mode of checking an evil which is grown to such a height, is, no doubt, to promote the education of the people and to raise their standard of religious and moral feeling; but, as before observed, much may be done in the mean time, if the different government officers will set about it in the right way. Much may be done both officially and in our private behaviours. Officially the first step will be to render punishment more certain than it is at present; and it is probable that were the amount diminished, and a discretion given to different public officers to punish the minor species of perjury and even forgery by a fine immediately imposed, this end would be in a great measure gained. My readers may at first sight be startled at such a proposition. According to our notions, perjury, whatever may be the object to be attained, is so heinous a crime, that in any shape we consider it to merit a most severe punishment. The justice of this idea is very questionable. There is as great a difference in the degree of criminality to be attached to perjury as to any other crime: the object intended should always be considered. To defraud a man of a few shillings by a forged receipt supported by false witnesses, is surely not to be compared to the crime of bringing a false charge of murder against another to which, if proved, the punishment inflicted would be death. Probably the most just measure of punishment for perjury would be to sentence the guilty in addition to a specific penalty for the jury to suffer that punishment or loss which would have accrued to the others should the perjury or forgery have

* See the trial already alluded to in Nizamut Reports, July 23, 1820. Government v. Gomanee and Shownnee. Two witnesses deposed to certain persons having met and fought, but that they did not distinguish who beat each other. The law officer pronounced this not to be good evidence, because they did not specify that such a person struck such a person; and on this ground acquitted them of perjury, when they, on giving evidence a second time, swore that they had not seen any fighting at all!

been successful ; on this point, however, there is much to be said and much room for difference of opinion. But at any rate to consider perjury or forgery as one unvaried crime, alike deserving of a severe punishment with little variation, seems as unjust and inexpedient as to visit all thefts with the same penalty, on the plea that the intention is equally bad in a minor as in a serious theft, and that a man who would steal a penny would, if he had an opportunity, steal a pound. Or it may be compared to the laws of China, which all Europeans condemn as absurd, which inflict on every species of homicide the same punishment. It is, in fact, taking a leaf out of the book of Draco.*

Some, I am aware, do argue upon this principle, and assert that a man who would perjure himself in a matter of small importance would not hesitate to do so in one of more serious consequence. Possibly this may be just as regards some nations, but I am certain that it does not apply generally to the natives of India, of whom it may truly be said "*Nemo repente fit turpissimus.*" The object proposed by the forgery or perjury, and the benefit which is likely to be obtained by those who give false testimony, should be considered, and the punish-

* I hope I shall not be understood to consider perjury and forgery as too venial a crime. It is in fact a double crime ; the perjury or forgery is in itself one—the object to be attained by it is another, and the magnitude of the latter will be infinitely varied. Thus, suppose perjury to be estimated at ten, to cheat a man of a few shillings at two, and murder at a hundred. In this view, if a man in defending a suit of a demand of a few shillings, bring false witnesses to swear that he has repaid the debt, he and they commit a crime of the amount of twelve. If a man accuse another falsely on oath, of a crime of which the punishment is death, and succeed in causing the accused to be hanged ; he has virtually as much committed murder as if he had perpetrated it with his own hands, and has committed a crime of the amount of a hundred and ten, or nine times as heinous a crime as in the other instance. This may seem a quaint mode of illustration, but the principle is worthy of consideration.

The same observation will apply to forgery, and the following instance will show how a forgery may be committed, yet the real guilt be very slight. By Reg. XXIII. of 1814, Sec. 45, decrees of Moonsiffs are not to be executed, unless application be made within one year, from the date of the decree, except when satisfactory cause or the delay can be shown. When this is not done, and a delay of more than a year has elapsed, the plaintiff may institute a new suit in the District Judge's Court ; and the defendant in replying to such suit, is not to impugn the original judgment, (unless it were passed *ex parte*) but may show that the amount has been subsequently paid. Had the law merely fixed a period for the decree to be brought forward for execution, and in default enacted, that plaintiff should lose his claim altogether ; one could understand it as being founded on a wish to put a period to litigation ; but as it stood, I can only conceive its object to have been to raise some little extra revenue for Government, by the stamp paper, which would be required for the new suit. This is the effect, and in addition the law tended to encourage fraud and promote litigation. Well, a man named Balmokond obtained a decree against Goolab in the Court of the Moonsiff of Mohabana on the 25th July 1824. He neglected to apply for its execution until the 6th July 1826. (The probability is that the delay was caused by promises to pay on the part of the defendant, on purpose to prevent the application being made within the prescribed period.) Fearing that the Judge might refuse to execute the decree, and that he should be put the trouble and expense of a new suit, he altered the date of the decree from 1824 to 1826. A positive forgery according to the definition of the law—as much so as if he had forged a deed to defraud another of a hundred thousand rupees. But will any one say that the same punishment should be inflicted for both cases. See Nizam's Reports, May 8, 1827. Government v. Balmokond and others.

ment apportioned accordingly. Many a man would not hesitate in forging a receipt for a small sum of money, or in procuring witnesses to testify to it who would be struck with horror at the idea of swearing a false accusation of murder against another. We have abundance of proof how completely over-severity of punishment defeats its object ; and it is time to try the experiment of a moderate but certain penalty to deter from the commission of crime "*principiis obsta.*" Suppose a man to forge a bond or a receipt for a moderate sum of a hundred or a few hundred rupees, and to bring several false witnesses to testify to it ; what is the probable inducement to the witnesses to come forward ? in nineteen cases out of twenty, or perhaps ninety-nine out of a hundred, a sum of money given as a bribe ; the amount of which may vary according to the object in view proposed by the person who procures their testimony, and which, in some cases, will not amount to more than four or five rupees. Were these witnesses fined ten or twenty immediately on the discovery of their conduct, it stands to reason that this would have great effect in checking such proceedings both on the part of those immediately concerned and in others. We have already a law which allows a judge in civil cases to fine a plaintiff for a "frivolous, vexatious, or groundless complaint," (Regulation II. 1803, Section IX.) and one which gives the same power to a magistrate, (Regulation VII. of 1811,) and in the latter case, it allows the magistrate to punish positive perjury, since every complaint, even the most trivial, must there be made on oath. I think it would be found a most beneficial enactment to lessen the penalty for the slighter species of forgery or perjury, and allow the different authorities to inflict it at once upon the investigation which they have already made, and that this should extend to witnesses as well as principals ; and the power should be given to every authority empowered to conduct any sort of judicial inquiry. A maximum punishment would of course be prescribed : a fine commutable, if not paid, to imprisonment, with or without labour, according to the situation in life of the person, would be the most expedient punishment ; and the amount and the sort of cases in which the infliction was authorized should be accurately laid down for each grade of functionary—Commissioner, Civil and Sessions Judge, Magistrate, Collector, Principal Sudder Ameen, Sudder Ameen, &c.—cases appearing of a more serious nature to be committed to the sessions as usual. One proviso I would propose, viz., the sentence under such a law

should never be pronounced until the day after the proceedings had been completed. This may seem a strange suggestion, but public officers become so disgusted at the falsehoods and prevarications which they hear, that unless they take a little time to consider it coolly, they would be apt, in the heat of the moment, to pronounce a more severe penalty than the offence deserved.

Setting aside the general remarks on the efficacy of a certain but moderate punishment, I have seen so much benefit result from the same principle being adopted in the subject under discussion, viz. perjury and forgery among the natives of India, that I am anxious it should be attempted generally on a legal and proper footing. I have known some functionaries, who, in the minor cases, adopted the very mode recommended under the plea of contempt of Court, and have witnessed the most excellent effects from prompt notice of even the most trivial cases, though the penalty inflicted was of the slightest nature. For instance, a man presents his petition to a Magistrate of the usual aggravated nature—"that he has been beaten without cause or provocation," &c. &c. Instead of passing this over as a matter of course, administering at once the oath to the complainant as to the truth of his petition, and then ordering a summons to the opposite party; the officer to whom I allude would question the man as to the origin of the quarrel, and if he persisted in his story of having been beaten without cause, would perhaps say, "I will not hear any such story; go and find out the cause, and the origin of the quarrel, and come to-morrow and tell me." Next day, on the man's appearance—"well my friend, have you found it out?" "Why, Sir, the truth is, that he owed me money for a long time; I went to ask payment and pressed him hard, on which he grew angry, and said if I plagued him, he would not pay me for a year to come; and then I *did* call him a cheat and a rascal, on which he beat me." "Then why did you file your petition with such exaggerations? take it back, and draw out another in which you will please to state the case as you have now told it to me."

In the attachment of property in the execution of a decree, it constantly happens that a petition is presented, claiming some part of what is attached; and that the petitioner will persist in declaring that the property is his, and that there exists no cause or plea whatever on which the plaintiff could have imagined it to be that of the defendant with whom petitioner is totally unconnected. I have seen the same plan adopted here; and

when the complainant came up the second time, his story would perhaps be, "why, Sir, the shop which has been attached is mine, as I can satisfactorily prove; but the truth is, that the defendant rents it from me; and has occupied it for the last six years, on which account plaintiff may have supposed it to be his." I have even known a man, after declaring himself to be unconnected with defendant, to admit the next day that he was his own brother. It seems extraordinary that people should make such wanton and absurdly false assertions, particularly when a moment's reflection would assure them, not only that the truth would appear as soon as the parties were confronted, but that no benefit could possibly accrue to them from so acting. The practice may be attributed to that proneness to exaggeration which has already been noted; and to the foolish notion that any admission which they might make tending to exculpate the opposite party, might be used to their own prejudice. I mention these instances to show how much good might be done by slight means, where these are unceasingly applied. In the Courts both of the Judge and Magistrate to which I allude, these exaggerated statements were after some time almost entirely checked, yet with the exception of occasionally a petty fine the chief penalty inflicted, was giving the parties the trouble of attending twice, and putting them to the expense of a second petition, of which the prescribed stamp was of only eight annas value.

A more extended intercourse between the English functionaries and the people, to which I alluded in my last and many previous numbers, will have a powerful effect in counteracting the evil now lamented; and it will also give them opportunities of marking and discountenancing bad characters, which will be found to have a considerable auxiliary influence.

The system of the perpetual administration of oaths which is carried to such an excess in our Courts and offices, has had no slight share in promoting the frequency of perjury and falsehood. It is shocking and appalling to see a solemn appeal to the Almighty degraded by being put in force upon the most trivial occasions. It is introduced into every sort of proceeding; and to such a height is it carried, that a man cannot send an agent with a power of attorney to receive a few shillings which may be lying in the Court treasury, due to him on a decree, without at the same time sending two witnesses, who are to depose, on oath, that the power of attorney was regularly executed: and this too, though the distance may be fifty or a hundred

miles. So much for the facilities for business afforded by the British Indian Courts. The nature of the oath too, is another absurdity. Instead of having a *formula* of the different modes of oath most binding on the respective classes of Hindoos, with very few exceptions, the oath "by the water of the Ganges" is imposed upon all: yet, it is well known, among the people at least, that many sects do not respect the sacred stream, or consider an oath by its water as any way binding. It is to be hoped that a more rational (to use the mildest term) custom will be shortly introduced of reserving the appeal to God for the more serious cases. But this subject is of itself sufficient to form an essay, and is merely alluded to here as being one cause of the frequency of perjury.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from offering a few remarks, to obviate some conclusions which might be drawn from the observations here offered particularly by those who are bent upon representing the people of India as an utterly degraded and unprincipled race. As to their moral feelings on the subject of truth, the scale on which they must be placed is indeed very low; but I cannot perceive the policy or the justice of declaring that because they are bad, they never will be any better. In fairness, the state in which they are placed by their Government and social ordinances, should be taken into consideration. They have for ages been subject to despotism, to foreign aggression, and internal commotion; the mode in which they have been governed is one which causes their life to be a struggle against truth, and obliges them to be vicious in self-defence. These effects have been kept up in full force, under the British Government, by the extortion which has been pursued in revenue matters, and by its sanction of the plunders and oppression of the police and other officials, together with the utter insufficiency of any tribunals from which justice might be obtained. It can scarcely be expected that men who have lived for several generations under such disadvantages, can exhibit a high tone of morality; but there is no reason whatever to suppose that this may not spring up and increase among them, when a favorable opportunity shall be afforded. The Government must do its duty, in setting a limit to its cupidity; in establishing some security of property; and in promoting education on a rational and practical plan.

Nevertheless, I fear, that bad as they are, even on the point we are now considering, the difference between them and the English is not so wide as some are inclined to believe. Between the lower classes in the respective

countries, it is difficult to say on whose side the comparison would show to the greatest disadvantage. Heber's Observations have been already alluded to. I have heard several Justices of the Peace in England protest, that "it was impossible to trust to any assertions of the common people, where their interests were at all concerned; and more than one lawyer of extensive practice in London, has, to my knowledge, declared, that "as many oaths as might be required upon any point were to be procured at a *shilling a head*." I quote the very expressions made use of. Between the middling ranks of each nation, the comparison would probably be rather in favor of the English. There is much of good faith in these classes of both nations: the merchants and bankers of Hindostan are as much to be trusted as those of any country, though some do assert, which may probably be true, that self-interest here has more influence from the necessity of maintaining a character than moral feeling. Among farmers and agriculturists, possibly the balance may incline somewhat in favor of the English, though English landlords in general might perhaps be slow to allow it when comparing their rent-roll and the disbursements together, and the excuses made by the farmers. Among the higher ranks of the gentry and the nobility the difference is immense. These two classes of Hindostannees are too often guilty of the most audacious frauds and falsehoods, and of these again the worst are to be found among the decayed Moosulman families of rank and the Brahmins. They are by no means without exceptions; on the contrary, many instances of high moral feeling exist among them; but it is a peculiarity among these two classes, but the individuals which compose them almost always exhibit extremes; either very bad or very good. There is another singularity regarding these two classes. When an European who is within the pale of respectability is tempted to be guilty of any thing mean or fraudulent, he at least endeavours to conceal his actions or to disguise them under fair pretences, but the above mentioned individuals will too often assert the meanest falsehoods and be guilty of the most disgraceful acts with so little shame, and that too often in matters in which it would be very easy to conceal it, that it would seem as if they were completely indifferent as to how much their character suffered; it is a characteristic which it is difficult to account for, except by attributing it in some instances to the recklessness which a continued course of profligacy produces, and in others, to the supposition that they con-

sider themselves placed by rank, situation, and caste, so completely above all scandal, that no reports to their disadvantage would obtain credit.

There is one point in the character of the natives of India which should not be omitted in discussing this subject. The gratuitous and wanton falsehoods in which they indulge. It is prevalent, more or less, in all ranks and classes, and is almost universal amongst the lower orders. Where the interests of these are concerned, I doubt whether, on the whole, they are much worse than the same classes in England: but the latter do not certainly exhibit that intollerable disregard of truth on points of not the smallest importance which is the disgrace of the natives of India. The most simple questions to a servant, such as "have ybu been to the bazar to-day?" "do you know who that person is?" or a hundred others, are generally at once answered in the negative, although it is directly opposed to the truth, the utterance of which could not in any way affect the person addressed. The only solution one can give is, that in each case the person supposes that to avow the plain truth might possibly occasion him some trouble or inconvenience, and that therefore it is better to profess ignorance of the subject alluded to.

In elucidation of the remark that we must, in judging of any point in the character of a nation, take their habits and feelings in con-

sideration, I beg to advert to a custom utterly indefensive on the score of morality, which was practised in England, and would be again were the regulation revived which caused it—that of military officers who used to assert *on honor*, the one that he had not paid, and the other that he had not received more than the regulation price for his commission; while so little concealment was practised that immediately after, had even the Commander-in-Chief asked in private, neither would have had the least hesitation in informing him how much in excess of the fixed price had been paid. False oaths are regularly taken by the clerks of respectable merchants as to the value of goods at Custom Houses in England. "Custom House oaths" are a regular phrase, and the Collector of Customs at Calcutta, not long ago, publicly asserted that the manufactory of invoices was carried on so openly in that city, that those papers dated *London* were often brought to him, with the ink scarcely dry. "Oh! but these cases are mere business, matters of course which every body does, and understands to be done"—I imagine I hear it said. The fact is, indeed, too true and too much to be lamented. But while our own morality is so loose, let us at least exhibit as much charity and leniency in judging of the natives of India as we bestow upon ourselves.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

November 1, 1834.

THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

Only inferior to Russia in extent, it surpasses all other countries on the globe in resources, which however fall short of the exigencies of the empire. It may be compared to a slumbering giant, who might by activity destroy the pigmy beings of the human species, but who is satisfied with possessing the spot where he rests in peace and quietness, and boasting of the strength of his limbs, which by long disuse cannot carry him, so that even children may tease him with impunity. It is not our object at present to discuss its political strength, but to present a general view of the countries which constitute this huge empire.

The eighteen provinces comprised by our geographers under China Proper in contradistinction to its colonial possessions and Cochin-China, differ widely in extent and fertility, but each of them might separately constitute a Kingdom. The union between them has never been so firmly cemented as under

the present dynasty. Even at the accession of the Mantchoo family to the throne, the southern provinces were ruled by vice-roys who possessed almost sovereign power, and were often found in rebellion against the emperor. Such a state of things did not last very long; the provincial supreme government was divided between the highest functionaries, who acted as a check upon each other, and to ensure their fidelity, were surrounded with spies sent purposely from Peking. At the present moment, a governor of more subjects than the largest kingdom in Europe can boast, may be deprived of his rank and life, without the least fear of disturbing the public peace. There is not one instance on record in which a disgraced viceroy turned rebel; nor do we remember that the people ever showed so much affection for their fallen ruler as to take up arms on his behalf. The government of Peking has full controul over the most distant parts of the

empire, and rules over them with far greater ease than the Grand Signor over his turbulent capital. Of all the provinces, Keang-soo is the most fertile. It is the delta of China, upon a large scale, on the banks of the magnificent Yang-tsze-keang and Hwang-ho. Che-keang, the smallest of all the provinces, is more productive than Sze-chuen, the largest, though intersected with barren mountain ridges. Keang-se and Honan may be called the heart-arteries of the giant; the former is pointed out as the centre of the world by the Chinese, whose monarchy was founded there. Of the highest importance as maritime provinces are Kwang-tung and Fuh-keen; a honor in which Che-keang also shares. The first is far superior in agricultural riches to Che-keang, which has, however, its tea hills and orchards. We are far from considering China as a garden, nor is the boasted abundance of every necessary of life and the extraordinary fertility of the soil a matter of fact. We should rather be induced to believe that it had, in general, a poor soil, which was raised by mere dint of industry to that flourishing state in which we find it at the present moment. Shan-tung stands isolated amongst the provinces; it produces, however, as much as will suffice for its own consumption, without having many articles for exportation. Though advantageously situated for trade, its merchants have neither ventured to Corea nor Japan; and if sheer want had not forced them to leave their homes, they might still be ignorant of the opposite coast Leaou-tung. Pih-chih-le, without the coast, would be in a wretched state, and similar to the adjacent territories beyond the great wall. Shan-se and Kan-suh bear much resemblance to each other; they are partly mountainous, enjoy a rigorous climate, and produce all the grains and vegetables of Europe. Being excluded from participating in all the trade, they indemnify themselves by carrying on a barter with the inhabitants of the northern and western deserts, and visit also the Russian settlers. Such is the commercial spirit of the Chinese nation, which is innate in them, that they will overcome all natural disadvantages in pursuit of their favorite occupation—trade.

What can show a greater spirit of enterprise than the wanderings of these Chinese merchants for months and years in the dreary deserts of Mongolia, which even appal the hardy Russian. Hoo-nan and Hoopih are very similar to Heang-soo, possessing the equal advantages of rich irrigation for the cultivation of the staff of life—rice. Gan-hwuy is more mountainous, but fertile to a great degree. Yun-nan and Kwei-chow are partly

still in the possession of the aboriginal Meaou-tsze; the former is a burden to the Chinese government, by absorbing annually much treasure without re-imbursing the emperor. When the Chinese shall have learnt to dig in the bowels of the earth for metals, and when the government shall be more liberal, it may be expected that the Switzerland of China—Kwei-chow—will become one of the richest provinces. Yun-nan, though a very extensive province with many rivers and verdant plains amongst towering mountains, has never been much valued by the government. It is too distant, without manufactures and trade; neither do the inhabitants rank very high in the estimation of their countrymen. Kwang-se, though under the same governor as Kwang-tung, is totally different. It is entirely an agricultural province, thinly inhabited, with few large cities, and is the granary of Kwang-tung. In the estimation of government it stands very low. The large territory of Sze-chuen is well cultivated on the banks of the Yang-tsze-keang, which is here called Kin-sha-keang—golden sand river—but great tracts present either a barren soil, or an impenetrable jungle. In the mountain recesses the Aborigines defy the whole power of their Chinese lords. The two islands, Tae-wan and Hae-nan, with a great number of smaller ones, are of the utmost importance to the maritime provinces. Very unlike the picturesque groupes in the Indian archipelago, they exhibit nothing but barren ridges of mountains, but are thickly inhabited and in a state of the highest cultivation. Comparing the natural situations of China Proper with that of other countries, it is peerless in Asia, and in advantages resulting from it inferior to none. With an extensive coast and splendid rivers, it touches the extremes of cold and warmth, whilst it itself enjoys a temperate climate. But it must be allowed that it lies isolated; it has natural boundaries to the south, west and north, which are nearly impassable. The cause of this is obvious. The industrious Chinese, like all other civilized nations, have gradually driven the neighbouring nomades towards the deserts, and occupied all the land fit for tillage. Only where ridges of mountains stop their progress, their endeavours of extending their territory proved fruitless; otherwise we might have sought for the boundaries of the Chinese empire near the Caucasus.

The safety of the northern provinces was formerly much endangered by the continual inroads of the Tartars. During the sway of the Mantchoos the peace and security of the empire has been established upon a firm basis; the inveterate enemies of the Chinese

are now their vassals and rulers, and have common interest in the preservation of the empire. The policy which led to this great result is worthy of the great Kang-he, who may be said to have laid the foundations of the extensive empire under the present family; Keen-lung, who resembled him most as a warrior, continued the same line of policy, though not with the same success; his successors have added little, but persevere in the beaten track.

Mantchooria is now incorporated with China Proper; Leaou-tung would form a natural appendage to the state, but the two upper provinces, Kirin and Tsitsihan have nothing in common with it. The fertility of Leaou-tung is well known, but it owes its prosperity to Chinese colonists. Kirin has extensive forests and marshes, but the Aborigines, from whom the reigning family descended, do not delight in agriculture, they prefer a pastoral and indolent life, and their territory resembles a wilderness. Tsit-si-han, the western part of Mantchooria, is on the whole, a cold inhospitable country, not unlike Siberia, inhabited both by Mantchoos and remnants of the Mongols who, when driven out of China, there took refuge. The numerous tribes who inhabit the banks of the rivers, and live in a state of the utmost wretchedness, remind us strongly of the Samoyedes and Tongooses in Siberia.

Mantchooria, however, is superior to Mongolia in point of soil. The Mongols, once the conquerors of the world, and who had spread over Asia and Europe, inhabit the worst spot of Asia, Siberia excepted. The territories along the great wall have a few fertile spots, which are either imperial hunting grounds or domains. The region about the yellow river is barren. Ku-a-tchin is fertile, but the lands bordering upon Tsit-si-han are frightful deserts. The country of the Kalkas, to the north of the Kobi desert, is not much better; Ouliarutai, on the Russian frontiers, participates in all the horrors of a Siberian climate, added to the sterility of the soil. Entirely different from both inner and outer Mongolia is Kokonor, including Sé-fán, the fourth ill-defined province of Mongolia; situated between Thibet and Sze-chuen, it partakes of the soil of both, but mostly inhabited by nomadic tribes; it is in a very low state of cultivation, and too mountainous to give a free scope to agriculture. The Mongols possess a cheerful disposition, and can even enjoy themselves in their dreary deserts; as vassals of the Chinese empire they enjoy many advantages; But let us not be carried too far by con- and as their numerous standards, into which the whole nation is divided, have never been

called upon to perform actual service, they have little to complain of their Chinese masters. Some parts of Mongolia, however, are under the immediate control of the Mantchoos, and stand to it in the same relation as eastern Turkestan and Soungaria, which constitute the government of Ele. Both dependencies are of little value to the state. The soil is in most parts poor, and the population, on account of the destructive and continual wars, very scanty. The Mantchoos would have acted wisely in not grasping at possessions, the tenure of which is very uncertain, and have been bought with much blood. It is from this quarter that China is assailable, and if ever the Usbecks, Kinghis, or Russians are tempted to an invasion, they can easily penetrate to Can-suh and Shen-se.

In annexing Thibet as a fief to the empire, which Kan-he commenced and Keen-lung accomplished, the Mantchoos did it most likely with the view of exercising an uncontrolled sway over the Popes of Shamanism, in order to check its bigoted votaries, the Mongols.

The Dalai Lama and Bontchin Erdeni are indebted for their existence to the Mantchoo family, who drove the Kalmucks out of Thibet. Though viewing every mortal as their slaves, they pay homage to the Chinese emperor, who, in his turn, does not fail to render them due honor. The greater part of Thibet is under Chinese influence, but the state is not a gainer by the possession of an alpine table land, so cold and unproductive that the poor inhabitants find it very difficult to subsist. If the gold mines were worked to any extent, the expenses of government might be defrayed, but there are important considerations which prevent the greedy Chinese officers from having recourse to such a measure.

By the acquisition of Thibet the possessions of China have thus nearly come in contact with the British. The government is perfectly aware of this fact, but Chinese policy thinks itself sufficiently sheltered behind the anti-national system. Attempts have been made by the martial Keen-lung to extend the frontiers towards the south. Birmah and Ton-king, were each attacked in their turn, but to no purpose. If the Chinese had succeeded, would they have stopped there? Would not Siam, a country inhabited by myriads of Chinese, likewise have fallen a prey to their grasping ambition? How their conquests would have changed the face of the Indian archipelago! But let us not be carried too far by conjectures; we know that heaven's son claims the whole earth for his own; and it is only

magnanimous forbearance which prevents him from spreading the influence of his benign government to the shores of the Atlantic. Few nations have profited by the generous offer of receiving the transforming influence of the celestial empire. Amongst these the Koreans hold the foremost rank. Their country is a fief of China, and always viewed as such by the emperor, but notwithstanding the constant homage of the Koreans, their frequent embassies, under the name of tribute-bearers, they have kept both the Manchous and Chinese out of their country, and are sovereign masters at home. The Loo-choo islands are included in the imperial compassion, and have been much benefited by a nominal vassalage.

We have completed our tour throughout the Chinese dominions. Their component parts are as strange an anomaly as the government itself. The whole is held together as by magic. But the building composed of such heterogeneous materials has been erected with care, stone has been added upon stone, and it is now become unwieldy, tottering from its own massiveness.

We cannot say much of the foundation, but whenever a political tempest begins to rage, such as occasionally arises in Europe, it may fall with a tremendous crash. To pry, however, into futurity is not our object; we leave the destiny of nations to the great disposer of all events. Shall we call the inhabitants happy, whilst they live in ignorance, and are indifferent towards objects which constitute the prime aim of human life? A nation may live for centuries in peace and nevertheless be wretched, because government is in actual warfare against its prosperity. We leave our readers to muse upon the subject.

POPULATION OF CHINA.—The Roman empire including the provincials and conquered nations, is said to have comprehended under the Antonines, about 120 millions of inhabitants. The extent of its territory was fully equal to China Proper, and although some of the provinces were only lately reclaimed from barbarians, and therefore by no means well cultivated, its ancient possessions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, were, if not superior, at least equal in populousness to China. From whence does then arise the disparity between 120 and 361 millions? luxury, as well as the frequent wars may have thinned the population, but they cannot have reduced it to such odds.

In our humble opinion, we can cherish no doubts about the correctness of the imperial statement, that the numbers according to a

well authenticated census, as near to the truth as possible, but we state freely some difficulties, which wiser men than ourselves will be able to remove.

In Shing-king or Leaou-tung, the imperial statistics estimate the census to 942,003; now we have visited some districts of this territory ourselves, and, with all allowance for mistakes, we suppose, that the number of inhabitants must at least be four fold. In Kirin it is said there are only 307,781 inhabitants. We know that this country is extremely thinly inhabited, but this census would only give 11 inhabitants to a square mile, which is incredible, on account of the continual influx of Chinese. In Tait-si-han there are only 2,398 families, which, considering the numerous tribes living scattered throughout this extensive country, must be far below the truth. Perhaps those only who pay tribute, and serve in the militia, are included in the number. We will not now discuss the census of Kokonor and of Ele; the same remarks apply to this country, but merely intimate that the numerous Mongul tribe is not comprised under the 361 millions.

So far we have seen, that the census is below the actual number, but in some provinces it is the reverse. But we are rather cautious to advance opinions, which might militate against facts, and give here the list of the extent and population of each province.

Pe-chih-le; extent, 58,949 square miles; inhabitants 27,990,874; upon each square mile 473.

Shan-tung; extent, 65,104 s. m. inhabitants 28,958,764; upon each s. m. 515.

Keang nan (the two provinces Keang-soo and Gau-hway) extent, 92,961 s. m. inhabitants 72,011,560; upon each s. m. 774.

Shan-se; extent, 55,268 square miles, inhabitants 14,004,210; upon each s. m. 253.

Honan; extent, 65,104 square miles, inhabitants 23,037,171; upon each s. m. 354.

Keang-se; extent, 72,176 square miles, inhabitants 30,426,999; upon each s. m. 421.

Fokien; extent, square miles 53,480, inhabitants, 14,777,410; upon each s. m. 276.

Che-keang; extent, square miles 39,150, inhabitants 26,256,734; upon each s. m. 671.

Hoo-pih and Hoo-nan; extent, square miles 144,770, inhabitants 46,022,605; upon each s. m. 317.

Shense and Kan-suh; extent, square miles 154,008, inhabitants 25,400,381; upon each s. m. 164.

Sze-chuen; extent, 166,800, square miles, inhabitants 21,435,678; upon each s. m. 126.

Kwang-tung; extent, 79,456 square miles, inhabitants 19,174,030; upon each s. m. 241.

Kwang-se; extent, 78,250 square miles, inhabitants 7,317,895; upon each s. m. 93.

Yun-nan; extent, 107,969 square miles, inhabitants, 5,561,320; upon each s. m. 51.

Kwei-chow; extent, 64,554 square miles, inhabitants, 5,288,219; upon each s. m. 82.

We ask the political economist, whether 774 human beings can live upon one square mile, which is thrice the population of England, where only 225 live upon the same spot. If, however, the census of Gan-hwuy and Keang-soo is correct, we are persuaded, that there is no spot upon the whole globe which is so thickly populated; nor can a larger number possibly live upon the same extent of territory. Keang-soo, moreover, is full of lakes, and has also considerable marshes, which are of course not arable. The utmost industry can subsist the cultivator, yet he has nothing to spare from his hard earned produce; and nevertheless both Gan-hwuy and Keang-soo have very largely to contribute towards the maintainance of the imperial courts. Shan-tung and Che-keang are mountainous provinces, with many barren tracks and unproductive plains, yet according to the imperial census the former has 515 and the latter 671 inhabitants upon each square mile. We allow the Chinese to be a most frugal people, who do not require half the extent of territory to maintain themselves as an European would need, to live in a state of comfort, but can 617 human beings find subsistence in so small a space? Surely if the imperial statistics are correct, the populousness of Keang-soo, Gan-hwuy and Che-keang overthrows the theory of Malthus. Pih-chih-le is apparently barren, but has nevertheless 473 inhabitants upon the square mile.

We are at a loss to find out why Yun-nan should have fewer inhabitants than Kwei-choo, the most unproductive of all the provinces, nor can we make out why Kwang-tung and Honan, both possessing a dense population, should not have an equal number with Che-keang upon each square mile, whilst the former is only one third, the latter one half as populous.

It is not with a view to impeach the statements given in the Repository that we write this, but we are anxious that our doubts should be solved for our own satisfaction. Upon the whole we think, that the total amount of 361 millions is not too much for the Chinese empire. It is very evident, that the Chinese are the most prolific nation

on the globe. Instead of conquering other nations like the Romans, they took possession by the numerical force of their population, colonized and spread until mountains and deserts prevent their farther progress. A nation like the Chinese, so numerous, guided by the same laws, attached to the system of the ancients, were more likely to abide the subjects of one prince, than the heterogenous tribes who acknowledged the sway of the Romans. The striking characteristic, which doubtless constitute the Chinese nation, a people distinct from all human kindred, contributed much to that unity of design, which caused them to abhor foreigners and to crowd under the protection of their native leaders.

Has China ever been as populous as it is now? Can the nation continue to increase in proportion, without absorbing finally all resources? These are the questions, which we should fairly ask, to come to a satisfactory conclusion. The rising generation is at the present moment so great, as to frighten the mandarins, who tremble at the prospects before them. Fully persuaded, however, that in the providence of God, the population keeps pace with the means of subsistence, and if increasing to excess finds an outlet in emigration, we fondly hope, that the threatening evil may be averted from this empire. Mantchooria presents still a large field for Chinese colonists, they may also find uncultivated lands on the western frontiers, and may even send colonies to the west coast of America. It is very obvious, that this great mass of mankind is near a grand crisis. The world has changed, without their partaking in those changes, and it will be finally their turn to yield to the common impulse given from the west. If a handful of barbarians from the desert could change the face of the country, should the enlightened spirit of enterprise, which now pervades Europe, remain dormant on its approach to the Chinese frontiers? We should regret if so many millions got into a state of fermentation, for the consequences would be awful; but if they do not advance with the world, they will sooner or later fall a sacrifice to their stubbornness.

Intelligent Chinese in reading this paper might perhaps quote a passage of their Sages, and leave matters to proceed in their natural course, whilst they with all their countrymen persevered in the beaten track. Such is also the maxim of the government; nothing influences it, but bare necessity. Time is on the wing with its revolutions, but they do not heed his flighty companion, until it is too late to keep pace with him.—*Canton Register*.

TRADE BEYOND THE INDUS AND SUTLEJ.

[Concluded from Vol. V., Second Series, page 556.]

IMPORTS.

WOOLLENS.—Broadcloth is exported to the Punjaub in considerable quantities. The prevailing colour is red for the uniform of Runjeet Sing's regular troops, and the natives are in the habit of wearing long pieces of red cloth in the cold weather thrown over their shoulders. Next to red the colour in greatest demand is, green, and there is one way in which green broadcloth is consumed which is well deserving of notice. Some years ago the manufacturers in Cashmere found out that green shawls were in demand with the Europeans, and having no other mode of procuring the dye, they were obliged to extract it from green broadcloth, and they have continued the practice ever since. Two yards of broadcloth, to the value of about ten rupees, are spoilt in the process of extracting colouring-matter sufficient for a single shawl, and it would of course be a profitable speculation to import a small quantity of the dye itself, furnishing at the same time directions for its proper application. The remainder of the export is made up of every colour.

Our broadcloth is held in esteem by the Affghans for making up their winter dress; and after the opening of the trade, it is likely to be extensively consumed by them and their neighbours, the Uzbeks and Turkomans. The excellence of our broadcloth is fully appreciated by the Affghans in common with the rest of the Asiatics, and it is their dearness alone which prevents their having a more extended consumption. A low standard of price therefore ought always to be kept in view, and this should be combined as far as possible with a specious glossy appearance. The lighter kinds, as ladies' cloths, cassimere, and camlets, will be required only in small quantities. Our flannels and blankets were never in much demand in the east, but they will probably be required more to the west of the Indus on account of the coldness of the climate.

When the north-western trade is opened, the market for woollens will be entirely our own. The Indians never had any, except Cashmere shawls, and a coarse stuff called purpet or puttoo, and after the opening of the Indus, the Russians will be as inferior to us in the means of transport as they are at present in the manufactures.

SILKS.—Silk of the natural colour or light yellow is very much worn by the Seiks, this being their sacred colour. It is all Moorsheadabad silk exported by the Marwarries who buy it at Mirzapoor. The countries beyond the Indus are mostly supplied over-land from Persia and China, but when the trade is thrown open, they will mainly depend upon us for their supply. When there is no great difference of price, nations always lay in their supplies of foreign goods at the places where they are able to dispose of their own produce.

We have not yet acquired so decided a superiority over the Indians in our silk manufactures as we have in our woollen and cotton, and the French are also able successfully to compete with us. The market of the Indus therefore will be supplied at first from all quarters. After a time it will be seen what kinds of silk are most in demand, and our merchants will then make it their study to get up their investments accordingly. Keemkhab and other Indian silk stuffs, velvet, satin, crape, brocades and embroidered goods will sell to a certain extent for the consumption of the rich. Although these articles can be consumed only by a few in each community, yet being light and valuable, they are capable of the longest land carriage, and when an ingress has been given, they will find their way into the heart of Central Asia.

Imitation shawls will hereafter become an important article of export, but they must be made on purpose for the market. The people to the west of the Indus use shawls or sashes to tie round the waist, or as turbans to wrap round the head, and they seldom wear them thrown over the shoulders like the people of India. For this market therefore shawls require to be made very long and narrow. It is difficult to speak with certainty regarding the pattern, and the best plan will be to send to England a few specimens of the genuine Cashmere shawl, of the kinds which are most in use.

SPICES.—Are a very important branch of the export trade. They are not an article of luxury, the use of which is limited to a few, but they are in general request, and their consumption will increase just in proportion as their cheapness renders them ac-

cessible to the community at large. The climate of the countries beyond the Indus unfits them for the production of any kind of spice, and they must, therefore, always get what they want from abroad. Spices are mentioned by the Emperor Baber as one of the principal exports in his time, and they have continued to find their way in greater or smaller quantities in proportion to the facilities which the state of the intermediate countries happened to afford to their passage.

The following are the kinds which are most in use; black pepper, gol-mirch; cardamums, elachee; cloves, long; nutmeg, jaiphol; betel-nut, supeyree; cinnamon, dāl cheenec; mace, jowtree.

The quantity at present exported, falls very far short of what the market would take off if proper facilities were given. Neither Russia nor Persia produce spices, and there is, therefore, no other quarter from which any supply can be obtained except Hindoostan, the whole external commerce of which is in our hands. When the navigation of the Indus is opened, spices will be brought by sea to Bukker, almost as cheap as they are brought at present to Bombay. From Bukker they will be sent by water to every part of the Punjab and Cashmere; and on the other side, the Affghan merchants will convey them by land to Candahar, Herat, and Bukhara, from which they will find their way to the frontiers of Russia and China. Meeting with no competition and having a better market always before them, they will be pushed on to an indefinite extent, only as they recede further from the mart, they will become more and more articles of luxury and less of general consumption. Even the most distant countries must have spices to consume more or less as articles of luxury.

SUGAR.—Sugar-candy and refined and common sugar are another of the exports of Hindoostan to the north-west, mentioned by Emperor Baber. Although a little sugar-cane is grown in gardens, no sugar is made in the countries beyond the Indus, and they are entirely dependent upon India for their supply of this necessary article. A good deal is sent from the Dooab to Shikarpoor by way of Palee, and the Russians export lump sugar made from beet root by way of Bokhara. But this supply is quite inadequate to the consumption of the country, and the price is such as to place it beyond the reach of the bulk of the people. After a mart has been established upon the Indus, sugar will find its way in every shape and through every channel. The produce of the Dooab will come by Behawulpoor and Palee, and the

produce of Bengal, and the maritime countries of India, will be brought by sea.

This will become a very important branch of traffic. Sugar is an article of general consumption by all, both high and low, and here we shall have several nations entirely dependent upon us for their supply, for the Russian competition with such inadequate means as they possess, will be too insignificant to merit attention when the market has once been thrown open. In order to render it more capable of bearing a long land carriage, sugar requires to be refined. What the Russians export is lump sugar, and what comes from this side is sugar-candy. The best plan perhaps will be to engage persons from Becauner, Calpee, and other places where the best sugar-candy is made, to settle at Bukker, where the sugar will be refined and sent on.

INDIGO, (Neel)—Is another permanent export to the other side of the Indus. None is produced in the country. The article is one of general consumption, and Hindoostan is the only source from which any supply can be derived. Between one and two lacs of rupees worth of native indigo is annually exported from the Dooab to Amritsur. The factory indigo is not in demand owing to the great difference in the price, which is seldom less than one hundred per cent. There is a kind of refined indigo, however, which is exported from Bombay to Shikarpoor and Amritsur in rather considerable quantities by the route of Baonuggur and Palee. It is called by the Native merchants *Cheen ka neel*, but as no indigo comes from China, I conclude that it is Bengal factory indigo, the refuse of which is refined at Calcutta, and exported to Bombay and the Gulf. The exports of indigo to the Gulf are very important, amounting in some years to more than eleven lacs from Calcutta alone, and a great deal more must be sent from Bombay.

Indigo will find its way to the new mart both by land and sea. The produce of the Dooab will be conveyed *via* Delhi and Behawulpoor or Delhi Ramghur, Becauner, and Jeesulmere, the produce of Bengal will arrive by sea round Cape Cormorin and up the Indus. Purchasing it at the mart, the Affghans will convey it to Mushed and Bokhara, and from thence it will find its way to the most distant parts of Central Asia. We have no competition in this article from Russia and China. Even the most distant countries of Central Asia must be supplied with indigo to a certain extent, and Hindoostan is the only quarter from which it can be obtained.

COCHINEAL, (*Kirum*).—This is the most precious of all our dying drugs, affording the scarlet crimson and many other valuable dyes. It is a native of Mexico, and arrives in the country through the medium of England. Cochineal is the dye which is used for the crimson Cashmere shawls, and this being the prevailing colour, the consumption is of course, considerable. It is also used at Amritsur to dye the silk, which is imported there from Bengal. Sometimes lac dye is mixed with the cochineal, but the colour thus yielded is very inferior to that of the genuine cochineal.

The mart upon the Indus will give to the consumption of the article a much wider range than it has at present. The dye is very much admired in Persia and India, and notwithstanding its high price, it meets with an extensive sale. When it becomes equally accessible to the cities of Afghanistan, it will no doubt be equally appreciated by them. Being very susceptible of land carriage, it will be transported to Bokhara, and the most distant marts of Asia, and as the taste for it increases, it will acquire a permanent demand which will make it a very important article of export.

TEA.—Is not much used in the Punjab, except as a medicine, but it is in great demand in the Mussulman countries on the other side of the Indus. At Bokhara it is taken daily by all classes, and the taste for it is prevalent in Afghanistan, but it is less accessible to the people there, owing to the source of supply being more distant. Bokhara is supplied direct from China overland, and a portion finds its way as far as Cabul. The principal exportation from this side is by Bombay and Palee, and a small quantity is sent up the Ganges from Calcutta. The whole quantity at present exported is under a sack. When the new mart is established, it will be brought direct from China to the mouth of the Indus, and it is impossible to say how much the consumption may be increased by the saving of the long land carriage, and the opportunity which will be given to the Affghans of laying in an investment to any extent that may be required.

SANDAL WOOD, (*Chundun*).—The principal demand for this article is in the Punjab and Cashmere, being used by the Hindoos in various religious ceremonies. The principal importation is from Bombay, where it is produced, and a small quantity is also sent from Calcutta.

CAMPHOR, (*Kufoor*).—Is an article in great request in all the countries of the East,

and it is exported both from Bombay and Calcutta.

SPAN WOOD, (*Bukum*).—Is in great demand with the dyers all over the East. It is exported in considerable quantities from Calcutta to Amritsur, but I cannot find that any is sent from Bombay.

VERMILION, (*Shungruff*).—Is in some demand, and it is exported in small quantities both from Bombay and Calcutta.

DATES, (*Chohara*).—Are in general demand throughout the Punjab, Cashmere, and the whole of Central Asia. They form an important article of commerce, and there is no competition, none being produced in the country. The shores of the Persian Gulf furnish the principal supply.

COCOANUTS, (*Nariyul* or *Girigola*).—This is an article of general consumption in the Punjab and Cashmere, being much used by the Hindoos in various religious ceremonies. They are not much in demand among the Mahomedan population on the other side of the Indus, but a few are exported for the use of the Hindoos who are scattered pretty thickly, especially in the large towns. The principal exportation takes place from Bombay, and at Palee they are stripped of their shells, after which they are called *giri-gola*. The original cost being little or nothing, the price is made up principally of the expense of carriage, and by diminishing this the consumption of course will greatly increase.

CORAL, (*Moongha*); PEARLS, (*Mootee*); and IVORY, (*Hatheedint*).—Are articles of export which are by no means unimportant. The consumption of pearls in particular is very great, as every native woman must have an outfit of ornaments of which pearls always form a very large proportion with those who can afford it. The above-mentioned articles are all productions of Hindoostan, or of the adjoining seas, and being light and valuable, they are capable of the most extensive circulation.

CUTLERY AND HARD-WARE OF EVERY KIND.—That is, hunting knives, clasp knives, scissors, needles, locks, lacquered trays, tea urns, and apparatus, China-ware, glass-ware, metal buttons, spangles, beads, gold and silver lace, &c. &c. These articles will be required in certain quantities and they are all at this moment exported from Russia. The demand for them is so much a matter of taste, that before the market is opened, it is difficult to say which will be in greatest request. One object, however, must always be kept in view, that is, to furnish them as cheap as possible. The inability of the bulk of the people to purchase

our commodities is the great obstacle to the increase of the commerce, and it is therefore, of the utmost importance that the price of every article should be such as will place it within their reach. They are suited only to a rich country, and a refined taste. The people to whose wants we have to administer

are poor and simple, and cheap goods got up as shewily as possible are therefore required.

There are many other articles at present little known in the countries beyond the Indus, which will find a sale when the market has been opened, such as cocoanut oil, brandy and liquors, coffee, &c.

EXPORTS.

Every trade is limited by the means of realizing returns disposable in the markets of other countries. The difficulty of obtaining adequate returns is the great incubus upon our Indian trade, and the imports from England are limited by the amount of the available exports from India, almost as effectually as they could be by legislative enactment. Our merchants bring out ship loads of English goods for the India market, and think themselves fortunate if they can secure themselves from loss in making their returns. Under these circumstances how can the trade increase? What inducement does the single profit and the double expense offer to our merchants to engage in it, and what a check upon consumption is the comparatively high price of our manufactures in India which these disabilities involve? On the side of the Natives the check is still more decided. If we open a market for their produce, we may depend upon their taking off our manufactures, because no trader ever makes his returns in cash, so long as there are any goods which yield a profit, however small. Besides, unless we take off the produce of a country, what resources can it have for buying our commodities? Agriculture and internal trade will do a great deal, but no country can become rich and able to purchase foreign commodities to any extent without the additional source of wealth which it raises from foreign trade. If there is no foreign demand for their productions, they accumulate upon their own hands, and there can be little surplus value to purchase the goods of other countries.

In order, therefore, to increase the demand for our manufactures, we must endeavour to take off as much as possible of the produce of the countries with which we trade. In the abundance of exportable commodities the new mart upon the Indus will be more favoured than any of the ports of India. The countries on the left bank yield all the productions which are peculiar to the hot climates, and on the right bank are to be found many of those which belong exclu-

to a cold temperature. Those of its

productions which have a demand in England, are assafœtida, saffron, madder, tobacco, cotton, rice, saltpetre, sal ammoniac, alum, Cashmere shawls, Herat carpets, and many kinds of drugs. There is also a brisk demand for most of these articles in the other markets of the East, whence returns are procurable in various kinds of merchandize, fit for the English market, and there are some articles, such as groceries, rock salt, Cashmere paper, horses, &c., which are only in demand for the country trade, and for the realization of returns in other markets for the Europe trade. On the whole I am of opinion that, with attention, ample returns may be procured for the imports from England.

• It will be observed that all the exports are raw produce, except Cashmere shawls and Herat carpets, and so far from interfering with our own manufactures, these will be found to give material assistance in procuring an extended circulation for them.

ASSAFŒTIDA.—Called by the Persians *Angozeh*, and by the Indians *Heeng*, is a gum resin of a strong, disagreeable, fœtid odour and a bitter subacid taste. It is produced from a plant called *Ferulæ Assafœtida*, the stalk of which is cut off near the root and a milk exudes which gradually hardens like opium. The plant requires no attention but what is necessary for extracting the gum.

Assafœtida has medical properties: "it is used in medicine as a powerful stimulant, particularly of the nervous system, it also possesses carminative and expectorant properties," which make it an article of general consumption in Europe. In India it is a favorite ingredient in the cooking both of Hindoos and Mahommedans, and its dearness is therefore the only limit to its consumption. It was used in a similar manner by the ancient Greeks and Romans under the name of *Sylphium* or *Laserpitium*.

The Assafœtida plant grows wild upon the mountains in the west of Afghanistan, and as far as I have been able to learn it is found in any part of the known world. As early as the period of Alexander's expedition, this part of the country was noted for its pro-

duction. "Nothing" says Arian "but Sylphium and the turpentine tree grow there notwithstanding which it is very populous and multitudes of sheep and neat cattle are seen there; for they feed upon Sylphium; and the sheep especially are so fond thereof, that if they chance to smell it at a distance they immediately hasten thither, and having cropped the flower, they even dig up and gnaw the root, for which reason some of the Cyreneans keep their sheep at a distance from the places where the Sylphium grows, and others enclose it with a fence, lest their sheep should smell it if too near, or break in and devour it, for it is there very valuable." To this day it is usual to fence round the *Assafetida* plants on the mountains with walls of loose stones to prevent the sheep from devouring them.

Being produced in the neighbourhood of Herat, the principal exportation takes place by way of Shikarpoor and Bukker, Bombay is supplied from the port of Kurachee in Scind, and Bushire in Persia. The Bengal transit duty is ten rupees per cent, three fourths of which is drawn back upon exportation, and the English duty is 10*d.* a pound. *Assafetida* does not appear at present upon the lists of exports either of Bombay or Calcutta, though no doubt some must be exported.

There are three varieties of *Assafetida* called Multan, Turrah and Lussunee, which are imported in nearly equal quantities. The Lussunee is so called from its coarseness and similarity in taste to garlic—*lussun*. *Assafetida* is brought to England packed in cases, mats and casks, that in the cases proving generally the best. It is in irregular masses, adhering to each other, externally of a burnish yellow colour, and containing many little shining tears of a whitish, redish or violet hues. The best is clear and of a pale redish colour, contains many of the white tears, and has the odour very strong.

Considering the demand for this article both in England and India, it is likely to become an important export after the navigation of the Indus has been opened. Bukker is infinitely nearer the country where it is produced than either Kurachee or Bushire, and to reach the former the Affghans have to pass only through their own country.

SAFRON,* PEL ZAFERON, HIND: KESUR.—This beautiful aromatic is the dried flower of the crocus. It is an article of general consumption in Europe and in India; it is used to a great extent in the offices of the

Hindoo religion, and as a condiment to flavour pulaoos and other dishes. The cultivation is expensive and the flower is prepared by a delicate and difficult process which keeps up the price. If this could be reduced, saffron would be consumed in India to almost any extent.

Saffron used to be cultivated to a considerable extent in Cambridgeshire, but the quantity of land employed for the purpose has been gradually lessening for some years past, owing to the lowness of the price occasioned by the great importation of foreign saffron. It is calculated that an acre of ground in England yields 26 pounds of net saffron in three years, and that the expense of cultivating and preparing it is £23: 12: 0. This makes the expense of raising a pound of saffron £0: 18*s*: 1*3d* without taking into account the interest of the money. The average price is thirty shillings a pound. In plentiful years it is sold at twenty shillings, and it is sometimes worth three or four pounds sterling. Saffron is also cultivated in France and Sicily, but in greatest quantities in Spain. English saffron is generally preferred to what is imported from abroad, and may be distinguished by its parts being larger and broader. It ought to be of an orange or fiery red colour staining the hand in rubbing it, and yielding a dark yellow tincture. It should be chosen fresh, not above a year old, in close cakes, neither dry nor yet very moist, tough and firm in tearing, of the same colour within as without, and of a strong acrid diffusive smell.

In the East, the only districts where saffron is produced are Cashmere and the neighbourhood of Kayn to the north of the lake of Zurrah in Khorasan. Herat is of course the entrepot for what is produced in Khorasan and from thence it is imported into India by Shikarpoor and Bukker, except a small quantity which finds its way across the hills to Bhawalpoor and Delhi. The produce of Cashmere is imported by Amritsur and Delhi.

The Cashmere saffron is all of the kind called *tuccha*, which is nothing more than the genuine article in its original state of dry detached particles. The Cashmerians are deterred from pressing the Saffron by the Hindoo prejudice against the destruction of animal life, and the same feeling combined with an idea that the blood of some animal is mixed up with cake saffron, induces the Hindoos of the plains to confine their consumption entirely to the *tuccha*.

The other kind is the *tikiya* or cake saffron, which is the *tuccha* or raw saffron, reduced to a consistency by being wetted and

* Saffron is used in medicine. A strong infusion of it in water is used in colouring maps. It is also employed with success in dyeing, being esteemed a good yellow.

pressed according to the European practice ; but in undergoing this process, it is generally adulterated, and hence it is considered an inferior kind to the other ; both luccha and tikia are imported from Herat. The Bengal transit duty is ten per cent., $\frac{1}{2}$ of which are drawback on exportation. The English duty is 2-6 a pound, which is much too heavy, amounting to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

This is a very valuable article of export. The demand for it both in England and in India is, practically speaking, unlimited, and when the Indus is opened, there can be no doubt that a great impulse will be given to its production. At present the channels of trade are so effectually closed that it is the same as if there were no foreign demand at all, and none is exported either from Bombay or Calcutta, and the whole quantity imported is used for the consumption of the country.

Bukker lies on the direct road to the coast from both the saffron districts.

Additional information contained in a letter from Monsieur Jacquemont, written from Cashmere.

The saffron is the *seggma* of a liliaceous plant called *crocus stations*, (Linnæ), well known in Europe, and extensively cultivated in Italy and Spain, where it is used as a spice and in the Central Provinces it is used chiefly as a dye.

The cultivation in Cashmere is confined to a small district in the Pergunna of *Shevoce*, (pronounced in French, also English), distant 5 miles from the city of Cashmere.

The hulks are committed to the ground in July, and this plant blossoms in the beginning of October, when the flowers are gathered, their *seggma*, the female organ of the flower, separated and put up to dry in the air. The half of the harvest is the share of the Sirkar (Runjeet) the other half belongs to the cultivators.

The best crops yield 40 Cashmere maunds and the worst 12 or 15 maunds to the Sirkar. The Cashmere maund is only 30 seers and its average bazaar price commonly is 100 Cashmere Rs. A Cashmere rupee is only 12 or 11 annas, so the average revenue of the Sirkar on that head may be esteemed at about 25,000 Cashmere rupees or 30,000, is about 20,000 Sonat rupees. The villages of saffron district* are not poorer than the others, perhaps they are less so. The cultivation should be extended a little more, if the inhabitants were not foolishly persuaded that no other spot would be adapted to it. The demand for it as spice in the Punjab and in Hindostan would increase if the price was defined. But it could never be very cheap owing to the extremely small

quantity raised on a large superficies of ground and the very expensive workmanship.

I don't know the price of saffron in Europe.

MADDER*, (*Munjeet*.)—Has been cultivated to a very great extent for three hundred years in Holland. The root is dug up for use in the third year of its growth. It is then baked and pounded, and the powder thus produced, is a beautiful red dye for linens and cottons. As madder is an article of great national importance, many attempts have been made to cultivate it in England, but without success, the Dutch madder being both better and cheaper than ours. The best comes from Zealand to which Britain is said to have paid £200,000 annually for madder. In India it is an article of general consumption both as dye and a medicine.

The process by which madder is cultivated on the other side of the Indus is described by Lieutenant Pottinger as follows :

"The ground being prepared and lined off into small trenches, the seed is put into them and flooded, and while in that state, the trenches are filled with earth and rich manure. The plants appear in nine or ten days and in the course of the first summer the stalks increase to three or four feet in height, they are cut down in September and given as fodder to the cattle. After this the ground is repeatedly flooded and manured until spring, when the plants again shoot forth, and such as are intended for seed, are set apart, as this second year is deemed the best for that purpose ; the remainder are cut every month or six weeks, which throws all the vegetation into the roots and adds to their size. Each stalk of those selected for seed, produces one flower on the very top of it. In the pod which succeeds are two seeds ; this, when ripe, is plucked off and laid apart, the stems are then taken away, as in the first year, and similar precautions adopted to enrich the soil. In the third summer the stalks are pruned as in the two preceding, and in September the roots are dug up ; they are quite straight without any ramification whatever, and usually from three to five feet long, but very thin ; these roots are immediately cut into small pieces and dried, in which state they are sold for about 10 pounds a rupee."

This is the state in which the article is brought to all the marts of India, and it is not reduced to powder till it arrives at the place of its final destination. The native merchants distinguish it into two kinds. The thick kind called *chor*, which is the best, and the thin called *chalee*. The specimens which have been sent to England are found

* It gives out its colour both to water and rectified spirit : the watery tincture is of a dark dull red, the spirituous of a deep bright one. It imparts to woollen cloth prepared with alum and tarrar, a very durable though not a very beautiful red dye. As it is the cheapest of all red dyes, and gives a durable colour, it is the principle one commonly made use of for ordinary stuffs. Sometimes its dye is heightened by the addition of Brazil wood, and sometimes it is employed in conjunction with the dearer reds, as cochineal, for demi scarlets and demi-crimsons.

Madder is principally cultivated in Holland, Germany, and France, especially the former, where it grows in greater abundance than in any other part of the world. A kind also brought from Smyrna, called — the European, is always imported in its original state as a root.

With a view to encourage its cultivation, it has been provided by law that five shillings an acre shall be received in lieu of all manner of tithes upon madder.

equal in quality to the best Dutch madder. An inferior sort is brought to Calcutta from the Peeleebeet and Nipaul hills, but none is produced in the plains. The cultivation of the plant being confined, it is said, to cold climates.

The greatest exportation takes place by Shikarpoor and Hukker to Palee, and from Palee it is sent to Calcutta and every part of India. In 1821-30, 1443 maunds were exported to England from Calcutta, and up to the end of April this year, the exportation has amounted to 1447 maunds; none is exported from Bombay. The Bengal transit duty is 7 Rs. 8 As. per cent. with a drawback of $\frac{3}{4}$ on exportation by sea. The English duty is 1s. 6d. the cwt.

As soon as the navigation of the Indus is opened, madder is likely to become a very important article of export. It is the natural growth of Affghanistan, and the agriculture of the country is at present in that stage of its progress which is best suited for the raising of produce for a foreign market. There being few towns and no manufacturing population, the products of agriculture possess little exchangeable value in the home market, and the cultivators therefore gladly avail themselves of any demand there happens to be from abroad. The case was nearly the same in India, and it was no sooner discovered after the pacification of Malwa that there was a foreign demand for opium, then it began to be cultivated in quantities which threatened to overstock the Chinese market. In England, on the contrary, where there is a great demand for corn, nobody thinks it worth his while to cultivate madder which yields a return only once in three years, and the same observations apply to saffron, the cultivation of which, though an annual produce, is still more expensive than madder.

The demand which will ensue upon the opening of the Indus, will give a certain impulse to the productions both of madder and saffron. They will be brought to market in much greater quantities, and the expense of transport to the sea shore will be reduced to less than one-tenth of what it is at present. We may therefore hope that England, and perhaps the greater part of the continent of Europe, will derive their principal supply of these valuable articles of commerce from this quarter.

TOBACCO—Is another very important staple which will be laid open to our commerce by the navigation of the Indus. A very superior kind, which goes by the general name of Kuker tobacco, is produced in the irrigated lands of the lower parts of the Punjab, where the rivers converge towards each

other. It is of a much milder flavor than the Bengal tobacco, and appears to be of the same kind as the Manila and Persian.

There are three varieties of the Kuker tobacco.

The first called Multanee, is produced in the immediate neighbourhood of Multan. It is of a darker colour and stronger flavor than the other kinds, and sells at a much higher price. It is both chewed and smoked, but principally smoked. The prime cost at Multan is six rupees a maund.

The second is called Mussa Tobacco from a place of that name where it is said to be produced. I have not been able to ascertain the exact situation of this place, but it appears to be somewhere between Multan and Behawalpoor. It is of a slight colour and milder flavor than what is produced at Multan, and both men and women chew it in great quantities, the latter generally mixed in their pawn. The prime cost of this kind of tobacco in the field is four rupees a maund.

The third kind is called Amanut Khanee, from its being produced, they say, at a place called Amanut Khan. It differs very little from the Mussa, but sells rather cheaper.

COTTON.—The exportation of raw cotton from India to England is almost extinct, but there is still a brisk demand for it in China. The opening of the navigation of the Indus and its tributary streams will furnish an easy water carriage from every part of the Punjab, and if the quality is sufficiently fine, raw cotton will be largely exported for the foreign market. It is at present grown in the Punjab as far as it is required for internal consumption, and there is every reason to believe that it is at least as good as the produce of the Delhi territory, which is exported to a considerable extent. The whole of the Bengal transit duty upon cotton is remitted upon exportation by sea.

GROCERIES—Form an important branch of the exports of the countries beyond the Indus and Sutlej. The climate of Hindostan is too hot to allow of the grapes and other fruits which constitute this branch of traffic coming to perfection, while the temperate climate of Affghanistan is admirably adapted for them. The transition from the temperate climate to the hot is also so sudden that there is no intermediate space between the countries which require these commodities and those which produce them. "The cold and hot countries" says the Emperor Baber, in his personal memoir, "are very near to each other at this place. One day's journey from Cabul you may find a place where snow never falls, and in two days' journey, a place where the snow

scarcely ever melts. The air is delightful. I do not believe there is another place like Cabul in the world. The fruits of cold climates;—grapes, pomegranates, apricots, apples, quinces, peaches, pears, plums, almonds and walnuts are abundant. I planted a cherry tree myself at Cabul: it grew very well and was thriving when I left it." The beautiful valley of Cabul furnishes at this day the greatest supply of fresh and dried fruits, which may therefore be considered its staple.

Black dry raisins, (*Munukh*), are from a large black grape. This is the kind of raisin which is in general consumption in Upper India.

Red fleshy raisins, (*Aljosh*), are produced in the neighbourhood of Candahar and nowhere else. This is a very delicious kind of raisins, but it is not in general use, having only lately begun to be imported. Coming from Candahar it arrives principally by the way of Shikarpoor and Bukkur.

RICE—Is produced in great abundance in Cashmere, where it forms almost the only food of the inhabitants. The rice of Peshawur is also of a very superior quality. It is one of the articles with which the kings of Delhi used to be supplied by a camel dawk, and it is even now imported in small quantities, as a luxury, to Delhi, Lucknow, and other places in Hindostan.

When the navigation of the Indus is opened, rice will become an important article of export to Ajmere, Joudhpore, and the dry sandy country of Rajpootana, generally, where none is produced, as well as to Baloochistan and the lower part of Afghanistan. At present these countries are mostly supplied by a long land carriage from Bombay; it will also be exported to England as well as to the Isle of France and other eastern markets: up to the end of April, this year, 51,433 bags have been sent to the Isle of France from Bengal alone. There is no duty charged upon this article in Bengal and the English duty is 7½d. a pound.

ALMONDS, *Badam*, are of two kinds, one called *sungeen* by the Afghans, and *kata* by the Indians is the kind with thick shells, and the other is called *kaghiaee* or the kind with paper or thin shells. This last is held in the greatest esteem owing to the facility with which the shell is broken, it yielding easily to the teeth, and to the superior flavor of the fruit. Cabul almonds are an article of great consumption in Upper India, and they are sent as far as Calcutta; they are not so coarse and oily as those which have occasionally been brought from Calcutta, and are much preferred by the natives on this account.

PISTACHIONUT, (*Pistah*).—The Pistachio tree grows wild in the mountains of Hindostan, and the principal supply is drawn from thence and from the neighbouring country of Bulk. The Pistachionut is an article of general consumption throughout India and large quantities are imported. In Europe it is also in general demand. The principal supply is at present drawn from Sicily, but the Pistachio of the east are acknowledged to be far superior to those of any part of Europe. Besides being in general request in Europe as an article of luxury, they are administered medicinally in many complaints.

CHILGOOZEH—Is the seed of a kind of pine which grows wild on the mountains of the Sheeranees near Dera Ismael Khan. It is of an elongated form and is enclosed in a thin shell. The flavour is pleasant, but they are said to be heating. The quantity imported is mostly consumed at Delhi and Lucknow.

WALNUTS, (*Ukrote*)—Are a native of Afghanistan, and they are imported in considerable quantities.

FILBERT NUT, (*Khinduk*)—Is a native of Afghanistan and is imported into India in small quantities. In native pharmacy it is used as a strengthening medicine.

DRIED PLUMS, of an acid taste, called *Aloo Bokhara*.—They are produced in the neighbourhood of Cabul and are brought to India in great quantities. This is an article of general consumption both for food and for medicinal purposes. Tarts and preserves are made of it. It is used by the natives in *sher-bets* and other cooling medicines, and is held in high estimation for its opening qualities. It is sent to all parts of India, and a considerable quantity finds its way to Calcutta.

DRIED APRICOTS, which go by the name of *Khoobunee*, although the apricot itself is called *zard aloo*. They are of a flattened shape and a sweet agreeable flavor. This is an article in considerable demand: large quantities are imported.

DRIED CHERRIES, (*Aloo Baloo*)—Are imported in small quantities. They are of the sour kind and are mostly used in medicine, being esteemed for the same quality as the *Aloo Bokhara*.

Fresh grapes are imported in great quantities. They are pulled before they are quite ripe and carefully packed with cotton in wooden boxes. The fresh fruits which are packed in this way are coarse grapes, apples, pears and quinces. Pomegranates require no packing and they stand the journey better than the others. When the navigation of the Indus is opened the fresh fruit will

reach Bombay in two months, and as they keep much better on ship board than by land, they will arrive in a good state of preservation.

According to Hamilton, the passage from Lahore to the sea occupies only 12 days, at which rate goods would reach Bombay from Caubul in little more than a month.

POMEGRANATES, (Anar)—There are extensive plantations of the pomegranate in the Caubul valley, whence it is chiefly imported. The best called *bedana*, or "without stones," come from Kuja near Caubul. It is an article in great demand, principally for making *sherbet*, and vast quantities are imported.

APPLES, (Seu)—Are imported in vast quantities. They are not so good as the English apple, nor do they offer so many varieties of kind, but they are infinitely superior to any which can be produced in India.

PEARS, (Nashpatee)—Are imported in smaller quantities, and the same observations apply to them as to the apples.

QUINCES, (Bihce)—Are imported in small quantities. They are of the same kind and are as good as the English quinces.

There is no Government duty charged upon any of these articles in the Bengal presidency.

Groceries, such as those which have been described, constitute an important branch of the food of the people, and as such, they must always form a considerable article of traffic. Being perishable goods the demand for them can never slacken. If they are not consumed at the time, decay will shortly follow, and in either case, the future supply will not be effected. The consumption of the whole of Upper and Central India is supplied from Caubul and Bombay; Ceylon, Calcutta, and the whole of the coast of India, together with the Mauritius and the Isle of France, are supplied at present from the Persian Gulf.

The original cost of fruits, like that of salt, is little or nothing. At Caubul, Mr. Elphinstone says:—"The people derive a great luxury from the prodigious abundance of fruit—grapes are dear when they sell for more than a farthing a pound; pomegranates are little more than half a penny a pound; apples sell at two hundred pounds for a rupee; two sorts of apricots are equally cheap, and the dearer sorts are less than a half penny a pound; peaches are dearer, but quinces and plums are as cheap, melons much cheaper; grapes often bear scarcely any price and the coarse sort which is exported with so much care to India, is sometimes

given to cattle. Nuts of all kinds are very cheap, and walnuts, with which the hills north of Caubul are covered, sell at two thousand for a rupee." When the navigation of the Indus is opened, the Groceries of Caubul will be brought by land to Attock, or they may be passed down the Caubul river upon the floats which are even now in common use. Taking the most expensive of these modes, the cost of conveying them to Attock will be eight annas a maund, and from Attock they will reach Bombay in two months at 1 r. 5 as per maund after the opening of the Indus, therefore raisins may be sold at Bombay at rupees 2 rs. 8 as. a maund including the expense of drying them; and all other fruits in proportion.

I cannot believe that fruit is found in the same quantities in the south of Persia as it is at Caubul. The latitude and climate of the latter give it a decided superiority and justify the reputation it possesses for the surpassing excellence and abundance of its fruit.

If the Caubul groceries are able to obtain an ascendancy in the Bombay market, they will become an article of very extended consumption. Madras, Calcutta, Ceylon, the Isle of France, and probably New Holland and the Cape will be supplied from this source, and this branch of trade with Caubul will become as important in the East as that which is carried on with Smyrna and Zante in the West.

ROCK SALT.—This is the only kind of salt which is found in a natural state, all the others being produced by evaporation. It abounds in Afghanistan and in one district of the Punjab, but I have never heard of its being found further eastward. The natives of India know it by the name of Lahore or Sondha salt, and they prefer it to every other. It is of a superior flavor and purity, and is comparatively free from the mixture of foreign substances which prevails in the other Indian salts. The specimens I have seen are of the kind called by mineralogists "foliated rock-salt," and they were slightly tinged with oxide of iron, but when pounded they appeared quite white and pure. By the Hindoo religion this kind of salt is held to exceed (as it really does) all the others in purity, and it forms the seasoning which is prescribed to be used with the articles of food (answering to our fish on Good Friday) which are permitted to be eaten on the monthly fast day, the *Ikyadusee*, or eleventh day of the month. It is also esteemed for its medicinal qualities, and is prescribed to be eaten by persons who have cutaneous and other disorders.

The grand source from which the supplies of rock-salt are drawn is a detached range of hills to which Mr. Elphinstone has appropriately given the name of "the salt range." It is a branch thrown out eastward from the great Suleman range, and crossing the Indus in latitude 33°, it extends as far as the Jhelum or Hydaspes. The mines at present in use are said to be at Meanee, called also Lon Meanee, a place in the salt range a few coss beyond Pindee Daden Khan, and from thence the rock salt is conveyed by a long land carriage to every part of the interior as far as Benares and Indore. The estimation in which it is held is such, that although its price exceeds that of all the other kinds of salt from 100 to 200 per cent. it finds a ready sale, and if the duty were to be lowered so as to enable it to enter the market more nearly on equal terms with Sambur salt, there can be no doubt that the latter would be superseded to a great extent.

At Kalabaug, where the salt range crosses the Indus, there are cliffs of this kind of salt exposed to view sufficient to supply the consumption of all India, but owing to the navigation being closed, none has been exported for many years past. "The Indus," says Mr. Elphinstone, "is here compressed by mountains into a deep channel only 350 yards broad. The mountains on each side have an abrupt descent into the river, and a road is cut along their base for upwards of two miles. It had been widened for us, but was still so narrow and the rock over it so steep that no camel with a bulky load could pass; to obviate this inconvenience 28 boats had been prepared to convey our largest packages up the river. The first part of the pass is actually overhung by the town of Kalabaug, which is built in a singular manner up on the face of the hill, every street rising above its neighbour, and I imagine, accessible by means of the ladders of the houses below it. As we passed beneath we perceived windows and balconies at a great height, crowded with women and children. The road beyond was cut out of solid salt, at the foot of cliffs of that mineral, in some places more than 100 feet high above the river. The salt is hard, clear, and almost pure. It would be like crystal were it not in some parts streaked and tinged with red. In some places salt springs issue from the foot of the rocks and leave the ground covered with a crust of the most brilliant whiteness. All the earth, particularly near the town, is almost all blood-red; and this with the strange and beautiful spectacle of the salt rocks, and the Indus flowing in a deep stream through lofty mountains past

this extraordinary town, presented such a scene of wonders as is seldom to be witnessed. Our camp was pitched beyond the pass in the mouth of a narrow valley and in the dry bed of a torrent. Near it were piles of salt in large blocks (like stone at a quarry) lying ready for exportation either to India or Khorasan."

The original cost of salt, whether produced by evaporation or cut from the rock, is always trifling, and the price is made up of the subsequent charges of carriage and duty—whatever kind of edible salt can be brought to market cheapest will be in common use, and other kinds will be consumed as a luxury with reference to their superior qualities by those who can afford it.

The original cost of the Kalabaug salt will be only the expense of cutting it from the rock, and as the salt cliffs are situated upon the brink of the river, there will be no land carriage. It may therefore be sold at Bombay for a trifle more than the cost of conveying it there, or rupees 1 r. 5 as. per maund and the Government duty. At present the salt consumed at Bombay is produced by evaporation on the spot, and neither importation nor exportation takes place.

Besides Bombay, Kalabaug salt will be exported to the Isle of France, Ceylon, Calcutta, and perhaps to all the maritime marts of the East. Wherever there is water carriage for its transport, the superior estimation in which rock salt is held makes it an important article of trade. The produce of the Cheshire mines is exported in vast quantities to Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Germany and the West Indies, although evaporation salt can be procured by all those countries at a much cheaper rate. It is even sent to Calcutta, and it must pay, else it would not continue to arrive every year. Rock salt is brought to Calcutta in larger quantities from Bushire, to which it comes by land from the interior of Persia. In the year 1828-9 the total import was as follows:—From Great Britain, maunds 1,194-39-14; Persian Gulf, maunds 12,118-38-12.

Additional information contained in a letter from Monsieur Jacquemont, written from Cashmere.

The only salt works I have hitherto visited in Punjab are those situated north of Prindaded Khan, on a low but very regular range of hills, bordering at first the right banks of the Djhelon (Hydaspes) and extending itself across the Indus in a direction very nearly parallel to that of the Himalaya.

These mines are by far the most important of this country; it is not known how long

since they were worked; the historians of Alexander don't notice them.

Six hundred workmen are employed about them except during solstitial rains when they retire to their villages. The quantity of rock salt extracted in a year is 375,000 pucca maunds, for which the Sirkar pays to the workmen 22,500 Nanok Shah Rs. at the door of the mines, i. e., 6 rs. per 100 maunds, and he pays the same sum to have it carried from the mines at Pindaded Khan on the banks of the river, distance 7 miles.

This salt that cost him 12 rupees per 100 maunds at Pindaded Khan, he sells at 125 Rupees per 100 maunds, you may calculate his benefit. However, part of that salt is sent down to Mooltan, by boats on the river (the boats loading by average 250 maunds) and whenever the Sirkar makes mercantile operations he gains little by them.

That salt stands its ground at Mooltan against the marine salt brought up from the mouth of the Indus, and if the price were lowered might crush it altogether.

It is the exclusive supply for Cashmere. For the convenience of the Cashmere merchants the Sirkar has established a depôt at the city of Djhelon, where 11 or 12 thousand maunds are sold yearly to them at a very trifling price, higher than that at Pindaded Khan, really not more than it cost to the Sirkar for the carriage.

The red rock salt you see at Dehlee and in all the northern provinces of Hindostan, is salt from Pindaded Khan. If there was a greater demand for it, the extraction might be carried on a much larger scale, and with some trifling prime cost for improving the system of working the mines, a great deal cheaper too.

At a place called *Bentoha* and *Tohoa*, two contiguous spots, 30 or 35 miles west of Pindaded Khan, in the same range, mines of the same nature exactly are worked, that produce not more than 100,000 maunds of salt yearly. The salt is of a still better quality than at Pindaded Khan and sells a little dearer. The cost of extraction is also a little higher, but I have not seen them.

SALTPETRE, (*Shora*).—Mr. Elphinstone says "is made every where in Afghanistan from the soil;" and Pottinger speaking of the neighbouring country of Bellochistan, says "Saltpetre is dug up in a native state. At Kalet they make it from the soil and esteem it much the strongest." The native accounts I have received lead to the same conclusion regarding the abundance of saltpetre and it seems only probable that it should be found in a country which contains such rich supplies of salt. The val-

leys of the great rivers are, generally speaking, the most favourable situation for the production of saltpetre, and as the character of the soil is the same in both cases, there is every reason to suppose that it may be produced in the same abundance on the banks of the Indus as it now is on those of the Ganges. A small quantity is annually exported from Korachee; and beyond this, whatever stores the country possesses, remain to be developed. As yet there has been no demand and consequently it has been worth no body's while to trouble himself about it, except so far as it is required for internal consumption. Saltpetre is well known as one of the most important articles of export from India to Great Britain, France, the United States, &c. The Bengal duty is 7½ per cent., ¾ of which are drawback on exportation. The English duty is 6d. per cwt.

SAL AMMONIAC, (*Norshadir*).—Is a valuable article of commerce which is used extensively in dyeing and in several manufactures, as well as in medicine. It is collected in considerable quantities at Keitul on this side of the Sutlej and is sent to Calcutta for exportation to England. It is said to meet with a brisk sale, and for some time it realized very high profits. The quantity exported to England from Calcutta in 1829-30 amounted to maunds 903. It does not appear that any is exported from Bombay. The Bengal transit duty is 5 per cent. ¾ of which is drawback on exportation. The English duty is 3d a pound.

Sal Ammoniac is found in a natural state in various parts of the country beyond the Indus. In Lieutenant Pottinger's travels there is a curious account of the Sal Ammoniac mountain near Rasman in the western division of Bellochistan. After describing his visit to a hot sulphurous well, he proceeds to say: "On my return home to the village, Moorad Khan pointed out to me a mountain about fifteen miles distant, where he said water oozed from various clefts in the rock, hot enough to boil meat in a few minutes, and that he and many others were of opinion that the fountain I had been to look at, was connected with that hill by a subterraneous aqueduct. The mountain to which the Sirkar alluded, is here invariably spoken of by the name of the Koke Noushadir, or hill of Sal Ammoniac, which drug is said to be a native production of it, and found in the first fissures of the rocks. I had not an opportunity of seeing any of this mineral, but Moorad Khan assured me that plenty of it, and also and incrustation of brimstone was to be gathered; and had I remained with him a second day, he would willingly have sent a

man for specimens of both. He told me that they were unacquainted with the uses to which Sal Ammoniac might be applied, but that the sulphur, when pounded, was valued as the best and strongest ingredient of that sort, for gunpowder." The situation in which Sal Ammoniac is most frequently found sublimed is in the crevices of volcanos such as Etna, Vesuvius, the Lipari Islands, &c., and this account has therefore every appearance of being correct.

The Sal Ammoniac mountain however is not the only place in the neighbourhood of the Indus where this valuable article of commerce is to be obtained, but there being no demand, it lays, as it does there, neglected and unused. Sal Ammoniac is manufactured in Europe by an expensive chemical process, and wherever it is to be obtained in a natural state, it is sure to yield a considerable profit.

ALUM, (*Philkuree*).—Is a very important article of commerce, being in general use as a mordant for fixing colours, as a remedy for various disorders, &c. &c. At Kalabang it is found mixed with the clay, which is its natural basis, and it abounds in the hills between Nelaut and Kutch Gundava. It used to be imported in large quantities from Amritsir, but latterly its sale has been lessened by the importation of Chinese alum from Calcutta. The Affghanisthan alum is of a light red colour, and that which comes from Calcutta is white. The Bengal transit duty is ten per cent., $\frac{1}{2}$ of which are drawback on exportation.

CASHMERE SHAWLS—Are an article too well known to need description, and it only remains to speak of the effect which will be produced upon the trade by the opening of the navigation of the Indus.

Bukker is not half so far from Cashmere as either Bombay or Calcutta, and the native merchants will therefore be able to effect two sales and to realize two profits, for every one which they are now able to do. The return investments of our manufactures and of foreign goods imported by us, will be obtained in half the present time, and they will therefore yield two profits for every one they now yield. Both going and coming, the merchants will have the advantage of water carriage, and instead of having to pay an infinity of duties to a number of independent chiefs, they will have only two to pay, one to Runjeet Singh and the other to Behawal Khan. The expenses of transport will be diminished by more than one half. Owing to the quick return, the merchants will be able to carry on business upon much lower prices; and both exports and imports become-

ing cheaper, the trade will increase to an indefinite extent.

It is a very mistaken notion to discourage the importation of Cashmere shawls for the sake of protecting our own manufactures. Their original cost is so heavy that even if the utmost facilities are given to the trade, they must always be a very expensive article. They will consequently always be accessible only to a few, and the extent to which they can supersede the use of any other article will be very small indeed.

But every shawl which is disposed of by the native merchant, throws a quantity of capital upon his hands to be laid out in purchasing return investments of English and foreign goods. The high value of the article, which in England prevents its interfering with the consumption of our manufactures, acts here only to throw a greater quantity of capital upon the market to be employed in taking them off. In short, the effect the trade in Cashmere shawls has in securing an extended sale for our manufactures abroad, is infinitely greater than any it can have in superseding their use at home, and they become in practice a tax paid by our rich men to furnish the native merchants with the means of taking off our manufactures.

The shawl trade has been on the decline for some years past, and the French captains are now almost the only purchasers in the market. In 1827-28 only 319 pieces of the value of 41,616 Rupees were exported from Calcutta. Supposing these were all sent to England, 319 pieces represent the utmost extent to which this importation could supersede the use of our own manufactures while the capital it threw upon the market to be laid out in return investments of our goods amounted to near half a lac of rupees. Imitation and other shawls sell for about as many shillings as the Cashmere shawls do pounds, and therefore, without burthening the latter with oppressive duties, we need not be afraid of their interfering with the consumption of our shawls.

Cashmere is a rich country, and the capital alone is said to contain near 200,000 inhabitants. It is of importance therefore to cultivate a brisk trade with it, which cannot be done without taking off the shawls, which are its staple, to a much greater extent than we do at present. If we do so the returns will nearly all be made in English piece goods, and we may hope before long to see them in as general consumption at Srinuggur, the capital of Cashmere, as they have become of late years at Delhi. The Bengal transit duty is 10 per cent., $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is draw-

back on consumption. The English duty is 30 per cent.

HERAUT CARPETS.—These are of the same kind as the Persian carpets, but of superior texture and the colours are in the highest degree rich and beautiful. They are exported in considerable quantities to Persia, which is a proof of the esteem in which they are held.

The same remark applies to this article as to the Cashmere shawl. Whatever pains are taken to reduce their price. Heraut carpets must always be articles of high luxury, and they can therefore never interfere with the consumption of our English carpets. This is the staple manufacture of Heraut, and by opening a market for it, we shall offer a certain inducement to the merchants of the place to take off our goods. Heraut is the second city in the Affghan dominions, and it is therefore of great importance that we should give it an interest in keeping up a close commercial connection with us. In order to give full effect to the measure of opening the navigation of the Indus, with a view to afford a new outlet for British manufactures, it will be necessary to reduce the heavy English duties both upon Cashmere shawls and Persian carpets. The Bengal transit duty is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., $\frac{3}{4}$ of which is drawback on exportation. The English duty is 15 per cent.

When the trade is opened, Heraut carpets will be in great demand in India, particularly among the rich natives, the common Mirza-poor carpets being the only ones at present in the market. The first Heraut carpet which appeared was brought this year by the Hissar district. A kind of rug however is brought there in some quantities, which is believed to be made at Caubul.

PAPER.—The Cashmerians fabricate the best writing paper in the East. It is in general use in the Punjab, and formerly it was an article of extensive traffic. It is of the glazed kind for Persian and Hindoe writing, and is not adapted for writing English. When the Indus is opened this will become an important article of export to Persia and to the coasts of India and Ceylon. Cashmere is also famous for its lacquered-ware, which will be exported in small quantities.

HORSES.—Hindustan has always depended upon foreign countries for a large supply of horses of the better description. The source from which this supply is at present derived is Persia and Arabia, but in

all former ages it used to be the countries beyond the Indus. The Emperor Baber mentions that in his time no less than "seven, eight or ten thousand horses" used to arrive by this route, and the Uzbeks alone sell yearly above threescore thousand horses at Caubul for the supply of Hindostan. Page 57, part 3. "Skins to the country of the sires" is one of the articles of import for the emporium at the mouth of the Indus, in the third century.

Excepting Heraut, where they are very fine, Afghanistan itself is not remarkable for its breed of horses. The province of Bulk and the Turcoman country on both banks of the Oxus is the quarter from which they are brought. The frame of the Turcoman horse is one of perfect strength and beauty, but the head is large and rather coarse. This characteristic, however, is softened by a mixture of the Arab blood. The wealthiest among the Turcomans have Arab stallions and mares, and the produce of the two castes is very good. Great attention is paid to pedigree and preference is given to those bred in the desert as being more hardy. These horses will kill all others at hard labour. They are never under cover. In the hot weather, the heat of the sun being intense, they are covered with two nummuds or felt cloth, and in the winter with one. Their food is barley, coarse grass, except in the spring, when they are dieted with green food, jowarree or barley stalks. When a Turcoman wishes to bring his horse into condition he does not give him his food at one time, but feeds him with a little at several times, so that the horse is eager for his food. They are allowed from the first, but very little water, and their general character is that of a hardy, healthy horse, which is very little subject to sickness of any kind. There is another kind called the Türki, which is smaller, but very stout, capable of much work and cheap. It is bred in the provinces of Bulk and Bokhara and is the kind generally purchased by the natives of India. The great marts are Bulk and Bokhara.

When a mart has been established at Bukker the Scindh and Bhawalpoor duties, and what is of more importance, the expense and risk of a long journey into the interior of Hindostan, will be saved to the Affian merchant, and horses will be brought for sale to the full extent of the demand. When they find it worth their while to struggle through so many difficulties to the distant marts of Bombay and Delhi, they will certainly resort in much greater numbers to a

mut upon their own frontier which offers a safe and speedy return.

The northern horses are much cheaper than the Arab and Persian; very good ones may be had for 400 or 500 Rs. and the best do not cost more than 800 or 1000 Rs. We shall now no longer be forced to submit to the heavy prices which are demanded by the Arab and Persian merchants for very inferior cattle. A new source of supply will be opened and the competition which will take place will reduce the price of horses all over India. Arab horses can never lose the estimation in which they are justly held, but they will be sold at less extravagant prices.

By stationing an officer for the purpose at Bukker, the Government will be able to purchase horses of a hardy, active breed, for the cavalry and horse artillery, at a much cheaper rate than they are turned out at the studs, and it will also have a very beneficial effect in giving steadiness to the demand. The circumstance of a Company's officer being stationed at a place upon the borders of the Affghan empire for the express purpose of purchasing horses, will soon become notorious at all the marts of Central Asia, and the consequence will be, that they will be brought in numbers which will be fully equal to every demand.

The opening of the navigation of the Indus will have an effect also upon the importation of the Arab and Persian horses, which must not be overlooked. The stations of Upper India are at present supplied with these animals from Bombay, whence large batches annually arrive by way of Malwa. When the navigation is opened, instead of this circuitous route, some of them at least will proceed up the river at once to Bukker, or even if they are unshipped at Lahorree Bunder and proceed by land to the Upper Provinces, it will save the whole of the navigation from that place to Bombay and several hundred miles of land journey, besides Arab horses will then be as cheap at Bukker as they now are at Bombay, and the smaller description will be placed, as they are there within every body's reach.

FURS—Are likely to form an important article of export. Ermine (*leacum*), sable (*simoor*), and almost all the warm skins find their way to India from Hindoo Coosh and Tartary; and the quantity which arrives is annually increasing. The ermine being an inhabitant only of the coldest climates, must be brought from Siberia by the Russian caravan to Bokhara, and most of the

others are produced in the intermediate countries. This must always be an important branch of trade with India. Whether it will be so with England remains to be proved. I have known a large ermine cloak offered for sale at 150 Rs., cheap for good ermine.

SWORDS—Form an important article of import to India. They are mostly Khorasane blades, which are very much prized in India, where they cannot be imitated. The first check upon their importation was the rise of the lawless power of the Sikhs, and what this has left undone has been completed by the disturbed state of the other border countries, and the heavy duties which are exacted by the Scindees and Behawal Khan.

DRUGS.—Nearly all the drugs which are used in native pharmacy come from the country beyond the Indus, and many of them therefore are important articles of local consumption. Few, however are exported to England. In some cases their very existence in this quarter is unknown to our merchants, and in others, the absence of the information necessary for making a judicious selection prevents their finding a place in the export trade. It is impossible for the merchant to acquire from his own experience a competent knowledge of the various articles of delicate and peculiar property of which the *materia medica* is composed, and correct mercantile information regarding this branch of the demand is therefore a great desideratum. The list I have furnished is very incomplete, and I shall add to it and enlarge upon the description and uses of the different items as I find time and opportunity.

Catalogue of Drugs.

BUSOUTEE.—Nothing can be ascertained regarding this.

BUZROLBURJ, a. *Ajwaeen Khorasani* p. *Ajwoain* h. *Sigusticum*. It is an excellent aromatic, and extensively used by the natives as an agreeable condiment in their dishes, and also to give a flavour to the beetle leaf and nut, in their pauns. It is a powerful remedy in the flatulent colic, and veterinary practitioners employ it in analogous diseases of horses and cows. It is subject to a transit duty in Bengal of 7-8 per cent, $\frac{1}{2}$ of which are drawback on exportation.

CACNEJ, a. *Salanum Dulcamarum*. (Night shade.) This drug is used in a variety of diseases by the natives, but chiefly as a *de obstruent*.

CUMMOON, a *Geera* p. *Jeera* h. *Cuminum Cuminum*. Cum seed which is well known. It is subject to a transit duty in Bengal of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, $3\frac{1}{4}$ of which are drawback on exportation.

EOCHUNNI.—It is used in cataplasms and for sores generally.

HULAILIJ, a *Hullela* p. *Hur* h. *Terminalia Chebula*. It used as a cathartic and mordant. The *Gungi hur* is used as a laxative.

HUMMEZ, a *Chook* h. The *Wild Sorrel*, *Hibiscus*. This is used as a remedy for certain disorders peculiar to camels and is brought to every part of India.

IKLELOL MULEEK, a *Isparak* h. *Melilotus Trijolium*. It is esteemed as an emollient and digestive and is used in fomentations and cataplasms.

INTAMEKT, a *Curunjooa* h. *Cisalpinia Bonducella*. The fruit is used as a fibrifuge. Two eagle stone, a fossil to which the virtue of accelerating or retarding delivery is ascribed both by Europeans and Asiatics. *Lapis Aquil*

JOUZMASIL, a *Gozgeea* p. *Dhatooora* h. *Datura*. Whether the *D. Metel*; or *D. Fastuosa*, as imported from Umritsur, is not ascertained, probably the latter, as it is used as a remedy for spasmodic asthma. The *D. Stramonium* is not produced in Hindoostan.

JOSA, a *Bekk Soosun* p. *Ins. Fleur-de-Luce*. The roots of the white *Ins* have a pectoral virtue: the flowers are cathartic and good in dropsies. The Siberian *Ins* cures the venereal disease.

JUDWAR, a *Nibrisi* h. It is of singular efficacy in the jaundice. The root communicates a beautiful but perishable yellow dye with alum to woollen, cotton or linen.

KAHRUBBA, a *Ambur*. A concrete resinous substance imported from Bussora and sold under the name of Kahrobba and Ambur, though it has been ascertained to be *Copal* so much used in England as a varnish—*Abernethy's Surgical Obs.* p. 50. It is subject to a transit duty in Bengal of 7-8 per cent., $2\frac{1}{2}$ of which is drawback on exportation.

KHEIR a. *Acacia Catechu*.

KHOOLINJAN a. *Coolerjen* h. *Piper Betle*.

KHOOSKEUT Saleb Misri, pp. *Orchis Masculula*. Male fool's stone: all these names are literal synonymies from the resemblance which the two bulbs composing the root of this plant have to the scrotum of animals, whence the term. The root forms a considerable part of the diet of the inhabitants of Turkey,

Persia, and Syria, where this perennial flourishes. From it is made the alimentary powder called saleb. The English duty on this article is 1-3 per pound.

KIBBERT a. *Gogird* p. *Gundich* h. *Sulphur*—Brimstone. It is found in abundance in Afghanistan. The Bengal transit duty is 10 per cent. $3\frac{1}{4}$ of which is drawback on exportation.

KUROERA a. *Shahzera* p. *Carum Carui*, Carraway. Too well known to need description.

KUSSEES. *Heera Kussees*, *Copperas*, *Vitriol*—It is used both as a medicine and as a mordant for dyeing.

KUSSOOS a. *Bantul* p. *Cascuta*.—Seed of the dodder plant. It is used in bowel complaints and dysentery.

KOO Costus Arabicus Puteholah. Radix Dulcis. It is in high esteem with the natives as an attenuant, and as a remedy for venereal disorders, and it is also used for veterinary purposes. There are two kinds, the stick root and the kumber root, the latter being a resinous extract from the former. It is sent in considerable quantities to Calcutta, whence it is exported to England, but as I can find no mention of it in commercial books, it must have a name and use with which I am unacquainted. English duty one shilling a pound.

SABAN a *Cundroo* h. *Cundeh Firozeh* p. *Alibanum*, *Frankincense*. It is in considerable estimation as a remedy in catarrh and hamoptysis. This is an article of export to England from Bombay and Calcutta, where it is brought from the Gulf. The Bengal transit duty is 7-8 per cent., $\frac{3}{4}$ of which is drawback on exportation. English duty 2s. per cent.

LESEIN *Unsefur*, a *Curhaye* h. *Echites Antidysenterica*. The seed is called *Inder-jaoa*.

Catalogue of articles of the materia medica brought from beyond the Sutlej.

ABHUL a *Hobruj*, h. *Juniper*. or *Syceu Juniper*.

ASSCENTEEN, a. *Mistara* h. A decoction of the leaves of this herb acts as a diuretic and a strong emmenagogue.

AMMONIAC, a *Heracleum Gummiferum* *Ash-oh*. This gum resin is met with in the plains of Yezed in Persia. It is in drops of tears, of a pale yellow, but they are frequently

run into a mass before they arrive. The inside is white and it is brittle and breaks with a vitreous fracture. In taste it is both sweet and bitter. It is used medicinally as a stimulative expectorant, deobstruent and antispasmodic, and in large doses as a purgative, and it is chiefly exported to Europe.

AMSOON, a. *Badian* i. *Romee* p. *Souf* or *Mowrie* h. *Aniseed* *Pimpinella Anisum*. The Bengal transit duty is 7-8 per cent. $\frac{3}{4}$ of which are drawback on exportation.

AUA, a. *Durckt Moured* p. *Myrtus Communis*, Myrtle. The water distilled from its flowers is detersive, astringent, and cosmetic; a decoction of the flower and leaves is applied in fomentation.

BRHMAN SOORK and b *SOFIED* a *ISGUM* h. *Beh rubrum* and *B. album*. This is a fruit of the size and shape of a nut, used as a purgative by the natives.

BIHEEDANA, or the quince seed, is imported in considerable quantities. It is used as an astringent and also as a cooling medicine.

BUCH h. *Acorus Calamus*.

BUNUSSA p. *Viola Odorata*. The flowers of this plant act as a purgative and also possess an anodyne and pectoral quality.

MASOOM, a. *Behk Unjbar*, Bistoot or Snake weed : a medicinal herb given to stop spitting of blood.

MUSQ, a. *Moshk*, p. *Custoree*, h. *Musk*, comes from Cashmere and Hindoo Coosh. It is imported in the greatest quantities from Nepaul to Patna; the Nepaul musk being considered of a better quality, and the duty is only 5 per cent. The duty on all other musk is 7-8 per cent., $\frac{3}{4}$ of which is drawback on exportation. The English duty is 5s. on an ounce.

MOSUBBUR, a. *Elwa*, h. *Aloe Perfoliata*. Upward of 500 maunds of this article are annually exported from Calcutta to England. It is brought to Calcutta from the Persian Gulf, and it must be exported in still larger quantities from Bombay. English duty 9d. a pound.

MURV, a. *Conoucha*, h. a medicinal herb, used by the natives in complaints of the chest.

NEPHT, a. *Mitti-teh*, he. *Napiha*, *Asphaltum*, *Petroleum*. This is imported from the shores of the Caspian sea. It is an article of great consumption in oil painting, &c.

OOD SULEEB, also **FAWANI**, a *Wood of Aloes*. A small piece of it is usually suspended from the neck of children by way of a talisman, or charm of great supposed efficacy in epilepsy.

OOD OL HEA, a. *Naydown*, s. *Artimisia*, *Valguris Wormwood*. E. It is reckoned an excellent vermifuge.

ONNAB, a *Jejube Zizyphus*. It is a fruit of a red colour of the pulpy kind, and resembles a small plum. It is used in pectoral defluations, and is in great request with the natives, who also use it in their sherbets. Afghanistan produces great quantities.

OSMOD, a. *Soorma*, h. *Unjun*, *Sulphuret of Antimony*. It is an article of great consumption with the natives for ornamenting the eyes.

OSTOO KOODOOS, g. *Dharoo* h. a grass to which many virtues are ascribed. It is a mild purgative.

PAIE a mineral used in dyeing, a light green colour. English name unknown.

QIRDMANA, *Calajeera*, *Nigella Indica*. The seed of this plant is used by the natives more in diet than in medicine, and forms the principal condiment in their curries. The seed of its congener, the *Nigella Sativa*, is known in Europe as *tout spice* or all spice. It is subject to a transit duty in Bengal of $\frac{7}{8}$ per cent.

QULLEE, a. *Sujjee Mittee*, Carbonate of Soda,—impure kind.

RESHA KHUTMER, and *Gul Rheitoo Althra Vulgaris*, Marsh Mallow. In native pharmacy it is used as an emollient medicine, and sometimes externally for softening and moistening hard tumours.

REWUND, a. *Rawund* p. *Revund Chint*, h. *Rheum*, *Palmatum*, *Rhubarb*. The uses of this are sufficiently well known. English duty 2-6 a pound.

REHAN, a. *Nazboo* p. *Tootsee*, *Ocimum*, *Pilosum* Rehan : when infused in water forms a mucilage, much used by the natives as a demulcent in catarrh. It is a favorite medicine with the native women, who take it after parturition to relieve the after pains.

SELEEKHA, a. *Tejpat*, h. *Laurus Cassia*. The base cinnamon : this species is known in the shops by the name of *Cassia Legnea*. Various medicinal qualities are ascribed to it in native pharmacopæia.

SHAKACCOOL, a. a species of wild carrot. The kinds are imported from Umritsur, the

Shekacle Misree (Egyptian) and the s. Caubullee.

SHEETRUJ, a. *Cheeta*, h. *Plumágo Zeylanica*. The Hindoos use it as a vesicatory.

SHOMA, a. *Mom* p. p. Wax.—Bengal transit duty 10 per cent., $3\frac{1}{4}$ of which is drawback on exportation.

SHEERKIST, *Persian Manna*, also called *Caubul Misree* or *Caubul Sugar*. It is a natural exudation from the Hydesarum Alhagi, Jewasa, camel thorn or khari-shootur, and there is an inferior kind called Turinjeen, but whether it is produced from the same plant or not I cannot tell. The Calabrian manna is a natural exudation from the leaves and branches of the ash in hot weather.

SOOMBOOL OTEEL, a. *Soombool*, p. *Jatamansi*, h. *Valleriana Jatamansi*. The Hindoos also call it Balch'ur. It is an antispasmodic in epilepsy, hysteria, and other convulsive disorders. This is the celebrated plant of the ancients called spikenard, and used as a perfume. Bengal transit duty 7-8 per cent., $\frac{3}{4}$ of which are drawback on exportation. English duty 2-9 the pound.

SOOQMOONIA, a. *Convolvulus Scummonia*, *Scummony*.—English duty 9-4 the pound.

SOORINJAN, a. *Meadow Saffron*, *Dogsbane*, *Colchicum*. It is a powerful pectoral and diuretic. The s. Shereen is more esteemed, and sells at 2 rupees a seer. The s. Soork, 25 rupees the maund.

SOOS, a. *Molochti* p. *Jethgemudh* h. *Glycyrrhiza*, a. *Glabra*, *Adipson*. *Liquorice*. It is a very useful, pectoral, and detergent medicine, and is produced in great abundance in Afghanistan. English duty £3, 3, 4, the cwt.

SUMULFAR, a. *Soomolkher*, p. *Sunkhia*, h. *Arsenic*: the white oxide. It is found in considerable quantities in Afghanistan.

SUNA MUKKEE, a *Cassia Senna*.

TISI h. *Lilum Nisatimum*,—the Annual flax. The seeds are excellent emollient and anodyne: an infusion of them is good in pleurisies and nephritic complaints.

UFTEEMOON a. *Akasbeles* h. (doubtful whether *cuscuta reflexa* of Roxb or the *Epidendron*) it is valued as an effectual remedy in cutaneous disorders.

UMBERBARERS g. *Zerish*, p. *Zerk*, i. *Oxyacanthus*, *Barberry*. It is an anti-bilious medicine.

UROOSUC PUS-I-PERDA p. *Missi*, p.

Uzq ol Kibreet, a *Ab-i-Gogird*, p. *Gunduc*, p. Sulphuric acid.

USL a. *Sheked* p. *Meedoo*, h. Honey.

UZIROOT a. *Kernoon*, *Lamee*, h. A kind of gum, excellent for the closing of wounds and in gonorrhœas.

UZFAROTEEB a. *Nakhon-i-suddef* p. *Nik* h. A drug, the fumes of which are said to cure the rickets in children.

OZRAC a. *Coochila* h. *Strychnos*, *Nux Vomica*. The seeds are reckoned among the strongest narcotic poisons. The spoliatorum is valuable from its quality of clearing muddy water, and rendering it potable.

ZEHER OOL FISTOOQ a *Gool-i. Pisto* p. *Pistachio flower*, *Pistacio Terebranthus*, which grows naturally in Arabia, Persia, and Syria, whence the nuts and flowers are annually exported to different parts of Europe. The natives of Hindostan use it both as a medicine and a dye. The consumption is very great.

ZERAWAND, a. *Isarmel* and *Berala*, h. *Aristolochia Birthwort*. It is supposed to possess the emmenagogue and antarthritic virtues. There are too kinds, zerawund taweel or longa and the zerawund modheerij, or rotunda.

ZENGEBREL a *Udruc*, h. *Amomum Zingiber*.

ZOOPHA, a. *Hyssopus Officinalis* It is an aromatic of great virtue in mucosal asthma. Zoopha ruttub is also the name given to the fat of the tail of the *dommba* or Persian sheep.

All drugs, not particularly enumerated in the English tariff, nor otherwise charged with duty, have to pay 20 per cent. on the value. In the Bengal provinces those which are not expressly named are exempted from duty.

Bedelium, C. D. *Periplus Maris Erythræi* Pottinger.

LYCIUM, box wood, P. M. *Erythræi*.

MULTANEER MITTER—A kind of a clay stone much used by the natives as an emollient for rashes, &c. it is said to be dug up in the neighbourhood of Multan whence its name.

MIRABOLONS grow in the mountains of Caubul, and that is the reason why the orientals call it Caubullee. There are many other sorts of drugs gathered there; and, besides that they are full of aromatic trees which turn to good account to the inhabitants, as also do mines of a certain iron which is fit for all uses. From this province especially come the canes of which they make halberds and lances, and they have many grounds planted with them. P. 57 The wort, Part 3. — *Delhi Gazette*.

HALLAM'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY—MR. MACAULAY.

No. I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

Sir,—I have lately read Hallam's Constitutional History, and the criticism on that work published in the 95th Number of the *Edinburgh Review*. May I suppose without presumption, that some of the thoughts which occurred to me in the course of this literary labour, may be communicated without offence, certainly without harm, and possibly with some advantage, to the European community in India? At all times, and under all circumstances, surely a discussion concerning any part of the history of the most remarkable country in the world, cannot appear unimportant to any but the stocks and stones of humanity: but at this time, and upon this occasion, there are two circumstances which seem to me to render such a discussion more than commonly interesting. The first of these is the present political crisis in England; and the second, is the appearance amongst us of the celebrated individual to whom the article on Mr. Hallam's work is universally ascribed. With regard to the first, the dullest observer cannot fail to see, that the minds of men are wrought up to a pitch of excitement far beyond any parallel in former times. The timid are afraid, the bold are stout of heart, the thoughtful are in doubt, the selfish have bitter forebodings, and the ardent and generous are filled with hopes of joy, touching the future fate of England. All are sensitively alive to pas-ingerents, and by reason of this sensitiveness, will eagerly read any thing respecting the past in the hope that it will bear them out as to the justness of their opinions respecting the present and the future. And if the subject on which I write has any peculiar claims on the reader's notice because of the circumstance I have just alluded to, those claims will scarcely be lessened when it is borne in mind, that my theme includes in it an attempt to estimate the intellectual character of Mr. Macaulay. That gentleman, yet a young man, has for several years past held a high place in the respect of his countrymen. His writings and speeches have made his name "familiar in men's mouths as household words;" and he is now about to take a leading part in a work which in its mighty effects for good or for evil is fit to mark the present as one of the most important epochs that have yet happened in the history of the British rule in India. The Law Commissioners, if they do not dwindle

into idle sinecurists or insignificant triflers, have the following questions to answer:—What grievances do our native subjects labour under the consequence of a defective system of jurisprudence? On the supposition that manifold grievances shall be proved on inquiry, to exist, can they be partially or wholly removed? Can any effectual means be devised for the physical, intellectual and moral improvement of the people of India? I envy little that man's heart who can turn from such questions with a sneer or a gibe; and he must be mentally blind who does not see, that for the satisfactory answer of these questions there are required intellectual qualifications of the rarest and highest order, and bodily labour of the most appalling magnitude. The results reasonably to be expected from a commission invested with sufficient power and composed of properly qualified members, cannot possibly, in consequence of the want of leisure for reflection, emanate from the government itself, nor from its servants employed in executive duties. All, therefore, by whom sincere sympathies are felt in favour of countless masses of their fellow creatures, must rest their hopes in the Commission; and cannot fail to take an intense interest in any thing which shall shed a light, however dim, on the character of him who must necessarily wield a powerful influence in its councils. Of all the writings of Mr. Macaulay with which I am acquainted, I know of none which seems better fitted than his critique on Hallam's history, to furnish a criterion by which to judge of the nature, extent, and limits of his capacity, and of the tone of his moral feelings. In that critique are to be found those admirable historical portraits for which this writer is so strikingly remarkable,—those sketches, which for justness of conception, and vividness of description are unequalled by any English historian: there is to be seen in perfection, that clear, powerful, eloquent, varied, yet withal, simple and idiomatic style, which "writes down" Mr. Macaulay; a master of his country's language: there are abundant proofs of the extraordinary extent and variety of the writer's information, and of the activity of his fancy in turning his knowledge to account in the shape of the happiest illustrations: there too, we meet with a constant succession of remarks, just, striking and original, and with theories

which if not always sound, are always ingenious, and fitted to sharpen the wits of the most sluggish reader. and *there*, above all, appear the unequivocal marks of the writer's true nobility of mind—not those bastard signs of rank which wealth and ancient descent unaccompanied by virtue can confer; but the higher emblems of greatness exemplified in his detestation of tyranny, his undisguised abhorrence of every thing base and sordid, his contempt of hypocrisy, his condemnation of intolerance, and in fine, his apparent yearning after a more intellectual and moral state of society than the world has yet furnished examples of: alas, that honest conviction should constrain me to add after

so much praise, *there* also are to be found, according to my judgment, false opinions and false reasonings on truly important subjects. That I may not be charged with that vagueness which I own I dislike so much to meet with in others, I will proceed to offer some evidence in support of what I have written; and in the course of my remarks, I shall endeavour to ascertain how far Mr. Macaulay is right in the judgment he has passed on Mr. Hallam as a philosophical historian. But I reserve for future letters the farther prosecution of this my undertaking.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

No. II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

Sir,—To adduce evidence sufficient to satisfy all men that a writer's historical likenesses are true to life, is no easy matter. The qualities of an author's style may at once be made manifest, by putting forth a smaller or greater number of extracts from his writings. Little difference of opinion exists as to what constitutes good composition. Few or none, for instance, would question the excellency of Southey's writings as far as language is concerned; though many would not only question but utterly deny his claims to rank high as a profound thinker. In like manner, Southey himself, though he condemns in no measured terms the opinions of Hallam, readily admits that he writes genuine English. But it is a very different affair to attempt to convince all that a writer has judged accurately of eminent historical characters. The political and religious predilections of most men who take any interest at all in past times are so strong, that it is seldom they either will or can listen with patience or temper to any thing which tends to disturb their likings or dislikings, their loves or hatreds. As far, therefore, as relates to the praise I have given to Mr. Macaulay for his delicate discrimination of character, I would be understood rather to affirm that his judgments coincide with my own, than to attempt to produce a universal conviction of their truth. But to my own mind, I confess, this writer's estimates of character generally carry their demonstration along with them. Before he arrives, for example, at the conclusion, that Cranmer was not a Saint, as his admirers would have it, but "merely a supple, timid, interested courtier, in times of frequent and violent

change," does he not enumerate a whole host of historical facts indisputably true, in proof of this conclusion? Is not a Saint one who revolts against injustice and sanguinary cruelty, and who with calm firmness, at least, if not with enthusiastic alacrity, meets death rather than swerve from the faith in which he implicitly believes? That such qualities cannot possibly be ascribed to Cranmer, every impartial man must confess, who will take the trouble to read Mr. Macaulay's character of him. Again, in the case of Charles the First, there may be those who like him not the worse for his love of arbitrary power, but his inconceivable duplicity, and his cold indifference to the fate of his friends, what man of honor can defend? Now, these, his most striking defects, are set forth by the reviewer with a truth and a force not to be resisted. The sketches to which I would specially direct the reader's attention, are those given of Cranmer, of Wentworth, (though in this instance the writer is wrong in saying "his early prepossessions were on the side of popular rights." Brodie, clearly proving Wentworth to have been a courtier from the first), of Charles the First, of Lord Falkland, of Laud, of Haraden, of Cromwell (whom perhaps he too much favours), and of Churchill. It would occupy too much space, to transfer all these sketches from the pages of a review to the columns of a newspaper. I cannot refrain, however, from quoting a few specimens. They will serve to justify the encomiums I have passed on the writer's style, and the tone of his feelings; and will probably induce the reader to ponder over the article itself. Let me take, for instance,

the following observations on Wentworth, the celebrated Lord Strafford :—

His whole practice, from the day on which he sold himself to the court, was in strict conformity to his theory. For his accomplices various excuses may be urged: ignorance, imbecility, religious bigotry. But Wentworth had no such plea. His intellect was rapacious. His early prepossessions were on the side of popular rights. He knew the whole beauty and value of the system which he attempted to deface. He was the first of the Rats,—the first of those statesmen whose patriotism has been only the coquetry of political prostitution; whose profligacy has taught governments to adopt the old maxim of the slave-market, that it is cheaper to buy than to breed, to import defenders from an opposition than to rear them in a ministry. He was the first Englishman to whom peerage was not an addition of honor, but a sacrament of infamy,—a baptism into the communion of corruption. As he was the earliest of the hateful list, so was he also by far the greatest—eloquent, sagacious, adventurous, intrepid, ready of invention, immutable of purpose, in every talent which exalts or destroys nations, pre-eminent, the lost Archangel, the Satan of the apostacy. The title for which, at the time of his desertion, he exchanged a name honorably distinguished in the cause of the people, reminds us of the appellation which, from the moment of the first treason, fixed itself on the fallen Son of the Morning—

—' So call him now.—His former name
Is heard no more in heaven.'

Many enemies of public liberty have been distinguished by their private virtues. But Strafford was the same throughout. As was the statesman, such was the kinsman, and such the lover. His conduct towards Lord Mountmorris is recorded by Clarendon. For a word which can scarcely be called rash, which could not have been made the subject of an ordinary civil action, he dragged a man of high rank, married to a relative of that Saint about whom he whimpered to the Peers, before a tribunal of his slaves. Sentence of death was passed. Every thing but death was inflicted. Yet the treatment which Lord Ely experienced was still more disgusting. That nobleman was thrown into prison, in order to compel him to settle his estate in a manner agreeable to his daughter-in-law, whom, as there is every reason to believe, Strafford had debauched. These stories do not rest on vague report. The historians most partial to the minister admit their truth, and censure them in terms which, though too lenient for the occasion, are still severe. These facts are alone sufficient to justify the appellation with which Pym branded him—' the wicked Earl.'

Hear what is said too, of Churchill, the great Marlborough :—

It may well be conceived that, at such a time, such a nature as that of Marlborough would riot in the very luxury of baseness. His former treason, thoroughly furnished with all that makes infamy exquisite, placed him indeed under the disadvantage which attends every artist from the time that he produces a masterpiece. Yet his second great stroke may excite wonder, even in those who appreciate all the merit of the first. Less his admirers should be able to say that at the time of the Revolution he had betrayed his King from any other than selfish motives, he proceeded to betray his country. He sent intelligence to the French coast of a secret expedition intended to attack Brest. The consequence was, that the expedition failed, and that eight hundred British soldiers lost their lives from

the abandoned villainy of a British general. Yet this man has been canonized by so many eminent writers, that to speak of him as he deserves may seem scarcely decent. To us he seems to be the very San Ciappelletto of the political calendar.

The perusal of these sketches suggests two reflections. It proves the intrepid fearlessness of the writer, who thus records, with unflinching severity, his conscientious conviction respecting the characters of two noblemen, both of whom have living representatives, and the representative of one of whom belongs to his own political party in the state—and it finely illustrates the moral truth, that crime sooner or later *may* meet with its reward. In his own day, a state criminal may be surrounded by unprincipled flatterers: his power, his rank, and his wealth may screen him from the openly expressed indignation of his countrymen: but if he has any regard to his future fame, let him seriously bethink him, that time "both joy and terror of good and bad," *may* reveal all his wickedness and consign his name to eternal infamy. It is pleasing to turn from the contemplation of exemplars of the bad part of our nature to the solemn dirge chanted to the memory of Hampden. The writer in treating of the absolute necessity that existed for superseding such irresolute and trimming men as Essex and Waller in the command of the popular army, takes occasion to lament the irreparable loss which the cause of good government sustained by the death of Hampden; and I will venture to assert that notwithstanding all that has been said of that worthy man, no one acquainted with history, and whose partialities lean in favour of democratical institutions, can read the following passage without feeling all the freshness of grief that is caused by some great and recent calamity :—

Unhappily the illustrious man who alone united in himself all the talents and virtues which the crisis required, who alone could have saved his country from the present dangers without plunging her into others, who alone could have united all the friends of liberty in obedience to his commanding genius and his venerable name, was no more. Something might still be done. The Houses might still avert that worst of all evils, the triumphant return of an impetuous and unprincipled master. They might still preserve London from all the horrors of rapine, massacre and lust. But their hopes of a victory as spotless as their cause—of a reconciliation which might unite together the hearts of all honest Englishmen for the defence of the public good,—of durable tranquillity,—of temperate freedom, were buried in the grave of Hampden.

For the present I must conclude. I am, &c.

A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLIII.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE—LITIGIOUSNESS, LITIGATION, &c.

Among the prevailing characteristics of the people of India, few have been mentioned more frequently, or in more unmeasured terms of reprehension, than their disposition to litigation. It is a point which requires to be well understood by those who are destined to legislate for them, but which, it is lamented, has not yet received due attention: those who have hitherto presided in the British Indian Government have been too much influenced by the popular clamour, and instead of investigating the matter with the eyes of statesmen, have allowed themselves too much to be guided by this, and the vulgar notions arising from it, in the enactment of the laws which they have promulgated.

Before either denying or admitting this charge against the people, we should endeavour to obtain a correct definition and understanding of the meaning of the term "litigiousness," and to ascertain the grounds on which they are accused of this propensity. If by litigation it be intended to signify that in a given population a much greater number of suits and complaints are brought forward in India than would occur in England, I acknowledge and lament the fact, the reason of which I shall presently discuss; but if it be meant that the natives of India are generally prone to bring forward false or malicious accusations, I most positively deny this imputation against them.

This declaration, however, it will be observed, is opposed to the opinion of all received authorities. Mill speaks of "that litigiousness of character which almost all writers have ascribed to this most ancient race," and he quotes in support two passages: one from Orme, who alludes to the people on the Madras Coast; and one from Mr. C. Broughton Rouse, who speaks of the people of Dacca. So it is; an observation made at two corners of an immense tract of country, passes current for delineation of the character of the whole people: just as a custom prevalent in Portugal or Naples, might be pronounced to be common to the whole European continent.

What, then, it will be asked, are the reasons that this notion of the people of India, if incorrect, should have obtained such general belief? First, the immense number of suits and complaints which are known to be preferred in every British Indian Court of

Justice, and in which the business utterly exceeds the physical ability of the presiding officers to perform. But this is no proof of the prevalence of a litigious spirit. It only affords an additional proof of the utter neglect of the interests of the people evinced by the British Indian legislation. The districts into which our possessions are divided, average, as I have often before stated, seventy miles long by nearly sixty broad, and contain a population of about a million, *i. e.*, equal in extent and number of inhabitants to the county of Yorkshire in England. Till lately, a single individual held the joint situations of Civil Judge and Police Magistrate for the whole of each district; and the only assistance he received was derived occasionally from one or two English assistants who were empowered to decide minor cases, and in some places from a native Commissioner in the decision of petty money suits. Conceive the county of Yorkshire so situated, under the Government of an African Judge and Magistrate! would any one in his senses imagine the possibility of his being able to transact a tenth part of the business which would be brought before him, or to give redress or even listen to the complaints of numbers subject to his authority? Yet these are the circumstances which have formed one principal foundation for the opinion we have pronounced on the litigiousness of the natives of Hindostan.

It is at the same time rather amusing to perceive how we have contrived to turn this state of things into nourishment for our own national vanity. As soon as the British authority has been established, the country divided into districts, and Judges appointed, who usually respectively reside in the chief town of each division, it has been observed that ten, twenty, fifty or a hundred times the number of suits have been preferred to the English functionary than were ever brought before the native officer who formerly presided in the same town. This has been trumpeted forth as a proof of the greater confidence which is reposed in the British Judge, and it has been gravely and repeatedly asserted, that the people finding an uncorrupt tribunal to which they could appeal, now brought forward their grievances instead of patiently submitting to them as they were obliged to do from the impossibility

lity of obtaining justice under their former rulers—it was, in short, “one of the blessings conferred on them by the English!” The simple fact, that in that very town there existed, under the native government, two, three, or even four different officers for the administration of civil and criminal justice, either solely within its limits, or in addition over a small tract of neighbouring country; that there were perhaps two or three towns in the district, in which were established similar authorities; and that in the country, many of the large landholders had previously, not only exercised powers greater than our English Justices of the Peace in criminal matters, but also possessed some authority in civil jurisdiction; that all these authorities had been abolished at a blow, and the several powers and duties concentrated in one office, under a single functionary. All this was overlooked, and the mere increase of business in the single office has been brought forward to demonstrate in how much higher estimation we are held by the people than that which they bestowed on their own countrymen.

Another reason which has contributed to form the opinion which we are pleased to entertain of the universal litigiousness of the people of India, is but an illustration of the tendency so often alluded to, to form general conclusions on partial observation. Every functionary in India sees before him occasional instances of persevering litigation. The same suit, although repeatedly dismissed, is brought forward again in every conceivable form, before every existing authority. In one shape it is preferred to the Collector; in another, to the Magistrate; in a third, to the Civil Judge; and again, in appeals to the superior tribunals over each of these officers. But we quite forget to remark upon the small proportion of suits so persevered: the disgust excited by such a spirit and the annoyance at the trouble occasioned by a few cases of this sort, cause a sweeping declaration to the disparagement of the people at large. There is no country in the world wherein occasional instances of this, as of every other evil propensity, may not be found. We also forget to observe how much more common this spirit is among the prisoners and defendants than among prosecutors and plaintiffs. That a man accused of a crime, should try every possible chance to escape punishment is nothing extraordinary; and with regard to the refusal in the first instance, to pay a just demand, and the subsequent persevering efforts to avoid payment, or to keep possession of property unjustly acquired; the cases of this nature which do occur are chargeable not so much upon the litigious disposition of the

people, as the inadequate provisions which we have introduced for the administration of justice; to the introduction of some laws and rules of practice totally at variance with the ideas and usages of the people; (the usury laws for instance), the encouragement thereby held out to dishonesty and fraud; and to the appointment, in many instances, of men to judicial offices, who were not only grossly ignorant of the people and their customs, but even of our own laws and regulations, which has caused a discrepancy in the decisions and orders given, utterly irreconcilable with any imaginary code or systematic administration. This will be enlarged upon presently.

These are the principal causes which have produced the almost universal opinion entertained by the English of the litigiousness of the Indians. But I again repeat, that taken in its literal sense, as signifying a general tendency to prefer false or malicious complaints, I must unequivocally deny the justice of the imputation in their behalf. General assertions, however, must be supported by some proof — In the first place, then, I quote the following from Sir Henry Strachey, that “out of a hundred suits, perhaps five at the utmost may be fairly pronounced *litigious*.” This was written at Midnapore, in 1802. The following table will show this in a strong light. The first line was also published in No. 36. It contains the decision of our British Judges, and six Native Judicial Officers; and refers to decisions passed two or three years back. The second line contains the decisions during six months of 1834, of another set of English and Native Judicial Officers:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
To all Num- ber of suits.	Decreed in full, for Plaintiff, with costs	Adjusted by acce- ment, (ta zeeh na mech.)	Partially De- cided.	Non suited	Dismissed, Costs to be paid by the Plaintiffs.	Num- ber ap- pealed.
1228	702	327	57	31	61	—
1932	1081	291	262	102	196	101

From these, we see, that in the first example, the number of suits dismissed is barely five per cent.; and in the second, a little more than nine per cent. I have no other tables by me to refer to just now; but I have looked over the record books of two other courts, and find that the average is about the same, viz. seven or eight per cent. of causes filed are dismissed. But it does not at all follow that all suits dismissed are false or litigious, many of them may have been just demands, but in which proof failed from the death of witnesses, loss of documents, or other cause. Those nonsuited are probably almost all just demands: in some, a private ar-

rangement has been made between the parties, but the plaintiffs refrain from registering the same in court to avoid the delay and extortion of illegal fees, to which they would be subject but too often, and which would more than compensate for the value of the stamp paper to be refunded: some are dismissed in default, from neglect on the part of plaintiffs, whose patience has been exhausted; and others have had business of greater importance which caused their absence. It will be observed, that the proportion of causes nonsuited has been less since the new system has been introduced than formerly.

The second line also gives another criterion, to enable us to judge of the litigiousness of the natives, in the proportion of decisions appealed: this appears to be one hundred and one out of nineteen hundred and thirty-two, or a little more than five per cent. It is also worth noting, that on examining into the detail, I find the proportion of the Judge's decisions appealed to the Sudder Dewannee to be greater than that of the subordinate functionaries of the same district appealed to the Judge: yet in the former instance the appellants had either to travel or send nearly three hundred miles, and to submit to a very expensive process in bringing forward their appeals: in the latter, they had but a few miles to come, and much less expense to be undergone. The reason of the difference is simply this, that in the Superior Court, the Sudder Dewannee, the appeals even under the improved system lie, for from two to three years on the average: in the Court of the district Judge to which I allude, the appeals are now decided in about four or five months, and will probably, ere long, be disposed of in less than half that time, as the average period during which appeals lie on his file, has ever since 1832 been progressively decreasing. Two years ago, the period of pending was nearly two years, and the number of appeals from the decisions of the native judicial officers was about twenty per cent. I also looked over forty-seven consecutive reversals by the district Judge, of the decisions of the subordinate tribunals: of these, I find twenty-six to have been originally dismissed, but in which, on the appeal, decrees were given in favour of the appellants, the former plaintiffs; and in twenty-one which had been originally decreed in favor of the former plaintiffs, the plaints were dismissed in the appeal, thus showing a still further proportion in which the claims were just in the original suits. It would be extremely desirable that Government should order returns of this nature from every Court in the country.

We also hear much of the vindictiveness

of the natives, and the unrelenting manner in which they will pursue a debtor, and persist in keeping him in confinement almost for life, to his ruin and to their own loss. Undoubtedly there are instances of this nature to be exhibited; and the Calcutta Jail, where alone, under the shadow of English law, could such oppression be practised, until a few years ago it contained debtors who had been confined for many years: I doubt, however, whether just as many cases of this nature in proportion to the population might not have been found in any jail in England, previous to the enactment of the Insolvent Debtor Laws. But the character of a nation ought not to be stigmatized from the conduct of a few individuals, and whether the natives generally deserve this character may be inferred from the following statement of transactions in one Court.

During the past and present year, old decrees passed at all periods, even to as far back as 1812, have been brought to be executed. Some have been executed by the sale or transfer of property. The following refer solely to those executions in which the decrees were for money, and in which the defendants were arrested.

No. of decrees executed in 1833, and to September 1834	No. of defendant's actually arrested and brought to court.	Total amount due from them.
1,062	1,395	Rs. 1,25,779

No. of defendant's who paid the whole demand against them and were released.	Amount realized from these.
263	Rs. 17,043

Balance No. of defendants.	Amount due.
1,132	Rs. 1,08,736

Number who paid part and promising instalments were released.	Amount realized from these.
721	Rs. 12,201

while the amount due from them was Rs. 60,430, leaving Rs. 48,306 due from 411 debtors, who, as they would neither pay nor seemed inclined to make any exertions to liquidate their debts, were sent to jail; yet these found so little vindictiveness on the part of their creditors, that they were speedily released. Very few paid at once the whole demand against them, and no great number paid any thing before their release; but no sooner did they either pay part and promise instalments of the remainder, or even evince an inclination to make some exertion to liquidate their debts, than their creditors at once consented to their discharge. They were not on the average in confinement above a month each, as is sufficiently proved from the numbers in the Civil Jail. This, on the first of January, 1833, was seventy; in October of the present year, it was seventy-two:

in each intervening month it has been about the same, being sometimes a little above, at others, a little below that number. Out of the whole, thousand and sixty-two cases, which, as in some there are two or three, would give about thirteen hundred plaintiffs of almost every caste and class, only fifteen cases occurred in which the creditors might be justly charged with a vindictive spirit.

I have another statement by me showing thirty cases of execution of decrees upon forty-three defendants from whom were due Rs. 1,576; all of these showing an inclination to pay their debts were at once released from arrest by their creditors without even being brought up to court, although the whole amount actually paid on the arrests was Rs. 590; and this, let it be remembered, is after they have waited years before they have been able to realize their just demands, while every species of legal delay, fraud, and chicanery has been practised against them by those who were indebted to them.

But although I deny that the epithet of "litigious," in its proper sense is generally justly attributable to the natives, it is a lamentable fact, that in a given population the number of law suits and complaints is much greater than it would be in England. The causes of this are to be found partly in the laws and in the customs of the people, and partly in those which we have established. When we consider the difference in the manners, customs, and systems of law extant among the people of India from those which exist in our own country; the youth and inexperience of those to whom the administration of affairs was intrusted; how much these had to learn not only of the above points, but of the language, or rather languages, in which business was conducted, and the immense mass of current duties which devolved upon them; it might have been expected that one of the first cares of government would have been to have caused the compilation of a concise code both of Hindoo and Mahomedan law for the guidance of those who were to administer the laws. To this day nothing of the kind has been attempted by authority.* The British Regulations are little more than rules of practice relating to the forms to be observed in the different courts and offices; while the rights and interests of the people are left to chance, the caprice of the presiding functionary, or the dictum of a native who is styled "law officer," who, from education and fitness for his situation, is about on a par with an attorney's clerk in England. On this head, I beg to refer to No. 27 of these papers. The extraordinary and almost in-

comprehensible jumble of equal division of property—arbitrary and most unequal division—the law of primogeniture in some cases, and all but community of property in others (which were alluded to in No. 18) which obtains among the people, and the undefined rights and claims to which this unsettled state of affairs gives rise, is another great source of dispute. All these must be borne in mind in viewing the present subject; and then my readers will be able to understand the following detail of causes and suits which are constantly occurring in the British India Courts. Nothing bearing any resemblance to them could happen in England; and some of them will probably appear to an untravelled Englishman rather as flights of the imagination, or at best, only what might possibly occur once in a century even in India; but any judge who has attended to his duty, and many other civil officers not in the judicial line, will bear testimony to their being matters of every day's experience. I will now proceed to detail, and for convenience sake shall number the respective illustrations.

First.—A. dies, leaving three sons. His property consists of a good house, value a thousand rupees, and some personal effects. The latter are divided between the sons; but as there is great difficulty in dividing the house, and as the sons agree and continue to live together, every thing goes on smoothly at first. But after some time, as their respective families increase, and difference of interests arise, disagreements ensue, and one of the brothers demands to have his share of the house divided off from that of the others. In many cases, this is utterly impossible, without completely ruining the comfort and convenience of the whole. Sometimes an attempt is made to apportion off different apartments, (which in some cases, where there is room to make separate entrances can be done) this gives rise to complaints of partiality in the division—fresh inspections, measurements and reapportioning are the consequence—fresh complaints from the other parties—and so on. Then, again, supposing an equitable division be made; if there be but one entrance, the jealousy and dislike which have arisen between the parties creates all sorts of quarrels and affrays, with complaints to the Magistrate. I have actually known cases of this sort go on for years, until it ended in the ruin of all the parties, the house being sold to pay their respective debts; while the parties themselves, after having been more than once in jail, finally become disreputable characters, and live by gambling and thieving. In some instances, the dispute

has been settled by measuring off one third or one half of the house, (as might be), and running a wall up, cutting through rooms, walls, roofs, &c.; and completely destroying its comfort and convenience.

Second.—It not unfrequently happens, that one of the sons, sharers of the house, getting in debt is sued in Court, and that to liquidate the sum decreed against him, his share of the house is attached: but as no division has taken place, the creditor cannot know which portion of the house belongs to his debtor, and which to the other sharers; he accordingly, attaches the whole house, and affixes the proclamation for sale on some conspicuous part; and the other sharers then come forward to claim their portions. This is one piece of litigation, which, when the family has lived in the house for two or three generations, without any division having taken place, is often no easy matter to arrange: in other cases it is simple enough. The next step is to divide off the share of the debtor with a view to its sale. Here the difficulties arise which have just been described in the first illustration, and the result sometimes is, that finding the disputes and complaints endless, an order is passed to sell the right and interest of the defendant, without defining what these are. The consequences of this are various. On some cases it virtually prevents the sale taking place at all: if the rest of the family are numerous, and tolerably rich, they threaten all intending purchasers with personal ill-treatment, and with ruin to their affairs by constant complaints against them in the different Courts. In others, if the creditor be far more powerful by his wealth and connexions than the family of the debtor be, in default of other purchasers, buys the share of the property himself at the sale; and he then says to the debtor's relations, "now, if you choose to pay me my demand, I will give up the purchase to you; if not, I will make you repent of it, for I will rent my share of the house to a set of bhungies (a tribe of the sweeper cast) to keep their hogs in it; or to a set of choomars (another low tribe who barely rank as Hindoos), to establish a tannery of cow-hides and eat beef (according as the party addressed be Mahomedans or Hindoos)—"you may complain as you please, I am rich enough to ruin you all if we go to law." The result of this is, either continual quarrels and complaints until the family are ruined, or that they with difficulty raise the sum required, although it may be ten times the value of the share of property sold, and pay the creditor who gives up his purchase to them. In other cases, when a third person

debtor, he of course demands that the Court shall at least put him in possession of what has been sold by its authority; and here again arise all the difficulties alluded to in the first illustration. Yet all this mass of litigation and evil might be remedied by a simple rule, to which I shall advert hereafter.

Third.—B. dies, leaving a mud house value fifty rupees; clothes and furniture, value twenty rupees, to which his two sons, C. and D. succeed without any disputes and live in harmony together. C., an active man, goes into service, or enters into some trade, and gains considerable property. D., of a different disposition, either works enough, independently, to procure a bare subsistence, or perhaps makes himself useful to his brother by going on errands or affording him other little assistance, in return for which the latter maintains him. After some time C. pulls down the mud house, and builds a substantial one of masonry at an expense of perhaps two thousand rupees, which occupies the whole ground left by B., the father, in which ground each brother has an equal share. D. makes no objection, as both live together in union, and he will have a better house to reside in than before. In England, in such a case, the matter would be simply settled in one of two ways:—Either C. would just purchase D.'s share of the ground, or would draw up an agreement to pay him ground rent, to which payment the house, if sold, would be subject; but in the extraordinary way in which the natives of India carry on their concerns, such a thing would rarely if ever be thought of. But to return.—Some time after C. falls into difficulties, runs in debt, and ultimately his house is sold for satisfaction. No sooner is this advertized than D. claims his share of the ground, on which it stands: he warns all creditors and purchasers that only half the house can remain as it is, and that of the other half, only the right to the materials is sold which must be pulled down and carried away. This is often done at the instigation of the insolvent C., in the hopes of deterring creditors from causing the sale, because the whole house would, under such circumstances, be of no more value than what the materials would realize, which, after the expense of pulling it down, would not clear above two hundred rupees; and C. would escape confinement under the Insolvent Act. Now, the common sense in proceeding in such cases would be, either to sell the house, as it stood, with the condition of a specified ground rent payable to D. or what would be much better, and prevent all subsequent complaints and disputes, arising from a rise or fall in the value of property or other causes

would be to sell the house, as it stood, and award a proportion of the money realized to D. for his share of the ground, to be settled by a jury.

Regulation XIX. of 1814, sect. 9, for the partition of estates, contains a provision to this very effect: that if the dwelling house of one sharer be situated on ground belonging to another, he shall retain his house, subject to the payment of a specified ground rent to the latter. It would be much better to award a fixed sum for the value of the ground, and put a stop to further litigation; but the law, as it stands, is rational. With such a law as this before him, one would suppose that a Judge would naturally apply its spirit to the description of cases now under discussion; especially, with the authority before him that is contained in the following enactment; Reg. II. of 1803, sect. 17. "In cases coming within the jurisdiction of the courts, for which no specific rule shall exist, the Judges shall act according to justice, equity, and good conscience"—but no; over and over again have I known good houses destroyed to no purpose by being sold in the manner described. In one case, the district Judge ordered the house to be sold, subject to the payment of a ground rent: on appeal to the superior court, the order was reversed, and a house which has cost more than two thousand rupees to erect, and for which, if sold as it stood, several purchasers were willing to pay fifteen hundred, was actually sold for a little more than three hundred, which, after deducting the expense of pulling it down, netted about two hundred, to the great injury both of debtor and creditor. This is probably a specimen of the introduction of our English law notions, of giving every man his right in the abstract, without attention to common sense.

With respect to the proposal to award a fixed sum of money to the owner of the ground, which would finally settle the matter; and to the observation, that the awarding a ground rent would give rise to much litigation, a little explanation is necessary. Suppose the families of the payer and the receiver respectively to live together in harmony, the head of the former regularly paying the rent to the head of the latter, all would go on well; but after a generation or two, disagreements would infallibly arise, and a separation of rights and interests would be demanded. The number of each family might be a dozen or twenty; each of the one having to pay, and each of the other being entitled to receive a portion of the ground rent. There is cause for months of litigation to arrange the shares, and the respective payers and receivers of each, as any one who had

ever to decide a case of a similar nature will well know, all of which might have been prevented, by awarding a specific sum in the first instance as compensation for the right; and such is the course which would have been adopted by any tribunal under the native governments.

I have another observation to make to rebut the often-repeated accusation against the natives of being actuated by a vindictive spirit. I have repeatedly known instances where the sale of houses has been ordered on the condition of their being pulled down and the purchaser to take away only the materials, in which the creditor has declined to enforce the sale, remarking—"my object is to realize my demand not to injure my debtor: the sale on these terms would only destroy a good house to his loss, without benefiting me. Let him remain in possession, and I must wait, he may be able to pay me hereafter."

There is another turn on the same point which remains to be provided for: supposing it to be D., the owner of one half of the ground on which the house stands, who is in debt, and that his share of the ground is attached and proclaimed for sale. The intrinsic value of the price of ground is perhaps twenty or thirty rupees, but the debt owed by D. is perhaps two hundred. Accordingly the creditor goes to C. and demands his full debt, threatening, if he be not paid, to force the sale, and if C. should be inclined to purchase, to bid him up, and so realize the whole sum due; or if C. allow the lot to be knocked down to him, (the creditor), he will force C. to pull down the half of the house which stands on the ground sold, and carry away the materials: as this would completely ruin the whole building, value two thousand rupees; the manœuvre generally succeeds in extorting the money from the owner of the house. In such cases, the most just rule would be, before carrying into effect the sale, to empanel a jury to fix a value on the ground belonging to D. on which C.'s house stands, and give the latter the option of becoming the owner of the ground, by paying the sum fixed for the benefit of D.'s creditors. This, under the native governments, would have been the course adopted.

Fourthly.—It is very common in towns to build a row of two, perhaps, twenty shops, each consisting of one room and the open verandah in front. The goods are contained in the former, which is locked up at night, and brought out and exposed for sale daily in the verandah; the owner, or shopkeeper, residing in his dwelling, which is altogether separate. The owner of the shops sells one to E. and shortly after, the adjoining one to

F., but in the loose way in which such transactions are too often conducted by the natives, no mention is made in either deed of sale of the walls, but simply that the shop is sold. Shortly after, one of the purchasers wishes to raise a second story, but his preparations to build on the partition wall are resisted by his neighbour, who also claims his right to it. Here begins a litigation, which is sometimes years before it is concluded, and the variety of decisions which have been given in such cases is most extraordinary.

Under the old system, when the Civil Courts were virtual nonentities, the first step was to bring the matter before the Magistrate; whatever might be his decision, an appeal followed to the Commissioner, when this was concluded, it would be brought into the Civil Court, and no sooner was a decision given by a subordinate judicial functionary, than an appeal was preferred to the Judge, and sometimes a special appeal from his decision was preferred to the Superior Court. I have known cases of this nature go on for ten years together before they were finally settled, as neither party would give way to the other; each conceiving, and with perfect justice, that his right was at least as good as the others. Strictly speaking, this description of case is not cognizable by a Magistrate, but it was necessary to hear it, and give some sort of decision, to prevent quarrels and perhaps bloodshed between the parties. Sometimes after, a hurried inquiry, or perhaps a report from the police officer, the disputed wall is awarded to one party; sometimes it is declared to be the property of neither; sometimes it is referred to a *Punchaet* (jury); sometimes it is pronounced to be the joint property of both. Sometimes one party is allowed to raise his second story and build upon the disputed partition wall, with the proviso, that if at any future period the lower wall should be awarded to the other party, the latter should also become the owner of the upper wall which is built upon it—and so on. I could mention cases in which nearly every one of these conflicting orders have been passed in the same dispute in different courts.

Yet all this might be prevented by some rule without much difficulty. The only rational decisions which I have known given in such case have been generally those of the *Punchaets* to this effect: a certain sum being fixed as the value of the partition wall, the option is then offered to the one who is longest in possession, to pay that sum to the other, and thereby acquire the right to the wall: should he decline, the offer is then made to the other; and should both decline, the wall is then declared to be the property

of neither: but this would never happen. There remains still one contingency—if both should have made their purchase on the same day. In this case, the only way would be to put up the wall to auction, between the parties, whoever bid highest, to have possession of the wall, and to pay the sum he had bid, to the other party. No such dispute could arise between the original owner of the shops or houses and a purchaser, as the former would of course maintain, that he reserved the right of the partition wall; for had he sold it, it would have been inserted in the deed of sale.

Fifth.—The same disputes and litigation ensue as to walls which separate yards, which have been sold under similar circumstances, or between members of the same family. For instance, a man has a yard, forty yards long by ten broad, at each end of which is a house. Before his death, fearing disputes between his two sons, he builds a wall across the yard leaving one house and part of the yard to each; but, unfortunately, he neglects to settle the right to the partition wall, and the result is a series of quarrels and litigation as just described, between the sons or their descendants, or those to whom they may have sold their houses. Sometimes a man will make the above division of his property between his two sons, as far as the house at each end of the yard, but without dividing the latter, or even mentioning it. At some future time, the usual disputes arise to the right of the yard, between the occupants of each house, and each will bring fifty witnesses to swear that it is his property; the reason for such belief and assertion being, that the party in whose favor they are summoned, always had the use of the yard; and both parties swear truly, to the perplexity of the Judge and Magistrate, or other officer, before whom the cause is brought. The result is, the same variety of decisions, as is described in the 4th illustration, instead of adopting the very rational course of dividing the yard between them by a line, and allowing each party, if he chooses, to build a wall on his side of the line.

The poverty and improvidence of the people is a fertile source of litigation, to which may be added, the want of Savings Banks, or any institution in which small sums may be deposited at interest. The majority of the lower orders of natives, on occasion of a marriage in the family or other ceremony, never think of future consequences: they are urged by vanity, and the instigation of their relations and connexions, to make as fine a display as possible; and often borrow sums which embarrass them for years, or even for their lives. But the natives in this re-

spect are always in extremes: they are either spendthrifts or misers. No sooner is a native out of debt and in the way of saving something, than he turns money lender. I think, Ward observes, that in Bengal, probably three-fourths of the people were in debt to the remaining fourth: a remark which might with great truth be extended to the Upper Provinces. In England, if a peasant or a servant, or other of the poorer classes, is enabled to save a little money, he has his benefit Club, Savings' Bank, or other similar institution in which it may be deposited. There thousands of the middle and lower classes, shop-keepers, farmers, labourers, servants, &c., although they may have had goods upon credit either for the use of their families or in the way of their respective trade or employment, have never perhaps borrowed or lent a farthing in money during the whole course of their lives. In India, on the contrary, there is scarcely a man of thirty years of age who has not been either a lender or a borrower; most of them more than once, and a great many very often.

It is true the large bankers and merchants receive money for which they allow moderate interests, just as our English agents in Calcutta are in the habit of doing; but the former, like the latter, will only receive sums of considerable amount, and will not be troubled with the petty savings of the poor, amounting to a few annas or a few rupees monthly. Those, therefore, who do save, in order to avoid the risk of losing their money by theft or accident, and to increase their hoard, immediately begin lending to those of their own class, tempted by the enormous interest which is offered. This course is much pursued by the soldiery, both Native and European; and it may be mentioned, by the way, that in lending to each other among the English soldiers, *twenty-five per cent. per month interest* is not unfrequently given, or rather more than *fourteen hundred and fifty per cent. per annum*. So much for usury laws, absurd regulations, and the want of Savings' Banks—to be again alluded to hereafter. The security which the majority of the middle and lower classes have to offer is such (*i. e.*, generally none at all), that no regular banker or merchant of respectability would ever lend them any thing, they therefore indulge present gratification or vanity, and borrow of one another by the temptation of exorbitant interest.

Without meaning to be dishonest (for in fact the good faith with which money is repaid by the lower classes upon transactions which if brought into any Court, civil or military, would at once be dismissed,

according to the existing laws, is a highly praise-worthy trial) their improvidence and carelessness often makes them neglect to pay their creditor. If the latter are on the spot to be constantly dunning their debtors, the debts are generally repaid, sooner or later, by monthly or quarterly instalments; but if at a distance, the debtors too often spend all that they receive, without making any provision for liquidating what they owe: or should they have saved money for that purpose, are too often unable to resist any temptation to spend it which comes in their way. Ultimately, an immense number of suits are brought into Court, whereas neither these nor the transactions which gave rise to them would exist, were there any Clubs or Savings' Banks for the deposit of small sums, and were a little pains taken to explain to the people the benefit of such institutions. Government has, I am glad to see, made an effort to establish a Savings' Bank; and I trust they will be set on foot all over the country.

With respect to the poverty of the people,—we have heard so much of the blessings of the British Government and the wealth which the people have accumulated while reposing under its beneficent shadow, that some of my readers will probably sneer at the mention of poverty. It is nevertheless true. Each district of the Bengal presidency averages about a million of inhabitants; yet in each there are not on the average, fifty men among the carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, jewellers, boat-builders, and other artificers, who could undertake to perform a piece of work to the value of fifty rupees, without receiving an advance in cash to enable him to procure the necessary materials; and this is a fact well known to all merchants and others who have ever had occasion to build a house or construct any work or machine. What should we think of the wealth and prosperity of England, if there were not fifty artificers out of every million of population, who could engage to perform a work to the value of fifty pounds, without receiving an advance of money? It is precisely the same in the cultivation of the soil. The land is sub-divided into small portions, each tilled by its respective owner, who has his own plough and bullocks: nineteen-twentieths of these are so poor, that without periodical advances at every harvest to procure seed and food to live on till the crop is ripe, they would not be able to cultivate at all.

In England, in every country, there are hundreds of master artificers, each of whom possesses capital to enable him to undertake orders to the amount of thousands of pounds, while the work is performed by men who

receive regular wages. So the land is divided into farms of considerable size, held by men who have capital enough to undertake improvements, and to carry on the cultivation by labourers at a stated hire. In either case, a moderate share of superintendence is sufficient; for, if a workman or labourer be negligent, he is discharged and another engaged.

In India it is totally different:—after the advances are made, a man cannot sit down quietly in anticipation that the work will be duly performed, or the ground tilled by the stipulated time: either he or his agents must be constantly on the alert to stimulate the people to their work, and see that they do not squander the money they have received, or waste their time in going to some fair or festival till the season is passed. In the old times, at sowing season, an indigo-planter would keep seven or eight horses in constant work in inspecting the lands, to the owners of which he had made advances; and with all the labour and precaution that can be taken, a certain portion of money will be lost by the negligence or improvidence of the people to whom it has been given. Negligence and improvidence are to a great degree characteristic of the English poor; but the plan of paying regular wages on Saturday nights, after the work has been performed, acts as a great check there: to use a common phrase, the people feel it to be—"No work no with-ell"—the effects are much worse where the system of advances is in force; and in India an immense number of suits are preferred, of a nature which in England are scarcely known,—and that too, without supposing any intentional roguery on the part of those who are employed.

But unfortunately, there is no scarcity of a dishonest proportion of the people in India any more than in any other country. Many artificers and cultivators will deliberately take advances, without any intention of performing the stipulated work: others receive money from two or three at once, although they know that they will not be able to fulfil their engagements; and I am sorry to say that this spirit has occasionally been fostered by English merchants and indigo-planters in their anxiety to promote their own, and injure their neighbours' concerns—short-sighted policy! as they have at length discovered. Here again, is another source of litigation, which would never exist, were the system of performing work by hired labourers substituted for that of making advances, which, however, is prevented by the poverty of the people.

Much of the litigation in India again is to be charged to the system which we have introduced for the administration of justice.

It is obvious, that in a country where the customs first described are in existence, it was peculiarly necessary to establish Courts on a simple plan, in which causes should be heard at little or no expense to the suitors, decided, and the decision enforced with as little delay as possible; so far from this, it is now universally acknowledged that our Courts were so overloaded with business that justice was unattainable. The fundamental principle of the British Indian Government has till lately been to take as much as possible from the people and to do for them as little as possible; and in prosecution of this, one court of justice was established where four or five were requisite: thus, as suits could not be heard, offering every temptation to the people to commit breach of contracts and withhold just demands; which species of roguery has been progressively increasing for the last thirty years, until the introduction of the new system in 1832. The consequences were most lamentable; for at the latter part of that period, confidence and credit were so destroyed that trade and manufactures were at the lowest ebb; while people refrained from bringing forward just complaints, on the other hand false and fraudulent suits were on the increase; those who preferred them, knowing that the pressure of business was such that a full and impartial investigation was out of the question; for what with the hurry of business and the little attention which was paid to the affairs of the Civil Court, even when discovered, a simple dismissal was all that was to be apprehended—punishment very rarely followed.

This was particularly apparent in the shameful manner in which pauper suits were brought forward. I would here observe, that it is a disgrace to the legislature of any country that there should be any necessity for special laws to enable a poor person to prefer a complaint. "The nearer we approach to the rule of granting to all speedy justice, without any expense whatever, the nearer we shall, in our judicial system, approach perfection," in which sentiment of Sir Henry Strachey I most cordially concur. Nevertheless, I cannot see any objection to judicial fees, provided they be levied with discrimination; for surely fraud and roguery are fair subjects for taxation. But instead of indiscriminately taxing all applicants for justice, I would have all suits and complaints heard and decided with as little expense as possible—if with none at all, so much the better—and let the judge have the power of imposing a fine for the benefit of Government, according to the nature of the case and the circumstances of the party who was proved to have acted in a dishonest manner,

or to have wilfully withheld a just demand: the fine to be instantly levied or committed by a specified imprisonment, with or without labour, according to the rank of life of the person imprisoned. It may be remarked, that if the law which allows a Judge to imprison a fraudulent pauper plaintiff has been neglected, such a one as is above proposed would be equally disregarded. It is, however, useless to reply to such an argument: if we assume that laws will, as a matter of course, not be enforced, we may as well spare ourselves the trouble of enacting them. Government has hitherto, far too much neglected its duties; but our rulers have shown a better spirit of late; and if they do not do so voluntarily, they will ere long be compelled to pay a proper attention to the interests of the people. Unfortunately, however, the law, if duly enforced, does not provide a sufficient penalty to prevent fraudulent pauper suits from being preferred. A man who has no property has only to swear to this and bring forward a couple of witnesses to corroborate it, and he is immediately allowed to prefer a suit to any amount against any person. It is to no purpose that the opposite party attend in the first stage of the business to show that there cannot be a shadow of ground for the suit: he is told that this forms no proof of the present inquiry: if he can disprove the pauperism of the complaint, and that the latter possesses money or property, he will be heard, but not otherwise. Consequently all that the fraudulent plaintiff has to calculate on is the chance of gain against the only punishment which can be inflicted on him, viz., six months' imprisonment in the Civil Jail, where he is comfortably lodged and well fed.*

The following are a few only of many similar cases which have occurred within my own knowledge:—A man named Purrumsook borrowed various sums of money from a great many different people, on pretence of trading; but he was, in fact, a mere swindler: on his character being discovered, one of those he had defrauded sued him in the District Court for five hundred rupees lent, and obtained a decree. No sooner was this decided, than Purrumsook sent a common servant of his, whose whole wages were three rupees a month, to sue his creditor in the Provincial Court, situated a hundred and fifty

miles distant, for the sum of ten thousand rupees. The servant swore to his pauperism, and the suit was at once admitted. As the creditor who now became defendant was a man of property, he was forced to defend the suit in the regular way. It was impossible for him to neglect his concerns in order to do so in person, and he was obliged to appoint a vakeel (attorney). This alone was an expense of three hundred and fifty rupees, and the stamp paper, summonses to witnesses, &c., might amount to about fifty more; not one farthing of which he could ever recover; for the scoundrel who sued him was in reality a pauper. He might have caused Purrumsook's servant to be put in jail; but the latter would, probably, have been immediately released by a petition under the Insolvent Laws. Having filed this suit, Purrumsook went round to all his creditors and warned them, that if they sued him in the District Court, he would adopt the course above described regarding every one of them; and thus effectually prevented any plaint being lodged against himself.

I have repeatedly known sums of money, a hundred or two hundred rupees, extorted from rich merchants by the threat of filing a pauper suit against them in the Provincial Court for ten or fifteen thousand rupees. The person threatened knew that at the worst, the Court, if it did its duty, could only imprison the plaintiff six months, and that the four or five hundred rupees which he would be obliged to expend in defending the cause, could by no possibility be recovered; therefore, as the lesser evil, he paid a moderate sum to the rascal who threatened him, to avert the heavier loss. I have known people whose livelihood was chiefly gained by these and other fraudulent proceedings; all which roguery, let me observe, has been introduced by the system on which our Courts have been conducted. It did not exist under the native Governments, corrupt and inefficient as we choose to pronounce them.

This is not, however, by any means, the only way in which the system introduced by the British Indian legislation has tended to produce litigation and fraud. Much is to be attributed to the rules of practice adopted by us, which are at variance with the customs of the people. I must here allude to the rule of succession to property which practically obtains both among Hindoos and Mahomedans in India; being a strange compound of equal division, arbitrary and very unequal division, and all but community of property, according as chance, or a variety of concurrent causes, may determine, and which were described in No. 18 of these papers. It is extremely common for a family,

* I knew one instance in which the opposite party offered to prove that the plaintiff, who swore to his being so far a pauper as to be unable to advance three hundred Rs. for the expenses of his suit, had just received more than two thousand Rs. the result of a decree he had gained in a District Court. No attention was paid to this by the Court of Appeal, and the plea of pauperism was allowed. Security is demanded from a person before he is allowed to sue as a pauper, but it is only security to produce the pauper in person.

composed of father, sons, sons-in-law, uncles, nephews, cousins, and some other branches, to live together, and virtually enjoy their property in common. One or sometimes two of the whole are the managing head, but by no means always the eldest member, or even of the eldest branch of the family: in general, the most clever, active, bustling individual is tacitly selected. All money required for the use of the family collectively; for the marriage of an individual; for carrying on their cultivation or trade, or for any purpose, is borrowed by the head in his own name and he signs the bond. On the other hand, all sales of produce or merchandise are conducted by the manager. Indeed, so far is it often carried, that should one or more individuals of the family be in service which enables them to save money, they transmit the amount, not to their one nearest relative, but to the manager of the whole. Nay, further, so very contrary to our notions is the mode of arranging these matters among the natives, that not unfrequently, should the manager chance to have any business in hand which renders it inconvenient for him to go to his banker, he will send some other member without any letter or even token to procure the sum required, while the bond is drawn out in the name of the manager.

It is obvious that where such customs exist, when debts are contracted for the benefit of the whole family, they conjointly, and not the manager alone, ought, in strict justice, to be answerable for the money due; and such was invariably the case under every native Government that ever existed in India. But we have reversed all this. Should a suit be filed against a family collectively, it is thrown out, and a decree is only given against the manager, in whose name the money was borrowed, and his property alone is allowed to be seized in execution. This individual's share of the real property is, perhaps, a twentieth part of what belongs to the family in general, and it is so difficult to separate it from the rest, that very often no one can be found to brave the ill-will of the clan by purchasing it; and as to household furniture, cattle, and other personal property, none but the members of the family and their nearest relations can possibly know what portion is under the immediate superintendence of ("in the possession of," would, where such extraordinary customs exist, be a misnomer), each individual. Whatever is attached, some member of the family claims his portion and brings forward two or three of the others as witnesses to substantiate it; it is consequently released from attachment. Thirty years ago such proceedings were unknown, but they are daily becoming more

frequent, the people being instigated by the officials about the Courts; and latterly, a new plan is adopted. In cases where the manager has sent another member of the family to borrow the money required in the name of the former, he denies the debt altogether; declares it to be a false demand; and brings a host of witnesses, who in fact only swear the truth, to prove that on the day specified, he was at some other place, many miles distant from that in which the bond was written.

The result is, that by one or other of these modes, the creditor loses his money, and the English are ridiculed for their ignorance of the customs of the people, and bitterly inveighed against for the ruin of justice which their absurd laws have caused. I have known respectable vakeels, (attorneys) when asked how they could instigate men to act in defiance of justice and the custom of the country:—"your observation is true enough, but my business is, if possible, to gain my client's cause, for thereupon depends my reputation and profit;—I would not willingly do any thing fraudulent, but what the law allows is not fraud. The rules which the English have introduced, both on this and other points, are absurd and unjust enough, God knows—but since *such is the law*, it is all fair to take advantage of it." It is chiefly among the agricultural classes that this community of property exists. These now find great difficulty in getting credit or borrowing money; and this is one of the causes that agriculture is at such a low ebb, and of the difficulty which has been latterly experienced in realizing the revenue derived from lands.

It is needless descanting on the increase of litigation which is always caused by the impediments of delay and expense in the way of obtaining justice; that is a point allowed by all unprejudiced men, who have any knowledge of human nature. Sufficient also has been said on the insufficiency of the British Indian establishment to perform the business which devolves upon it: I shall, in conclusion, show how much temptation is given to a man to withhold a just demand, allowing the business to be conducted by an upright judge, and without any delay beyond what the law actually prescribes.

A. on the 1st of January, 1833, lends B. ten thousand rupees on a bond, bearing full legal interest at 12 per cent. payable in one year. On the 1st of January, 1834, as the latter finding he has very profitable employment for the money, refuses to pay it, A. files his suit for the principal and one year's interest, total 11,200 rupees. First a notification is issued, which is generally fixed

for about fifteen days. No notice being taken of this, the proclamation is issued for fifteen days more. After this, it being the intention of the defendant to suffer the suit to go by default, plaintiff is called on for his proofs: he files the bond and list of witnesses, who are summoned and their evidence taken: this may take about ten days: it will require a day or two between each process to write the necessary papers, so that a decree cannot be obtained under a month and half. Plaintiff then petitions for the decree to be executed, on which defendant comes forward declares that he intends to appeal, and gives security, which effectually stays the execution for three months from the date of the decree.

On the last day of the three months defendant gives a petition of appeal to the Superior Court, (Sudder Dewannee) in which he declares that he has repaid the debt; urges that the notice and proclamation were never served upon him,—the court-runners having been bribed by the plaintiff to report falsely that they had been duly served;—accused the Judge of having connived with the native officers who had been bribed, in hurrying on the suit;—declares that the plaintiff is known to be one of the most notorious rogues in the country, &c. The British functionaries have such extraordinary notions of the roguery of the natives, that they appear to imagine that too much leniency cannot be shown to the defendant; accordingly, if an exaggerated and violent petition of appeal be presented to the Sudder, well seasoned with accusations of fraud and bribery, and abuse of the district Judge and all his officers, it is sure to attract attention, and the Superior Court will not only remand the case with an order for hearing the defendant's plea, but return him the value of the stamp paper he has purchased for his petition of appeal and very often, without the slightest inquiry or investigation, send word to the Judge that they consider his proceedings harsh and contrary to justice.*

By the time this order reaches the District Judge, another month will have elapsed. The next step is to send a notice to the defendant to prove his plea of having repaid the money by a certain date, on the average, at a fortnight's distance of time. The defendant takes no steps in the cause; and the judge, to avoid the repetition of an order, similar to the one he has received, sends him another notice, giving him another fortnight, at the end of which as no notice is taken of it, he confirms his first decree, and

intimates to the plaintiff that it may be executed.

Plaintiff accordingly petitions for this purpose; and arrest of person and attachment of property is ordered. The defendant, being a rich man, and as no force is allowed in civil process, easily avoids arrest; but his property is attached, and a proclamation ordered for the sale. By the time this is affixed, another fortnight has passed; and the sale cannot take place for thirty days after the date of the affixing of the proclamation.

On the last of the thirty days, defendant sends some person to prefer a claim to the whole of the property attached; the investigation of which cannot well be got through with a very little management on the part of the claimant, in less than a fortnight. The claim is disallowed; but no matter how absurd it may have been, as it has been preferred within the period of the proclamation, the sale cannot be carried into effect until three months from the date of the order. At the end of this, an order for the sale is issued; and then defendant pays plaintiff the whole sum decreed with his costs and interest from the date of the filing of the suit to that of payment. Just one year! and coolly says to him "your interest is 12 per cent. The costs of suit amount to 8 per cent. total 20. I have realized thirty per cent by the use of this money during the year, i. e., clear gain of ten per cent. on 11,200 Rs. or 1,120 rupees in my pocket, by resisting your just demand."*

This mode of proceeding on the part of the defendant was introduced after the British Courts had been established some time; and it became every year more frequent, until the new system was introduced, which has given some check to it. It never would have been resorted to had we allowed the common market rate of interest to be given, instead of introducing the usury laws in defiance of common sense, justice, and the customs and inclinations of the people. It should be observed also, that in the Courts of the subordinate judicial officers, (Sudder Ameens and Moonsiffs,) for the time occupied in a suit of the nature described, would not be above a third of the above. It is a strange anomaly, that while we are so eternally descanting on the corrupt and ignorant character of the natives, and trumpeting the praises of our upright and intelligent selves, the checks on the proceedings of the

* My readers may be surprised at this: If they were to examine the proceedings and orders of the Sudder Dewannee, they would find that the punishment would be raised to a still higher pitch.

* Thirty per cent. by a good manager may often be realized with tolerable security against loss: on good security eighteen to twenty four per cent. is the common rate of interest: and fifty or seventy per cent. is often promised when little or no security can be given, but in these cases some loss is always incurred, often very great.

native judicial officers are much less than those imposed on the English Judges. It is also worthy of remark how fraud is encouraged where such proceedings can occur in a country in which so much of the trade is carried on by travelling merchants, who pass over hundreds of miles of ground in the course of the year; many of whom come from distant foreign territories, and who are obliged to submit to a loss of money, rather than sacrifice the time necessary to enforce a just demand: all which is calculated on by those who buy their goods and then refuse payment. The extraordinary, absurd and unjust decisions, subverting the customs among the merchants which are given in suits arising from mercantile transactions, are notorious; in particular, the almost invariable disallowing the enforcement of a recorded penalty in the event of the non-fulfilment of a contract: thus offering every encouragement to men to act in a fraudulent manner.

Much more might be said on this subject; there is however quite enough advanced to

induce our rulers to examine the matter, and to enact the so much required improvement in our judicial system, if they are really so inclined. I hope also it will be allowed, that the propositions with which the paper commenced have been pretty well established, viz. that the term litigious, in the strict sense of the word, cannot properly be applied to the people of India; that nevertheless there is, in a given population, a much greater amount of litigation than would exist in England—that this is attributable partly to the circumstances of the country and the customs of the people;—partly to our ignorance of the native habits, opinions, and feelings;—partly to their own improvidence;—partly to the absurd laws and rules of practice which we have introduced in consequence of this ignorance;—and *mainly* to the utter inadequacy of the system which we have introduced for the administration of justice.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

December 4, 1834.

NOCTES HUMANIORES.

ALCANOR AND BELCOUR.

A.—A truce to politics—who's in, who's out, or rather who's in to-day, or who will be in to-morrow, let to-morrow decide—to-night let us dedicate to more grateful subjects—to themes more congenial to the festive hour—to-night let us give loose to fancy—imagination—*cras magnum iterabimus æquor* of politics and reform.

B.—Agreed—I quaff to the repose of politics—Aristides was just—reform is good—but here goes my oyster-hell—let reform be banished this society for the evening. Is it a sentence?

A.—It is—it is—reform is banished and *a propos de bottles*—here's Miss Mitford's good health.

B.—With all my heart, and I will add, success to her Tragedy, but though my wish be father to my toast, I am fearful it cannot be realized.

A.—Why, no, I do not think success in such a case is within the compass of possibility. Neither Charles the First, nor Cromwell, are characters for the stage—and yet I do not see why this should be, for they where both actors of the same character, and the only difference between them was, that the one was skilful, the other an unskilful player of the hypocrite.

B.—True, but forgetting ancient as well as modern politics—who can she get to fill the parts?

A.—What the dramatic strength of the Victorian stage may be, I have no manner of notion, but I recollect no actor extant upon any boards who could answer to the idea which we all so distinctly form in our own minds of Cromwell. Depend upon it, all that was grand about him in nature, would sink into burlesque upon the stage.

B.—Miss Mitford tells us that Macready first suggested to her the subject, and probably she will get him to play the principal character.

A.—He'll never fill it—play it he may—but he, nor any man will ever fill it—allowing it to be drawn with Shakesperian skill. But much as we love Miss Mitford, seeing her in her works, I deem not her's the pencil to portray the dark stern features of Oliver—exquisite though she be in likeness taken from rural and village life.

B.—She is rich in true touches of nature, and character is stamped on all her portraits.

A.—It is—but none of those are Oliver's—by the way what could have led that ass Colman to denounce a *second* Tragedy on this theme? *One* is already old enough to

have become obsolete, and all the injury it has done is to have deprived Miss Mitford of the charm and novelty.

A.—Probably some loyal scruples arising from the reflection that as George the Fourth had caused poor Charles's coffin to be opened and ascertained the truth of the catastrophe, every evening would become a 29th of January in his eyes, an anniversary which, as Voltaire remarks, gives every king in Europe a crick in the neck.

B.—It is a foolish and invidious office, that licencing faculty of the Lord Chamberlain—unworthy of the age and nation. It is a disgraceful relic of the *ancien regime*, the exercise of a similar piece of literary tyranny which nearly drove Moliere's *Tartuffe* from the stage. Poor Moliere—the fierce and angry priesthood—and fierce and angry they well might be—were nearly too much for him; but he with great adroitness appealed from clerical fury to the vanity of the despot—the seasonable piece of flattery of Louis, conveyed in the last scene overbalanced the clamorous remonstrances of the whole ecclesiastical *enrages*.

A.—Yes—but it is to be regretted that an author must stoop to such indignities to secure a hearing—I remark that Miss Mitford has rather blunderingly attempted a similar piece of *finesse* in her preface, but it bears no more resemblance to the delicacy of Moliere than does William IV. of England to Louis the XIV. of France.

B.—She had done better to omit it—William IV. may defy modern Cromwells as she says—but she does not give the true reason *why*.

A.—Nor shall you *now*, or there is no virtue in an oyster-shell.

B.—Fear me not—I was thinking of the singular fact of the head of Charles's staff falling off, as he stood protesting against the tribunal that arraigned him. *That* might furnish a clap-trap for the galleries.

A.—Yes—but there are many singular coincidences in the history of the unfortunate Charles, that might lead a mind of relaxed fibres—into superstition. The anecdote of the *Sortes virgilianæ*—authentic as strange, is one of them. Poor Falkland! *he* was a martyr indeed to the calamities of the times—the sufferings of his country—and the integrity of his heart—the truth of his principles—he was worthy of falling still more—of standing in a nobler cause than his, who, but for his base duplicity to Cromwell, had lived out nature's lease, and saved his country the reproach of being regicides—and let me tell you that it is nor the smallest of Charles's crimes that he made his country regicidal—England is strongly monarchical,

and I firmly believe that Oliver knew that so well, that he never would have thought or dreamed of cutting off Charles's head—if he had not detected him in that utterly unenglish duplicity, which, whilst he was ratifying the most solemn contracts with Cromwell, could disclose to his wife his mental reservation, his secret determination to seize the first opportunity to annul his own compact!—and did so noble a fellow as Caroy, live in misery, and fall prematurely, for such as one as he?

B.—I fear we cannot sympathise much with Charles, whether on or off the stage. But you said it was one of Charles's crimes that he made the English regicidal—I think that however monarchical England may have been, she will—must—ultimately become republican.—She will become convinced that kings are luxuries, and the English are not at bottom a luxurious race.

A.—My friend we are forgetting the oyster shell, and to recal us to our resolve, let me propose a toast—the health of Mr. Gee. *Prometheus vincit*!

B.—Ha, ha.—I will drink to worthy Mr. Gee with much satisfaction—the more so, as I have conversed with many learned and experienced in the law, who assure me they never recollect in all their practice to have met with any thing approaching to Mr. Gee's adventure, in the singularity of its circumstances; and what is more, that the records of trials do not furnish a parallel.

A.—There is nothing in the *causes célèbres* approaching to it.

B.—I should like to see the pictures which were prolated on this interesting subject—poor Gee might edify the professional world much by the publication of his meditations during his incarceration—

What ruined clients—what miserable suitors in spectral garb arrayed!!!

rose in vision to appal him—but they must have bungled the matter most confoundedly not to convict that sharp-sighted, blind rascal, under the circumstances.

A.—No—neither common law nor statute contemplated such a machination—Milton was blind—and Homer was blind—and Tyræus was blind—and Madam du Defand was blind—but *their* blindness never engendered so sublime a conception as that of the blind deluder of Mr. Gee. It was the sublimest instance of the blind leading the blind into the ditch—nay, into the—in short into destruction I have ever read or heard of.

B.—*Monstrum*, &c. horrific, measureless, vast, eyeless—Partridge would quote and mark him at once to do a deed of shame—after all (saying Mr. Gee's personal vexation and vexation of spirit) after all, speaking abstractedly, I almost wish the rascal had

succeeded, he managed the matter so cleverly, and failed only, not like Buonaparte by any fault of his own, but by the want—not of *foresight*—he had amply sufficient of that for all his party—but of plain, straightforward sightedness, in those whose organs he employed.

B.—I would have given him the privilege of being hanged without a cap over his eyes.

A.—I hope some Mitford of the marvellous mob, will dramatize the story under the title of “The Claudestine Marriage,” perhaps, Bulwer, who has sentimentalized Eugene Aram, may dignify blind Edwards into the hero of a romance.

B.—I remember at York Castle they show you the skull of the poor fellow whom Aram murdered. It has a round hole just at the back, so that the blow must have been from behind—much such a matter as Thurtell’s—and how Bulwer, in the face of such evidence could set down to make Aram a sentimentalist—a tender lover—a hero in short after the fashion of novel heroes I cannot imagine. Our scrupulous transatlantic relations will not permit Gay’s Opera on their stage—lest the charms of a high-way and bye-way life, after the manner of Macheath should encourage and foster their embryo Turpins into life and action—surely they would regard Bulwer’s work as an apology for murder.

A.—That he might have spent his time better there can be no question—I like Bulwer, however. He seldom twaddles.

B.—He’ll never do much in the house, however.

A.—No—and I am the more sorry for it, that I had hopes he would have shown that a literary man may be a good useful man of business—a statesman—aye, and an orator—why should he not?

B.—I don’t know morally or physically *why*, but look at Buckingham, what is he doing—bringing in some foolish Bill about duelling! Why he might as well bring in a bill against the cut of a coat. It is all a matter of taste—bad taste to be sure—of opinion, of fashion, and to legislate against it were as useless as it was to passumptually statutes against excessive “pikes” to shoes, and other follies; or as it would have been to denounce, by statute the hopes and powdered heads, which disgraced the females of the last century. The world grows wiser and leaves off their follies of itself, but will not part with them upon compulsion—so it will be with duelling.

A.—All that can be said about duelling—*against* the practice I mean—was said long ago by Lord Bacon, in a speech which as a special honor was published together with a

solemn decree of the Court of Star Chamber before which it was spoken, against the practice. This decree was as ineffectual as were the attempts of Henry IV. and Louis XIII. of France; and Richelieu as vainly endeavoured by example to suppress it. He had a nobleman of the first rank and interest in France, a Marquis Bonteville I think, executed for fighting a duel. Duelling however survived both Bonteville and the Cardinal, and will Mr. Buckingham—

B.—He exhibits more wisdom in getting Fergus-on to urge his claim for indemnification.

A.—Yes, and he’ll get it—I am *not* sorry for *that*, but I *am* sorry that the weakness, or whatever it was, no matter he is dead now—of John Adam should be thus visited on the unhappy ryut. It were difficult for philosopher Square to reconcile it to the eternal fitness of things, that a naked ryut should be mulcted, because James Silk Buckingham writes a squib against Mr. A. or satirizes Mrs. B. It would be difficult to show that such ryut was in any way *particeps criminis*, or as the Scotch say, *art and part* thereto.

B.—True, and if he were, who is to indemnify *him* for *his* losses occasioned by the suppression of Mr. Buckingham’s Press and the transmission of that honorable member.—Poor wretch, how with astonishment would he stare, if the application of the fruits of his labour could be analyzed and set clearly before his eyes,—how would he stare when he came to the item “so much for reimbursing Mr. Buckingham”—“good Gods,” he would exclaim, “what have I to do with Mr. Buckingham? I neither banished him, nor aided and abetted him—I never wrote libel, lampoon, or seditious paragraph in my whole life.—Why should the sweat of my brow flow to fill Mr. Buckingham’s pockets?”

A.—*Plectuntur achiivi* would be the only reply—but we are on the verge of politics again—I see the *Quarterly* and Colonel Gurwood are doing all they can to do away the old impression about General Baird’s being superseded in the command of Serin-gapatam, (which he had just taken) by Colonel Wellesley.

B.—*Yes*,—and the *Quarterly* does more than Gurwood to explain away the impression, which Baird himself could hardly be mistaken about. Baird says himself in a letter “before the sweat was dry on my brow I was superseded by an inferior officer.”—Now Gurwood, to do away this assertion, abuses Hook the biographer of Baird, accuses him of suppressing passages of original letters, and then broadly asserts

that Baird desired to be relieved, and that in consequence Colonel Wellesley was ordered to take the command. This Gurwood asserts without adducing any proof or authority, and the *Quarterly* kindly comes to his aid and helps him out with an absurd allusion to a remark of Henry IV. as to the difficulty of getting at the truth in sieges and battles, (an argument which of course cuts both ways) and then produces from Hook's own work, a passage from one of Baird's own letters by which it appears that Baird being exhausted with fatigue, did "express a wish through Major Beatson to be relieved for a short time, that I might myself have had the honor of reporting our success and informing you in person of every particular relative to the storm." He applied to be *relieved* not *superseded*, and he was superseded, and that is the long and the short of it—I do not deny the value of Colonel Gurwood's work* in both a military and historical view, but that his hero was brother to Lord Wellesley is a matter of notoriety and does not detract from his fame, and might, I think, have been admitted, with some of the necessary consequences of that relationship, without detracting from the Duke's reputation, or the value of his General Orders. The *Quarterly*, however, in order to support his own and Colonel Gurwood's position, and clinch the matter at once, inserts a letter from Sir John Malcolm, written at a much later period, which I think fully establishes the fact that Baird knew he had been superseded, and that there was no "mistake" as the *Quarterly* insinuates, but that he had sufficient magnanimity to confess he had been well superseded. This letter tells so well for the old veteran that I will read it aloud to you. (Reads—)

"I never saw Baird from 1803, when he spoke thus sorely about Wellesley being so often, as he called it, "put over his head," until ten years afterwards, when I met him in Hyde-park. He then came up with open hand and heart, saying—"Times are changed: no one knows so well as you how severely I felt the preference given, on several occasions, to your friend Wellesley; but now I see all these things in a far different point of view. It is the highest pride of my life, that any body should ever have dreamed of my being put into the balance with him. His fame is now to me joy, and, I may almost say, glory; and his kindness to me and mine" (he alluded, I believe, particularly to the Duke's friendly attentions to his nephew, Sir Alexander Gordon, afterwards killed at Waterloo) "has all along been most distinguished. I know both him and myself now."

Now surely this proves that Baird still remained convinced that he had been superseded, and that, frequently; and a skilful flatterer would not have so laboured a matter merged into insignificance as regards the Duke of Wellington's present fame.

* Despatches of Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington—taken, from official and authentic documents, by Lieutenant Colonel Gurwood, Squire to his Grace as K. B.

A.—Have we no news of his Lordship the Bishop? I hope his visitation thrives.

B.—We have heard that his health has benefited and that is news enough to every friend of the church.

A.—True; but I cannot but think he might have employed his means to better purposes as regards the promotion of religion: pray, is he not a subscriber of one rupee a month towards the fund for the building of churches?

B.—He is.

A.—How many months do you think this fund will be accumulating to an amount sufficient to build a single church?

B.—That is a matter I am utterly incompetent to answer.

A.—Well, no matter—the Greek Kalends probably will see the foundation stone laid—but to put a more solveable query—how many churches—very handsome proper churches, do you think the cost and expenses of his eastern visitation, would have raised at once, if applied to *that* object, instead of being cast upon the waters, in steaming a Bishop to the eastward?

B.—*That* question I *can* reply too, with some degree of confidence—I should say three or four.

A.—Four—going economically to work—four—the expenses of the trip will not be less than between 30 and 60 thousand rupees, and for that sum—three very handsome—four very decent edifices might be raised.

B.—Why they are complaining in many parts of this country of the want of churches—in consequence of which they are compelled at some stations to assemble in very unseemly buildings—at one place I think the theatre even is used as a church.

A.—Yes it is. Now if it be not a profane question, I should like to be satisfied, as to the comparative degree of actual good effected by his Lordship's visitation to Penang, &c. and the probable good which would have been derived from the application of the same amount of funds which this expedition has cost, to the building of churches in situations such as you have just mentioned.

B.—So far from considering it as a profane or unhallowed question, I think it a very fair, plain, and reasonable matter of inquiry, which his Lordship the Bishop is bound to reply to in the fullest and most satisfactory manner; as no doubt he will, cheerfully and openly, when called upon so to do; for as his great, and indeed only, object is the propagation of Christianity, he will necessarily be the first to listen to any suggestion as to the best and most effectual means of forwarding that object, and doubtless he will be perfectly ready to explain

how it is that a visitation to the eastward can be more conducive to the promotion of Christianity, than the erection of three or four churches. I confess my own inability to discover how it is, but I am nevertheless open to conviction.

A.—And so I hope am I, but at present I labour under the same doubts with yourself upon the subject—or rather I must say, that were the matter put to me in the shape of an abstract question, on the principle or maxim that of two great goods we should choose the greatest, I should give my decided opinion in favor of the churches, and I should do so on this plain ground, that where an outlay is made to enable a sincere and pious Christian to perform his worship in a church, instead of a play house, I should *know* that some good had been effected; but that where the same outlay is made to enable a Malay to look at a Bishop, I should *not* know that any good whatsoever had been thereby done. There may be perhaps, but I confess I do not see it.

B.—I wish his Lordship, whilst he is to the east-ward, would try his hand at preaching down piracy. What a dreadful business this is of the *Young Rover*.

A.—It is so, and I trust the Government will take some more strenuous measure for the suppression of this evil than the mission of a Bishop; though should he volunteer the experiment of a homily amongst these gentry, I think he ought not to be refused an opportunity of making the attempt. But to talk seriously upon a very serious matter, although we may hang those we have caught, that mode of punishment will have little effect by example, in repressing the evil for the future. A rumour of it may reach the surviving piratical scoundrels, but a rumour from such a distance will never deter them when a prize is in sight. Why do we not suppress them at any cost? Why do we tolerate so abominable a nuisance in our eastern seas?

B.—Ask Europe why she tolerated so long the Barbary Corsair. What is the interest and the duty of every state, becomes the actual business of none, and in this consists the safety of all great national common nuisances such as pirates and conquerors.

A.—True—but horrible as is the catastrophe of the *Young Rover*, and little as these wretches deserve mercy, I should like to know the truth in this particular matter. I fear me the sufferers were not altogether blameless. I do not mean merely in the sense in which the *Hurkaru* puts the matter, that is to say, in employing Manilla men in preference to natives of this country, but in

committing some act offensive to the feelings of this class of men. The *Hurkaru* objects to their employment, and recommends a prohibitory clause to that effect in every policy. Now these men are employed because they have good qualities—qualities of the first rate and order in the character of a seaman; and he who employs them should always bear in mind, that good qualities in any state of society, are not to be found without some drawbacks. These Manilla men being, to make use of a sporting phrase, a cross between the Spaniard and the Malay, are brave and courageous to an extreme, prompt and ready to a very unusual degree, and possessed of that most invaluable endowment, presence of mind and self-command in sudden dangers and emergencies; all which faculties are admirably adapted to the perfection of the seaman's character. But then they are immeasurably vindictive, and of all causes of offence they never forgive a blow—vengeance in that case becomes in their eyes a virtue—now I do not mean to assert that this was the case in the *Young Rover*, but some great provocation, some very strong exciting cause must have existed to urge on so terrible a catastrophe. I think for my own part, if provision is to be made in the policy against these calamities for the future, I would rather recommend the insertion of a clause making it an act of barratry in the master, to strike these men, seeing that the merchant service can neither afford to lose such proper seamen, nor the merchant himself to lose his vessel, in whatever jeopardy the masters' ignorance or tyranny may choose to put his own life. Why we regard the whims and follies and superstitions of the miserable imbeciles of Bengal, and surely we might respect the prejudices of such men as I have described; especially when the tendency of those very prejudices is to render them bold and fearless. We all recollect Mr. Richardson's death at Alipore—no man will condemn the justice which hanged the perpetrators—but rely on it, *that* was the consequence of a personal injury or insult—fancied or real. If you look to history you will find, that of the vast multitude of scoundrels called tyrants, who have come to an untimely end, the immediate cause of the death of the great majority was neither public oppression, nor patriotic spirit, but revenge for some individual wrong, some personal affront—injury or insult—a blow—the seduction of wife or daughter, or some disgraceful infliction.

A.—It would be uncharitable and unfair to assume—for the evidence goes to the contrary—that the Captain in this instance was guilty of cruelty towards these men.

B.—Men who have a respectable mode of earning their bread, consistent too with their habits and education, will not proceed to sudden violence and murder in its worst character, without a motive, and that a strong one. Plunder, in some instances might be sufficient temptation, but plunder does not appear to have been the immediate cause of this outrage. The fellows appear to have run a muck, and the primary cause of such phrenzy is usually an insult.

A.—Whatever were the cause I heartily agree with the *Hurkaru*, that if it be possible to dispense with them altogether, it had better be done—insult and injury towards these fellows can be reduced to no tangible ascertainable boundaries—no definite principle. They may be useful but they are very dangerous weapons, and were I a Captain, I would rather employ blunter but less deadly agents.

B.—Well, well, I object not to that either, but we cannot hope to get man's best qualities into our service without a drawback—I had rather sign the application of the Cochin bodies against the "farming system." Why the devil we should retain that most flagrant relic of the ancient continental financial system, and why put it in operation here I cannot for the life of me divine. It is almost ludicrous to read the dilemmas into which this foolish delegation of the sovereign authority frequently led France under the best of her monarchs. "They had," that is the several farmers of the several branches of the revenue, says the Duke of Sully, "they had their commissaries and receivers among those of his Majesty, and who applied themselves with equal industry to pillage the people." Certainly there never was a more dangerous, and at the same time, a more shameful abuse that every one, and particularly foreigners, should be thus suffered to concern themselves with the revenues of the state; and monopolizers of all nations multiply usuries and extortions in the most audacious manner, and with impunity arrogate to themselves part of the royal authority." The system of farming a tax or excise, is peculiar to despotic states—to Turkey, to old France, Spain, in short, every country under the grinding influence of subordinate gradations of extortioners. I trust now the Government of India has began to act—and to enact, we shall find this evil speedily amended. 'Twill be a better occupation, than reviewing histories and criticising authors.

A.—I do not know that. A critical knowledge of history is no disadvantage to a legislator.

B.—I very much question whether one single useful deduction applicable to the subject of legislating for India, can be derived from all the English historians that ever wrote on English annals.

A.—Why, what think you of Hallam?

B.—Hallam's history is a very good peg to hang a criticism on, at least after the modern fashion of criticism, the function of which consists at present, neither in the exercise of judgment in the censure of defects, nor of taste in drawing forth and pointing out the beauties of an author, but in conveying political opinion, or establishing political dogmas, under the ostensible object of a fair and just critique. For my part I regard such productions as little other than prostitutions of the literary character and office to party purpose, under whose biasing and partial influence, talent, genius, learning, are remorselessly offered up at the shrine of politics, to serve some party, and therefore paltry purpose—an election—the passing of a particular Bill—or the cajoling a majority.

A.—Politics among women is disgusting enough; but when the accursed spirit of party infuses its venom into the hallowed fountains of literature, it poisons the source of criticism at its well-spring, and that which should be at once the food, nourishment and delight of the reader, becomes tainted, unwholesome and infectious carrion.—The political critic, who ought to be the guide and teacher of the public taste, becomes the furious instigator to party violence, and regards an author only as valuable as he furnishes occasion for encomiums on his party, or strictures on their opponents. He takes up a recent work—he opens it, he looks not for the beauties of imagination—the riches of science—the result of the laborious operations of the mind; or, if he looks for them it is only to use them to the low and degraded purposes of party—party—party.

B.—It is indeed too true—history as at present compiled, is so deeply steeped in party politics, that posterity must not look to the contemporary HISTORIAN for the annals of their country; they will have still to sift "FACT" that poor solitary grain of wheat in the chaffy bushel of falsehood, misrepresentation and the downright lying of *Blackwood*, without much aid from contemporary history, which itself will require the same scrupulous and careful process of sifting, with the periodical sources of information of the day. For my part though no *Roman* I like Lingard—regarding him of course with an unvarying recollection of his creed.

A.—Perhaps there is more genuine information to be gathered from Dr. Henry's history than any one of them.

B.—Why, for a Scotchman perhaps there is. He has not the bigotry—loyal bigotry of course I mean of Hume, and he searches far more deeply.

A.—I have heard from very good authority that the head lately exhibited at home as the authentic head and front of Cromwell, is supposed by persons most capable of judging, really to be the identical head of the Protector. If so, I would rather see that than read all the characters, descriptions, and pictures that have ever been drawn or written of that extraordinary man. As for comparing him with Buonaparte—the thing is absurd; it can amount to no more than a *Quarterly's* comparison, of the Revolution of 88, with the reformation of 31; there is but one point of resemblance—they both fought and won great and decisive battles—in all others they are wide apart, as were the

times—the people, and the manners in, and among which, they lived.

B.—As for Hallam's opinion of Cromwell, it is about as accurate and correct as would be the estimate which Mr. Attorney Dicey would form of Jeremy Bentham. Without the remotest capacity for appreciating the strength, energy, and grasp of mind he was contemplating, he would yet be able to discover that the philosopher, now and then used harsh terms and rugged English. A writer fit only to chronicle small beer, is not the man to understand or portray the character of Cromwell. He neither can enter into his rest, nor into his disquietings; understand the sources whence he derives the calm unshaken firmness, or the causes whence arise the tempests of his soul. If it be necessary that in order truly to understand a poet, a reader must have some poetical genius within himself; it is equally so that in order to comprehend a hero, a man must have something of heroism in his own nature.—*Bengal Herald*.

HALLAM'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY—MR. MACAULAY.

No. III.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

Sir,—A consideration for your space alone restrains me from following up the extracts I have already given by inserting at full length the character of Cranmer.

The concluding remark, however, cannot on any account be omitted.

"That which has always been represented as his distinguishing virtue, the facility with which he forgave his enemies, belongs to the character. Those of his class are never vindictive, and never grateful. At present interest effaces past services and past injuries from their minds altogether. Their only object is self-preservation; and for this they conciliate those who wrong them, just as they abandon those who serve them. Before we extol a man for his forgiving temper, we should inquire whether he is above revenge or below it."

A thorough paced courtier could not be more truly described. With such a man, friendships and enmities are matters of calculation. When we hear of such a man's forgiveness of injuries, we think not of genuine, mild forbearance, but call to mind a remark of Hacket in his life of Williams, that "at court it is usual for men in place to drink down such affronts as would scald their throats, that could not endure the vassalage which is tied to ambition." I might make numberless quotations from Mr. Macaulay's paper, illustrative of the various qualities I

have given him credit for possessing, but my readers, I believe, will be better pleased if I proceed to point out some of the subjects on which I differ with that gentleman. Of the writer whose work he criticizes, we meet with the following character. "Mr. Hallam is, on the whole, far better qualified than any other writer of our time for the office which he has undertaken. He has great industry and great acuteness. His knowledge is extensive, various, and profound. His mind is equally distinguished by the amplitude of its grasp, and by the delicacy of its tact. His speculations have none of that vagueness which is the common fault of political philosophy." Had the reviewer praised Mr. Hallam for the extent of his information—had he expressed his admiration of the historian's occasional or even frequent acuteness of observation—had he allowed him to be honest—had he given him credit for steering clear of the bigotry of Roman Catholic and Anglican churchmen, and the no less frantic zeal of the early Puritans—or had he acknowledged his work to be valuable for many of the materials it contains, I could have had nothing to object to such an estimate of the qualifications of the author of the Con-

stitutional History, for the important duty he has endeavoured to discharge in that work. But when the reviewer says there is no vagueness about Mr. Hallam—when he asserts him to be the fittest man of his time to be the philosophical historian of his country, and when he says Mr. Hallam's mind is "equally distinguished by the amplitude of its grasp, and by the delicacy of its tact," I cannot help wondering where Mr. Macaulay found a justification of (as it seems to me) so much extravagant praise.

Let us inquire a little into the nature of some of Mr. Hallam's historical opinions and the grounds on which they have been formed. A very favorite theory of his, and one to which he is continually recurring in the course of his work, is the excellence of the ancient legal constitution of England. This is one of those subjects about which there has been much contention amongst the Whigs and Tories of modern times. The Tories, in asserting the existence of an ancient despotism, seem to suppose, that they furnish a reason against lessening monarchical or aristocratical power in our own day. The Whigs, on the other hand, seem to think, that they establish fresh claims for the extension of the elective suffrage, by standing up stoutly for the early freedom of our ancestors.

The reasoning of both appears to me to be worthless alike, and that of the Whigs might be turned against themselves. With respect to the Tories, no enlightened man, surely, can admit, that because arbitrary governments existed some centuries ago, they are therefore to continue now and for ever! With respect to the early freedom of our ancestors, contended for by the Whigs, if it existed, it must either have been achieved by combinations of the people, in spite of kings or nobles; or it must have been acquired by legal concessions from kings or nobles. If it was proper in the first case supposed, for the people to combine for the working out of their own freedom, the principle is recognized, that the government of the people are justified in carrying it into effect. If so, the same principle will apply to the present day do not require that the government should be bolstered up by the force of antiquity. If on the contrary, it could not have been proper for our ancestors to get freedom without concessions from kings and nobles, then kings and nobles may now refuse to give a nation what it wants: a sort of doctrine which though convenient enough for certain holders of power, is somewhat inconsistent as coming from Whigs, and will scarcely pass muster with the sturdy advocates of the omnipotent of the national will

when unequivocally expressed. But though a speculation concerning the nature of our ancient constitution cannot be brought to bear on questions respecting the propriety of political changes in the present day, it may nevertheless be very interesting and important. Every question touching the past condition of man cannot fail to excite the curiosity of a philosophical mind; and a knowledge of the early political condition of a country is frequently indispensable towards forming a correct moral judgment of the conduct of men at some future stage of its history. If, for instance, Charles the First conscientiously believed, that from time immemorial the kings of England exercised an unlimited sway over their subjects, could we with any fairness condemn his character as strongly for desiring a continuance of absolute power, as we should be entitled and called upon to do, if we could show that Charles contended for absolutism, in opposition to all preceding custom?

In inquiring how far a country enjoys constitutional freedom, we are naturally led to ask, what ideas these terms comprehend? Does it consist in a set of empty forms, or in a smaller or greater number of legal expressions vaguely favorable to liberty? Or does it consist in the habitual enjoyment by the great body of a nation, of protection of person and property as between subject and subject, and between subjects and rulers? If the first of these descriptions rightly characterises the term constitutional freedom, it may be a fine sort of thing, and deserving of record in ponderous quartos, but it means, in truth, a freedom that can co-exist with diabolical oppression! Now, this is exactly the sort of constitutional freedom for the existence of which Mr. Hallam so elaborately contends. Hear what he in substance says:—The following checks on royal power existed at the accession of Henry VII. 1st,—no new tax could be levied without the sanction of Parliament: 2d,—the same sanction was required for the enactment of every new law: 3d,—imprisonments required legal warrants, and specification of the offences; and speedy trials were the right of the accused: 4th,—the innocence or guilt of a man was ascertained by a public trial and by the unanimous verdict of a jury against whose award there was no appeal, and who likewise decided on questions of fact in civil cases: 5th,—the officers of the Crown might be sued in action for damages, if guilty of violating the rights of the subject: in some cases they were liable to criminal process; nor could they plead in justification the direct order of the king*. I will not stop to inquire

* Hall. Const. Hist. vol. 1st. pp. 2, 8. 4th. Ed., 1857.

how far it is true, that such checks legally existed; (though I cannot help doubting whether the lawyers of Henry VII.'s time would have acknowledged such dicta, however much it may suit our modern lawyers to bepraise English statute and common law) but I would put it to any intelligent reader, whether he could expect to find the following passage, after the enumeration of the checks 3, 4, 5. "Great violence was often used by the various officers of the Crown, for which no adequate redress could be procured; the Courts of Justice were not strong enough, whatever might be their temper to chastize such aggressions; juries, through intimidation or ignorance, returned such verdicts as were desired by the Crown; and, in general, there was perhaps little effective restraint upon the Government, except in the two articles of levying money and enacting laws.*" I shall by and by inquire what Mr. Hallam means by "the asserted existence of effective restraint on the Government" in matters of taxation and the making of laws; but I would now ask what inference he intends to draw in saying, "the general privileges of the nation were far more secure than those of private men†?" By such a proposition the writer obviously intends to pay a compliment to the state of constitutional freedom; with what justice I am utterly at a loss to conjecture. What he says must be true under the most brutal tyranny that the imagination can conceive. It must have place amongst the most savage tribe over whom the fiercest chief ever exercised the

most bloody sway. Beyond a certain point a whole nation can never be oppressed. But what then? on the safe side of that point, there may exist such a degree of oppression over all, and the exercise of such merciless cruelty towards *some*, that to talk of the existence of freedom in such a country, call it constitutional or what you will, would be an abuse of terms insulting to the understanding. Yet such was the sort of freedom generally enjoyed by our ancestors (not to go further back) from the Norman conquest downwards. We have seen how Mr. Hallam has explained away the checks which he asserted to exist on the royal power at the commencement of the Tudor dynasty. The same writer elsewhere says, that if documents had preserved to us the memorials of earlier times, (he is talking of the reign of the Tudors) "equally flagrant instances of oppression" would possibly be revealed*; and he subsequently admits, that such a guarantee of civil liberty as consists of "an open administration of justice, according to known laws truly interpreted, and fair constructions of evidence," was defective under the Plantagenets and Tudors, "our Courts of Justice in cases of treason" being "little better than caverns of murderers†." After such admissions as these, rational beings will no doubt be curious to know what "effective restraints upon government" could exist as far as the freedom of the subject was concerned. I will endeavour to gratify this curiosity in my next letter.

I am, &c.

A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

No. IV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

Sir,—Before I attempt to show that in England no effectual restraint upon the sovereign power existed during the rule of the Tudors, and that the proofs of the existence of such a restraint in preceding times are, to say the least, unsatisfactory, I must be permitted to make some preliminary explanations.—1st. I do not hold that the Governments of some other countries may not have been *more* absolute than that of England. One country, from the abundance and comparatively happy distribution of its wealth, or from the plentiful private resources of its monarch, or from whatever cause, might generally have fewer and less severe pecu-

niary calls made upon it than another, and yet it might be quite a perversion of terms to say that in that country the power of the Government was limited.—2dly. A country may have an essentially despotic Government, and yet resistance in certain cases may not only be possible, but may actually occur. There may be intolerable taxation, the national religion may be attacked, or, to the horror of the people, an attempt may

* Hall. Const. Hist. vol. 1st. p. 40.

† Vol. 1st. p. 348. Mr. Hallam, from his mode of defining the guarantee of civil liberty in as far as it is derivable from the laws themselves, seems to think openness of administration, fixedness in the laws, truth of interpretation, and fair constructions of evidence make that guarantee perfect. Without these, to be sure, civil liberty would be a mockery; but something more is wanted. The laws must be equal in their nature. No individuals or classes must enjoy through them rights subversive of the general good.

* Hall. Const. Hist. vol. 1st. p. 5.

† Hall. Const. Hist. vol. 1st. p. 5.

be made to transfer them to a foreign yoke. Thus, when in 1525 Commissioners were appointed throughout England by Henry VIII., to swear every man as to the amount of his property, and to be rated and to pay accordingly, (a) we are told, the opposition became so great that the commissions were revoked, and sums demanded under them remitted. (b) A fact like this, though it proves that the people of England would not as one man, bare the neck to the axe of the tyrant at his bidding, is yet a very unsatisfactory demonstration of the existence of a regulated freedom. Again, so unpopular was the new Protestant faith, that at one time foreign troops from Calais were sent for to quell the discontent that prevailed. (c) That Protestantism was unpopular seems obvious. Paget writes to Somerset, that "the use of the new faith is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven out of twelve parts of the realm, whatever countenance men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth." (d) Latimer, in his rough style, complains of the lukewarmness of the clergy to the new faith—"Out with them all! I require it in God's behalf: make them *quondams*, all the pack of them." We need not marvel then that discontent should have existed, but rather ought to infer, if we look below the surface, how great must have been the power of a Government which could introduce a foreign force with impunity, and which could with so much ease, comparatively speaking, change a national religion backwards and forwards as it happened to please the rulers for the time being. Taking Michele the Venetian Ambassador's remark, with some grains of salt on the score of its exaggeration, it seems not to be very untrue, "the English in general would turn Jews or Turks if their sovereign pleased." (e)—3dly. I would not be understood as denying, obstinately, the assertion that the English liked to be taxed by, and to obey laws coming from, Parliaments. It might, no doubt, be disputed, whether as a general rule the taxing by Parliament or not, did not rest with the pleasure or convenience of the monarch.

Mr. Hallam, it is true, quotes a speech as coming from rich and poor on the occasion of the commission of 1525, already referred to. "If men should give their goods by a commission, then it were worse than the taxes of France, and England should be

bond and not free." (a) But that was an instance of intolerable exaction: and Mr. Hallam afterwards mentions that Secretary Paget, in Hayne's State papers p. 54, gives the reasons why a benevolence is to be preferred to a Parliamentary grant, amongst which reasons no hint is expressed of there being *any difficulty* in obtaining the money from Parliament. (b) Again, the author of the Constitutional History counts much on the statute of 31st H. 8. c. 8. giving to proclamations by the King and Council, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, the force of statutes, and in case of heresy, the power of death; (c) and on the statute 1 Ed. 6. c. 12. repealing the same, (d) as showing the repugnance that was felt to proclamations. But Mr. Hallam seems to forget that in spite of the statute of the 1st Ed. 6, proclamations were common during that reign, and that of the proclamation of 1549 to Justices of the Peace respecting the "sowers and tellers-abroad of vain and forged tales and lies," (e) and authorising the said Justices to commit such offenders to the galleys, there to row in chains as slaves during the king's pleasure, the historian himself remarks, that the late repeal was made, one would imagine, because it too much restrained the royal power. (f) After all, however, are such points as these worth contending about? Admitting the fact of the fondness of the English for Acts of Parliament, does this prove the existence of constitutional freedom? A little attention to the history of the Government of the Tudors will, I believe, convince all impartial men, that the preference given to the decrees of the legislature, the stickling for the mode in which laws were made, resulted from political superstition, and that not freedom, but the most grinding despotism, was the common lot of the English people. Is Mr. Hallam free from this superstition? In my eyes far from it. He always appears to me to write as if he thought the form of passing or carrying into execution of laws, rather than the nature of the laws themselves, is that which constitutes freedom or despotism. He praises Gardiner, for instance, for having comparatively sound notions of the civil constitution of England. (g) Yet what reasonable love Gardiner felt for freedom may be gathered from the fact that he joined the party in the Council, who attempted the

(a) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 22.

(b) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 26, Note.

(c) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 27.

(d) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 30.

(e) We all know what is too often meant by such expressions as "forged tales and lies" when proceeding from the pen of power.

(f) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 40.

(g) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 104, Note.

(a) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 20, 21.

(b) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 22, 23.

(c) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 100.

(d) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 100, Note.

(e) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 113, Note from Lansdowne's MSS.

subjugation of England to Spain! Again, the historian seems to be very angry with Mary because she did not wait for an Act of Parliament to restore the Latin liturgy, to expel the married clergy, and to imprison many Protestant ministers for no other crime than their religion, though he tells us her Parliament was ready to do what she wished! (a) And, (not to multiply examples,) in justification of Elizabeth's proclamations, our author writes, "Many of her proclamations, which may at first sight appear illegal, are warrantable by statutes then in force, or by ancient precedents. Thus the Council is empowered by an act 28. H. 8. c. 14. to fix the prices of wines." (b)

Does not this look as if Mr. Hallam thought the arbitrariness of a law was got rid of by showing it to be according to statute?—4thly. I would particularly guard the reader against confounding apparent and occasional, with real and lasting independence. A monarch may sometimes from the goodness of his temper, sometimes from policy, sometimes from the state of factions, and sometimes from his own weakness of character, make concession which writers may very erroneously lay hold of as proofs of the general existence of a limited prerogative. No one surely can doubt the truth of this. A monarch, however large his power, is not always morose and truculent. A despotism both theoretical and practical is surely compatible in many cases with much individual moderation in the sovereign. In like manner tyranny often assumes two distinct shapes—one of guile, concealment, and crafty sagacity—the other of open, bold, bare-faced daring: so that a monarch may well find it convenient to make the appearance of yielding, while conscious of possessing strength sufficient to quash all opposition, did he choose to put that strength forth. Equally certain is it, that in countries essentially despotic the state of parties, or the weakness of the existing head of the Government, has frequently the effect, not indeed of destroying tyranny, (for the evil spirit of tyranny is ever slowly cast out) but of transferring the sovereign power to other hands. Truths like these, however obvious, are often lost sight of, though it is not too much to assert that the writer who does not keep them for ever before his eyes, will fail, even from the most ample and valuable materials, to extract the philosophy of history. I must now proceed to ask what is civil freedom, and what is to be regarded as a security for its preservation? An

answer to these questions, will probably, furnish us with a test, the application of which to the history of the Tudors will enable us to decide how far the constitution of England deserved in those days to be called free. The definition which I incorrectly gave in my last letter of "constitutional," would better describe civil freedom—"the habitual enjoyment by the great body of a nation, of protection of person and property as between subject and subject, and between subjects and rulers." (a) Without very strictly examining the goodness of this definition, let us take it for better or for worse, as comprehending the notions we have of civil freedom. Of course the existence of civil freedom implies the existence of a wise system of laws ably and honestly administered. For although it is *conceivable* that all the members of society should be enlightened and so virtuous as to perform their duty without the intervention of human laws, it will readily be granted that such a state of things has never yet been in times past, and it is, to say the least, doubtful whether such a state of things will ever be in times to come.

On the supposition that civil freedom of the nature I have mentioned existed in any country, how is its preservation to be secured? The only lasting safe-guard of civil freedom must be the wisdom and virtue of the community, "for who loves that must first be wise and good." Men must be intelligent enough to see the value of, and they must have benevolence and firmness enough to combine for the support of, civil freedom. "The will to do, the soul to dare" must be their motto who would retain so inestimable a blessing. But to give effect to the wishes and acts of the community, to facilitate its exertions, there must be a chosen body of representatives appointed, and this is what may be called the constitutional guarantee of civil freedom. It seems quite obvious that to deserve the name of a real guarantee, the members of this body must be freely chosen, and they must act with wisdom, with disinterestedness, and without fear. Let us see how far these requisites were found in the Parliaments of England in the time of the Tudors. Mr. Hallam says civil liberty has two guarantees. His first I have given in my last letter. His second is "the right of Parliament, without let or interruption, to inquire into and obtain the redress of public grievances." (b) Now what I contend for is either that these words must be interpreted to mean what I have above described as "a real guarantee," or

(a) Hal. vol 1st, p 44.
(b) Hal. vol 1st, p 255.

(a) Monthly Journal, Letter III., p. 104 col. 2.
(b) Hal. vol 1st, p 248.

they are altogether worthless and ought not to have been used by a sensible man. Is it not so? How is it possible to talk of "the right without let or interruption, to inquire into, and obtain the redress of public grievances," as a *guarantee* of civil freedom, unless the Members of Parliament were freely chosen and acted wisely, honestly, fearlessly? Let us see whether this was the case. Brodie quotes from Grafton the account of the summoning of Henry VII.'s second Parliament. "He therefore summoned again his great Court of Parliament, whereto he would that there should be elected the most prudent and gravous persons of every countie, citie, port, and borough; and in especiall such as he in all his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumultuous affaires, used, trusted, and favoured, as partakers, counsellors and companions, both of his wo and adversitie, and also of his triumph and glorious victory, whose mindes and studies he perfittly knewe to be fixed and set in the politike regiment and prudent governance of the publique welth of his realme and dominion."^(a) In other words, Henry possessed the power of summoning a Parliament of his creatures. Mr. Hallam admits that the government exercised an avowed interference with elections.^(b) Writs were issued by Edward VI. to 22 new boroughs, and by Mary to 14.^(c) No less than 62 members were added during the reign of Elizabeth, and the court continually interfered with elections, ^(d). A letter of Edward VI. to all the Sheriffs, amongst other things enjoins that the men recommended by the Privy Council should be elected, and the men were recommended and returned accordingly, ^(e). A circular of Mary's in 1554 directs the Sheriffs to admonish the electors to choose good Catholics. ^(f) The Earl of Sussex wrote to the gentlemen of Norfolk, and to the burgesses of Yarmouth to reserve their voices for the person he should name.

^(g). It is curious enough, that Mr. Hallam adduces these facts to prove the importance of the Commons, and argues, that however pernicious to the integrity of Parliament, this system is distinguishable from Hume's assumption of an almost absolute prerogative, and would not have been had recourse to could the prerogative alone have done the crown's business. ^(h). According to the strict letter Hume may have been

wrong. In substance, what could better demonstrate the truth of Hume's belief in the existence of a real despotism than Mr. Hallam's own book! How vain, how delusive, to talk of a free constitution which should consist of Parliaments without integrity! Let me inquire then what was the conduct of the Parliaments in the times of which I write. And first, with respect to taxation. Henry VII. we are told, resorted to benevolences or forced loans from richer subjects, ^(a). Most people have heard of the story of Morton's fork. Those who lived sumptuously were told by this ingenious fiscal agent, that their mode of life was proof of their wealth; those who lived sparingly were informed that their economy must have enabled them to save supplies for the royal coffers!

Another mode of raising money resorted to by Henry VII. was, that of levying exorbitant fines on obsolete statutes. Did the Parliament boldly remonstrate against such acts? Not one word is recorded of disapprobation of confiscation by fines as far as benevolences were concerned; it passed an act 11. H. 7. c. 10. enforcing the arrears of money which private men had been prevailed on to promise.^(b) Henry VIII.'s demands on Parliament were frequent and heavy. The enormous grant of £800,000 in 1524 was partially opposed in Parliament, and a smaller one passed, to be paid by instalments in four years. Wolsey compelled the people to pay the whole sum and at once! ^(c) After these there was no Parliament for seven years. ^(d) When this assembly did meet, was the sovereign taken to task for so monstrous an abuse of power? The members were silent as the grave. I have already alluded to the commission of 1525, which, as altogether intolerable, goaded the people to successful opposition. But how far the hand of power could go, even this ultimately revoked commission amply testifies. Wolsey on the attempted remonstrance of the Mayor and Chief citizens of London warned them to beware "lest it might fortune to cost some their heads."^(e) Some were sent to prison for hasty words. ^(f). The Duke of Norfolk tells Wolsey, that the people shed tears in paying their rates. Warham's letter has all the marks of the fiscal agent of remorseless, relentless, and insatiable tyranny. It is afraid of offending—it mentions information respecting the feelings of the people as *secretly* commu-

(a) Brodie, vol 145, p 44 Note.

(b) Hal. vol 145, p 46.

(c) Hal. vol 145, p 46.

(d) Hal. vol 1st, pp 285, 286.

(e) Hal. vol 1st, pp 48, 49.

(f) Hal. vol 1st, p 49.

(g) Hal. vol 1st, p 49.

(h) Hal. vol 1st, pp 49, and 285, 286.

(a) Hal. vol 12th, p 14, or 15.

(b) Hal. vol 1 t, p 15.

(c) Hal. vol 1st, pp 18, 19.

(d) Hal. vol 1st, p 20.

(e) Hal. vol 1 t, p 21.

(f) Hal. vol 1 t, p 22.

nicated to the writer, "it hath been shewed me in a secret manner of my friends." In another letter Warham writes, "I have been in this shire 20 years and above, and as yet have not seen men but would be comformable to reason (a) and would be induced to good order, till this time, and what shall cause them now to fall into their wilful and indiscreet ways I cannot tell, except poverty and decay of substance be the cause of it." (b) After all, for the above commission was substituted a voluntary benevolence, and Mr. Hallam is forced to admit, that "generally rich individuals had no remedy but to compound with the Government." (c) The Parliament passed a statute to render all previous loans unredeemable. (d) In 1544 a similar act was passed with respect to monies borrowed in 1542, and containing provision, that if the loan in any case had been discharged, the party should repay the same to the king. (e) In 1545 recourse

was had to a general action, (a) and the instructions given to the Commissioners are curiously illustrative of the cunning sagacity of despotism—the people are to be summoned apart,—soft words are to be used to the obedient—the refractory are to be called before the council—and silence is to be enjoined. (b) Richard Reed, an Alderman, for refusing was sent to serve as a private soldier against the Scots, and the General, Sir Ralph Ewer, was instructed to "use him in all things according to the sharpe discipline militar of the northern wars." (c) A similar commission was appointed two years afterwards. (d) Where were the voices that with one loud clamour were lifted up in Parliament against a system of Government like this? An echo answers where? For the present I must take my leave.

I am, &c.

A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

LORD NAPIER'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CHINESE.

PUBLIC MEETING.

(From the Canton Register, August 12.)

At a meeting of all British subjects, in Canton, convened by circular notice from the secretary to H. M. Superintendents, and held yesterday at half past ten o'clock A. M. in the hall of the British Consulate, the Chief Superintendent, the Right Honorable Lord Napier, delivered the following speech:

Gentlemen,—I have called you together here this day because I have been informed that yesterday a notice from the Hong Merchants was sent to you severally, inviting you to a meeting or conference with them in the Consoo-hall at one o'clock to-day. You are doubtless aware of my present position, and of my instructions and powers; but, perhaps, I may as well now state to you that I am not here for the purpose of endeavouring to form any commercial treaty, nor have I authority to communicate directly with Peking. My orders extend no further than to the Viceroy. I have succeeded in attaining my present residence against the wishes of the Viceroy and the Hong Merchants; and my business at present is only to collect information on all points connected with the British interests with China, in

order that I may send such information home, to be submitted to the crown for guidance in the future instructions with which H. M. may honor me. Gentlemen, I now advice you not to attend this meeting at the Consoo house, for I consider your compliance with the requisition of the Merchants would not only embarrass my present views, but ultimately recoil with two-fold effect on yourselves, and be highly detrimental to your own interests. I do not profess to have much knowledge of China, further than what I have heard, and gained from books; but I appeal to your common sense whether if you once, by an overt act, acknowledge the authority of these Hong Merchants, such proceeding will not hereafter be quoted as a precedent, and entail serious consequences on the British trade with this empire. I call upon you to assist me in supporting the honor of the King's commission, and the dignity and influence of H. M. Superintendents, by refusing to attend this meeting; the least reflection must convince you that your attendance there will be pregnant with evil; and to prevent disastrous consequences, I request you will sign a letter, which I have drafted, and send it to the Merchants by Mr. Mor-

(a) Most men are aware what notions a tyrant's fool has of reason."

(b) Hal. vol 1st, pp 21, 22, Notes.

(c) Hal. vol 1st, p 23.

(d) Hal. vol 1st, p 25.

(e) Hal. vol 1st, p 25.

(a) Hal. vol 1st, p 25.

(b) Hal. vol 1st, p 25. From Lodge's Illustration of British History, &c.

(c) Hal. vol 1st, p 27.

(d) Hal. vol 1st, p 27.

rison; this letter I will now read to you : (his Lordship read the letter, and continued.) It may be that from your refusal to attend at the Consoo house, the trade may be stopped, and the Viceroy may order me away; but as I have all the responsibility, I can only say that from this house I will not go unless driven out at the point of the bayonet. I shall be most happy to attend to any suggestion you may wish to offer; and I again invite you to come forward and sign your names to this letter.

His Lordship having sat down, Mr. Davis, the second superintendent, rose and said, that he could have nothing to offer in addition to what Lord Napier had so ably and eloquently expressed. He did not presume on his own knowledge, although it had been his misfortune to have dwelt nearly twenty years in this country. But he appealed to all present whether experience did not dictate caution when any novel measure was originated by the Hong Merchants; had not exactions on, and impediments to the trade always followed such manœuvres? what good ever came of a meeting with the Merchants? what benefit ever rose from an attendance at the Consoo house? was it not there that the unfortunate Terranova signed his own death warrant? The Chinese, though they are not acquainted with the words, know well the force of the maxim *divide et impera*. He therefore recommended unanimity, and felt confident that H. M. Superintendents would be supported by the Merchants.

His Lordship and Mr. Davis were heard with deep attention, and often cheered while

These speeches are written from our recollection of what was spoken, not from notes taken at the time; consequently they are but weak and meagre semblances of vigorous and florid substances. The speech of Lord Napier suffers miserably in our version. It was much longer, but connected, convincing and eloquent; delivered in a calm and dignified manner, yet with such a frank and honest earnestness, and sincerity of self-conviction, that the whole assembly were at once of his own opinion: and that is all an orator wants.

Lord Napier had prepared a letter and got it translated in order to save the valuable time of the Merchants, and he requested every gentleman to state his sentiments for and against the letter, or make such alterations as they liked.

Mr. Dent and Mr. Jardine proposed a few verbal alterations, and in a short time the

following letter was agreed to; which was read by Lord Napier, and signed by all British subjects present.

To the Hong Merchants.

Gentlemen,—The British Merchants having severally received your notice of yesterday, requesting a general meeting of their body, to be held at the Consoo house at this day at one o'clock.

Having taken the same request into consideration, the British Merchants are unanimously of opinion that such an attendance is altogether unnecessary and uncalled for, the specific object not having been duly expressed, and they, further, unanimously intimate and declare to you, that in all official matters they feel themselves bound to consult the wishes and regulations proposed by the Superintendents of the British Trade.

Canton, August 11, 1834.

(Signed)

Jardine, Matheson & Co.
Thomas Dent & Co.
Dadabhoj Rustoomjee.
Fox, Rawson & Co.
Whiteman & Co.
Muncherjee Jamssetjee.
Nassawanjee Jamssetjee.
Nassawanjee Muncherjee.
James Lunan.
Richard Turner & Co.
W. Spiot Boyd.
Charles Compton.
John Mendez.
C. A. Vertanes.
Framjee Muncherjee.
John Templeton & Co.
R. Brown.
Burjorjee Fardoonjee.
Dhanubhoj Muncherjee.
Cowasjee Sapoortjee.
Dursabhoj Fardoonjee.
Rustumjee Burjorjee.
Ilbery & Co.
Monackjee Rustoonjee.
R. Thom.

John Slade.
Joseph Cragg.
N. Crouke.
Bapoorjee Vickajee.
Nanabhoj Framjee.
Darabjee Hormasjee.
Bomanjee Monackjee.
Jamonarjee Nasarwanjee.
Jamssetjee Burjorjee.
Bomanjee Jamssetjee.
Framjee Jamssetjee.
Eduljee Farduljee.
Hormasjee Blomjee.
Sarabjee Nassarwanjee.
Dassabhoj Rustoonjee Sell.
Duncar Derabjee.
E. W. Brightman.
R. Markwick and Co.
C. Markwick.
D. Kennedy.
T. Sindry.
G. Melville.
W. Allen.
R. Miller.

PUBLIC MEETING.

(From the Canton Register, August 19.)

At a general meeting of British subjects, convened on the morning of the 16th instant by circular notice from the secretary to H. M. Superintendents, and held at 11 o'clock on that day in the hall of the British Consulate, Lord Napier, after apologising in the first place for the shortness of the notice for assembling the British inhabitants together, and for detaining them a little time, which he had done on account of the flood, thinking that some would not be able to arrive at the appointed hour, and remarking that the flood seemed almost to have conspired with the government to prevent the meeting, but that before it was over he hoped our position would be stronger: proceeded to say, that he had requested this meeting in consequence of his having received from Mr. Morrison, the Chinese secretary and interpreter, a translation of a letter from the Hong to the British

Merchants, with the contents of which he supposed they were already acquainted, but he would, however, read it. Here his Lordship read the following letter :—

From the Hong Merchants to Messrs. Jardine, Dent and others, 15th of August, 1834.

A respectful notification. On the 9th (13th of August,) we received your answer, stating, that the copies which we had respectfully made and sent to you, of four orders from his excellency the governor, had been offered to your honorable officer, but he had refused to receive them. We find on examination that the great commands of his excellency the governor have all been enacted in accordance with the established laws of the celestial empire. Now your honorable officer has come to Canton to examine and have superintendence of the affairs of merchant vessels of your honorable country;—but having come to the dominions of the celestial empire, he certainly should obey with trembling awe the laws and rules of the celestial empire, just as persons of another country going to your honorable country, must also obey the regulations of your honorable country.

Now the refusal to receive the governmental orders is disobedience to the laws of the celestial empire. We are official merchants, and in all public affairs must entirely and implicitly obey and act up to the established laws. Since now your honorable officer will not act in obedience to the established laws, we dare not hold commercial intercourse with the gentlemen of your honorable nation, and can only detail the circumstances in a full report to the great officers, that they may put a stop to buying and selling.

For this special purpose we write, we pray you to return an answer. This is what we have to impose on you. With compliments, &c.

The names of eleven Hong Merchants are subscribed.

His Lordship continued, that he had two propositions to submit to the meeting; firstly, that the receipt of the Hong Merchant's letter should be acknowledged by the British Merchants; secondly, that a Chamber of Commerce should be established in Canton, with a committee, some of whom were to be Parsees, and a secretary. His Lordship proceeded to observe that he had heard with great pain that a difference of opinion and ill-feeling existed, having their source in what was, by some, considered a delay on the part of the gentleman who first received on the 11th instant the Viceroy's four letters to the Hong Merchants, in

sending translations of those letters round for general perusal; respecting those letters and their delivery, he felt bound, in common candour to that gentleman, Mr. Jardine, to say a few words. His Lordship said that Mr. Jardine had occasion to see him on business, when he (Mr. J.) stated that four edicts had been received. In the course of conversation his Lordship remarked that although he did not receive the edicts it would be as well to have copies of them to send home to his sovereign. And his Lordship further said that if making these copies occasioned any delay, that delay ought to be attributed to himself; and as to the advice which his Lordship had given on the 11th instant, respecting the receipt of letters from the Hong Merchants, that advice had been unanimously approved and adopted by the British Merchants themselves. His Lordship then again referred to the establishment of a Chamber of Commerce, in order that the affairs and interests of British Merchants might be put into a course of regular management, and a proper channel of communication be opened with himself and with the Hong Merchants on all points connected with those interests. His Lordship observed he was happy to hear there was a gentleman present who, from the knowledge he possessed would be able to point out the proper course of proceeding on the occasion. His Lordship then observed there remained a very painful subject for him to notice, but, however painful, it was, nevertheless, his duty to notice it. He had heard of it since his arrival—and he had heard of it before his arrival—he had heard of it in England; his instructions alluded to it; even the benevolent heart of our gracious king had been moved to notice it: this was, the dissensions and animosity that existed in the British mercantile community of Canton. His Lordship observed he was directed to exhort them all to concord. Here his Lordship read the following paragraph from his instructions :

Extract from His Majesty's Instructions.

“ We do require and enjoin you to watch over and protect the interest of our subjects resident at, and resorting to, the empire of China for the purposes of trade; and to afford to them all such advice, information, and assistance as it may be in your power to give, with a view to the safe and successful conduct of their commercial transactions; and to the utmost of your ability to protect them in the peaceable prosecutions of all lawful enterprises;—and by the exertion of your utmost influence and authority, to adjust by arbitration or persuasion, all dis-

putes in which our subjects may be there engaged with one another."

His Lordship feelingly lamented that such dissensions should exist, and the British subjects in Canton not live in their own homes in respect and quietness, and enjoy and improve their present advantages. They were formerly, in some degree, subject to the E. I. Company, but now they stood upon that independent ground which had been the object of their cherished hopes; these hopes had been realized: this independent ground had been attained, and the proper use of it now remained with themselves. He begged for the sake of H. M.'s good intentions towards them—for their own sakes,—and also for a slight feeling on behalf of himself and his present position, that all disagreements should be arranged and cordiality be the feeling amongst the British merchants in Canton, as their own interests would, undoubtedly, be best promoted by union and good fellowship; for himself, his Lordship continued, he could only say he was always ready at all hours, night or day, to attend to all, either in personal conference, or by written communications. His instructions were to watch over and protect their interests; he was wholly and totally impartial, and he despised with the utmost venom his breast was capable of feeling, that man, who indulged the thought that he could be biassed by any party-spirit. His Lordship then said he had never thought for one moment affairs would proceed as quietly in Canton as heretofore. But he trusted, when they (the Merchants) wrote home to their friends they would not have to say he had refused any of them justice, or been regardless of their interests.

"Gentlemen," said his Lordship, "H. M.'s ship will return to her former anchorage." His Lordship then stated he had conferred with Captain Chads, who had readily come into his opinion; that the *Andromache* should proceed to sea, and cruise for about a week, and then return to Chuen-pe; and Captain Chads had promised, in the event of falling in with H. M. S. *Imogene*, he would communicate to Captain Blackwood, his senior officer, the wishes of his Lordship. It had been his Lordship's object, by the sailing of the *Andromache*, to feel the pulse of the Chinese, and that object had been attained. Their demands had become more manifest and absolute. "The trade is already, or about to be stopped," his Lordship observed, "and of course you know what for; it is because I will not go down to Macao." He continued to say, the Chinese were alike ignorant of the return of the *Andromache* and the arrival of the

Imogene. He expected the return of these two ships would operate on the Viceroy and Hong Merchants; and when the merchants formed themselves into a committee, they would exhibit a more imposing attitude, and show the Chinese the advantages were not altogether on their side. If, however, it was thought necessary, H. M.'s ships should come up to Whampoa; and, if their presence there was not sufficient protection, they should anchor under the walls of the town; his Lordship conceived the local government would speedily alter its proceedings; that, however, remained to be proved. It only rested for his Lordship again to recommend the formation of a Chamber of Commerce, and he read the following plan for its formation:—

Suggestions for the consideration of the Merchants.

1. The Merchants to hold a general meeting here this day at 1 o'clock, for the purpose of forming themselves into a Chamber of Commerce.

2. To ballot for a committee of —, of whom are to be — Parsees.

3. Committee, when chosen, to appoint a secretary by majority of votes, either from their own body, or from the general body of the merchants.

4. If the secretary is chosen from the committee, another committee-man to be chosen by ballot.

5. Answer to be given by the general meeting to the letter of the Hong Merchants of yesterday.

6. The committee to meet and draw up general regulations; namely:

1. For management of general business.
2. For correspondence with the Superintendents.
3. For correspondence with the Hong Merchants.

7. These regulations to be laid before a general meeting for their approval as soon as possible.

8. The first committee to continue on trial for — weeks

N. B. When the committee are at leisure, the Superintendents will confer with them as to accommodation.

(Signed) NAPIER.

Canton, August 16, 1834.

His Lordship then said that the hall of this house should be at all times at the service of the Chamber of Commerce, if required. He had heard that there was a subscription reading room in Canton, and perhaps the Chamber would rather meet there; but whether they met in that room or this hall, he recommended that they immediately procure writing desks, &c. with

locks and keys in charge of their secretary, to be kept in their place of meeting.

A few rambling desultory observations were made by various persons when his Lordship had finished speaking, which his Lordship checked, as they tended apparently to no good result, nor the establishment of that harmony which his Lordship has so much at heart, and had so strongly recommended. His Lordship, having left the chair, recommended Mr. Fox, as a proper person to preside at the meeting of the Merchants; that gentleman, therefore, with the general consent, took the chair, and the meeting proceeded to pass the following resolutions:

At a meeting of the British Merchants of Canton, held this day in the hall of H. M.'s Superintendents, Mr. Fox in the chair, it was —

Proposed by Mr. Jardine, seconded by Mr. Dent, and carried unanimously;—That the letter from the Hong Merchants to the British Merchants of Canton, intimating the possible stoppage of the trade, should be at once acknowledged by informing them that as it refers to official matters, over which we have no control, we could not notice it.

Proposed by Mr. Jardine, seconded by Mr. Whiteman, and carried unanimously;—That in accordance with the suggestions of Lord Napier, regarding the establishment of a Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Geddard be requested to draw out a scheme for the formation of the same, and when ready, to submit it to a public meeting;—and that Mr. Boyd be requested to act as secretary in the interim.

(Signed) THOS. FOX, *Chairman.*

WM. S. BOYD, *Sec. pro temp.*

Canton, August 16, 1834.

Answer to the Hong Merchants.

Gentlemen,—We have received your letter of the 15th instant, and as it contains official matter over which we have no control, the communication cannot be noticed beyond a mere acknowledgment thereof.

(Signed as the letter of 11th August.)

Before the meeting adjourned there was a conversation amongst the merchants on certain parts of Lord Napier's speech; and there was a general feeling extant of the propriety of attending to his Lordship's strenuous recommendations: the meeting separated with the declared intention of acting with unanimity on all future occasions.

CHOPS FROM THE VICEROY AND HOPPO TO THE HONG MERCANTS.

(From the Canton Register, August 19.)

Referring to the invitation of the Hong Merchants to the British Merchants to meet the whole Hong in the Consol house at 10 o'clock on the 11th instant, and the refusal of

the British Merchants,—after having heard the sentiments of Lord Napier, as detailed in the preceding pages, to attend the meeting, we now lay before our readers translations of some Chops from the Viceroy and Hoppo to the Hong Merchants, which were sent by the latter to the British Merchants on Monday last.

The first document, which we think unnecessary to publish at length—and indeed, we have curtailed the whole, as containing a great deal too much useless verbiage and repetition—is a letter from the Hong Merchants, dated on the 11th instant, in which they state that our “honorable officer” had refused several times to see them, and receive the “government orders.” Consequently, they had not been able to return any report to the Viceroy, who, they say, “for their not being able to enjoin the orders, will inflict punishment, which it will be impossible for them to sustain.” As the British Merchants had refused to meet them at the Consol house, they forwarded the four orders of H. E. the governor, praying the British Merchants to inform their honorable officer of the contents. The following is the first document.

“Loo, Governor of Canton, &c. to the Hong Merchants.

“The Hee (or the naval officer) of the Heangshan district, with others has reported ‘that an English war vessel, having on board one barbarian eye, had anchored at Cabreta point. On inquiry, it was stated, that he was to examine and have superintendence of the said nation's merchant vessels coming to Canton to trade, &c. As duty requires, a report is made.’

“According to this, I have examined and find, that hitherto, outside barbarians trading at Canton have only had *taepans* (chief supercargoes,) buying and selling goods. They have been permitted to request permits, and then come to Canton. But ordinarily they have only had permission to reside at Macao. The English have traded at Canton upwards of a hundred years; and with regard to all the regulations, there had long been mutual tranquillity. The said Hong Merchants before reported that this year the English Company is dissolved. The barbarian eye who has now come, is of course, for the superintendence and examination of this business. But the barbarian eye is not comparable with the *taepans*. If he wish to come to Canton, it will be necessary to make first a clear report, requesting the imperial will on the subject. As to the commercial affairs, if there be circumstances absolutely requiring the establishment of other regula-

tions, a petition of requests must also be sent, after inquiry and deliberation on the part of Hong Merchants, through them; that a memorial may be prepared, and obedience called for.

"Uniting these circumstances, this order is issued. When the order is received by the said merchants, let them immediately go in person to Macao, and ascertain clearly from the barbarian *eye*, for what he has come to Canton province. Let them also inquire fully and minutely as to what other regulations require to be now established, since this year the said nation's company has been dissolved. Then let them report in answer, to afford evidence on which to make a plain and full memorial, for directions as to what conduct is to be observed and to what obedience is to be required.

"And let them authoritatively enjoin the established laws of the *celestial empire*, that with exception of the *taepans* and other barbarian merchants trading at Canton, none can be permitted to come to Canton, without a report having been made, and the *mandate* received. The said barbarian *eye*, having to examine concerning, and superintending the affairs of commerce, may reside at Macao. If he wishes to come to Canton, he must inform the said merchants, that they may previously petition me, the governor, and I will by post-conveyance send a memorial, and all must respectfully wait till the mandate of the great emperor has been received. Then orders will be issued to require obedience. Oppose not! a special order."

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 15th day, (July 21, 1834.)

We can discover nothing very alarming in this letter; the governor appears to be a little prudish, and fearful of the coming change in his condition; there is no doubt, however, but that he will soon be reconciled to his new friend: the coincidence of his opinion with those expressed in the *Quarterly Review* and *Morning Post*, that "the barbarian *eye* is not comparable with the *taepans*" is remarkable; there must be a communion of souls between this trio, the two editors and *Loo-tayin*.

The governor in his second letter, after repeating part of the first, and referring to the past days of tranquillity, and ordering the merchants, linguists and compradors to instruct the "new-come barbarians in all things," proceeds to remark that hitherto the foreigners coming to Canton have been permitted to request and receive leave from the *Hoppo*; and he then observes—

"On this occasion, the barbarian *eye* (that is, headman, principal-man) Lord Napier,

has come to Canton, without having at all resided at Macao, to wait for orders. Nor has he requested or received a permit from the superintendent of customs; but has hastily come up to Canton. A great infringement of the established laws! The custom-house writers and others, who presumed to admit him to enter, are sent, with a communication, requiring their trial. But in tender consideration for the said barbarian *eye* being a new comer, and unacquainted with the statutes and laws of the *celestial empire*, I will not strictly investigate. But it is not expedient that the said barbarian *eye* should long remain at Canton provincial city: it must be required, that, when the commercial business regarding which he has to inquire and hold jurisdiction is finished, he immediately return to Macao. And hereafter, without having requested and obtained a permit, he cannot be permitted to come to Canton.

"As to the object of the said barbarian *eye's* coming to Canton, it is for commercial business. The *celestial empire* appoints officers—civil ones to rule the people—military ones to intimidate the wicked. The petty affairs of commerce are to be directed by the merchants themselves. The officers have nothing to hear on the subject. In the trade of the said barbarians, if there are any changes to be made in regulations, &c., in all cases, the said merchants are to consult together, and make a joint statement to the superintendent of customs and to my office. Whether (the proposals) shall be allowed or disallowed must be learned by waiting for a reply publicly. If any affair to be newly commenced, it is requisite to wait till a respectful memorial be made, clearly reporting to the great emperor, and his *mandate* received. Then it may be commenced, and orders may be issued requiring obedience.

"The great ministers of the *celestial empire* are not permitted to have private intercourse by letter with outside barbarians. If the said barbarian *eye* throws in private letters, I, the governor, will not at all receive or look at them.

"With regard to the barbarian factory of the company, without the walls of the city, it is a place of temporary residence for barbarians coming to Canton to trade. They are permitted only to eat, sleep, buy, and sell in the factories. They are not permitted to bring up wives and daughters; nor are they permitted to go out to ramble about. All these are points decided by fixed and certain laws and statutes; which will not bear to be confusedly transgressed.

"To sum up: the nation has its laws; it is so every where. Even England has its laws

how much more the *celestial empire*! How flaming bright are its great laws and ordinances. More terrible than the awful thunderbolt! Under this whole bright heaven, none dares to disobey them. Under its shelter are the four seas. Subject to its soothing care are the ten thousand kingdoms. The said barbarian *eye*, having come over a sea of several myriads of miles in extent, to examine and have superintendence of affairs, must be a man thoroughly acquainted with the principles of high dignity; and in his person he sustains the duties of an officer—an '*eye*'. He must necessarily in every affair act in accordance with reason: then only can he control and restrain the barbarian merchants.

"I, the governor, looking up, will embody the extreme wish of the *great emperor* to cherish with tenderness the men from a distance: and assuredly I will not treat slightly the outside barbarians. But the *national laws* are extremely strict and close-drawn; we dare not in the least transgress. Let the said barbarian *eye* be very careful not to listen to the artful instigations of evil men, enticing him, until he fails of the object of the said nation's king in sending him so far.

"Uniting all, I issue this order to be enjoined. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately act in obedience to it, and enjoin the order on the said barbarian *eye*, that may know it thoroughly.—Oppose it not.

"The said merchants have had intercourse with the barbarians for many years. Their knowledge of their language and feelings must be good. The linguists and compradors are more closely allied to the barbarians. If they truly explain clearly, opening and guiding the understanding, the said barbarian *eye* assuredly cannot but obey. If there should be disobedience and opposition, it must be owing to the bad management of the said merchants, and to the instigation of the linguists. Assuredly, the said merchants shall be reported against that they may be punished; and on the linguists the laws shall instantly be put in full force.* Their respectability—their lives are concerned. Tremble fearfully hereat. Make not repentance (necessary). These are the orders."

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 21st day. (July 27, 1834.)

The third order, dated July 30, 1834, repeats, as usual, the former orders. Lord Napier's coming to Canton, without having first petitioned for permission, the governor says "is, indeed, a great infringement of the

laws. Considering that the said barbarian *eye* has but newly arrived, and is unacquainted with the dignity of the statutes of the *celestial empire*, he is absolved from strict investigation." He again blames the merchants, and threatens to report them to the emperor, but yet, indulgently, "once more commands urgent haste." He says "the barbarian *eye* must immediately set off and leave the port, and not stop in the foreign factories outside the city, loitering about."—"The affair concerns the national dignity. I, the governor, will be able only to report against the said merchants, that they may be brought to trial." He then tells them to "tremble."

The fourth document contains the following report to the Hoppo of the arrival of H. M.'s Superintendents in Canton.

"On the 19th day, 6th of the moon, in the 14th year of Taoukwang. (July 25,) I received the following communication from Chung, superintendent of the Canton maritime customs;—

"The '*domestics*' at the custom-house station behind the factories (on the river side, in front,) have reported as follows:—

"In examining we perceived, during the night of the 18th of the present moon, about midnight, the arrival of a barbarian ship's boat at Canton, bringing four English devils, who went into the barbarian factories to reside. After having searched and examined, we could find no permit or pass. And having heard by report that there is at present a ship-of-war of the said nation anchored in the outer seas; but not having been able to learn for what purpose, we think that such coming as this is manifestly a clandestine stealing into Canton. Whether or not the Hong Merchants and linguists are in any way consorting with them, we must, making our report, request you, as our duty requires, to examine. This is a list of the four barbarians' names: Lord Napier, who we hear is a war commander, Davis, Morrison, Robinson."

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 25th day. (July 31, 1834.)

This report the Hoppo communicates to the Viceroy, repeats the usual story of the old regulations, complains of the neglect of the Hong Merchants and linguists, and ends with "again issuing his strict orders to the Hong Merchants to examine and reply." Here the governor again takes up his pencil, and tells the merchants to "immediately obey, and in accordance with the tenor of the several previous orders, ascertain clearly for what the said barbarian *eye* has come to Canton, and why, in disobedience to the regulations,

* A phrase for capital punishment.

he has not requested a red permit. Let them instantly—the same day—report in answer. At the same time, let them order and compel him immediately, with speed, to return to Macao, and reside there, waiting till the governor have made a prepared report, to request the imperial will to be made known, that it may be obeyed. He must not linger about at Canton. Should there be any opposition, the said merchants will be held solely responsible. Tremble hereat—intensely tremble. These are the orders.”

Taoukwang, 14th year, 6th moon, 25th day. (July 31, 1834.)

Now, uniting all these circumstances, to use a favorite phrase of the governor, what conclusion is to be drawn? simply that the local government will soon fall in with the new system of things. The advantages of having a controlling British authority in Canton, or elsewhere, both the emperor and his officers will quickly discover the tone of these edicts are anything but *repulsive*; steadiness, quiet, and union on the part of the British will have the desired and deserved effect. Let us understand no communication from the government or the merchants but what is for our own interest; it is easy to say *puhtung*—no can understand. It is their own way. They will not act: and even should the governor be so energetic, which we scarcely hope, as to stop the trade until he hears from Peking, Taoukwang, “the brightness of reason” will surely not be so unreasonable as to turn his *Kwo-haou*, the designation of the years of his reign, into a *sobriquet*. No—any edict from Peking which permits the continuance of the free trade will be the first self-inflicted blow on the exclusive system of the Chinese court. We consider a stoppage of the trade by the local government at the present time, and for the assigned reason of the presence of Lord Napier in Canton, the best thing that could happen for its future freedom and prosperity. Our opinion, perhaps, may not be a very general one; but surely when a reference is made to a supreme authority, it is better to be the aggrieved than the aggressor; and especially when that supreme authority has the most despotic power as in the present case, to punish its officers for their rash impolitic proceedings. The purses of the Hong Merchants will suffer—perhaps their persons; they may be degraded and bamboozed for their imputed negligence. The next step of the officers will be to permit and reconcile themselves to what they must be fully aware they cannot alter or prevent. If the emperor and his governors are once highly impressed by the determination

of the British nation to have an open trade with China, that open trade will be conceded.

The remark of the governor that “even England (the abode of devils—a regular pandemonium), has its laws,” is a concession. The *son of heaven* seems now to know the world contains “that little body with a mighty heart.” “A golden bridge for a flying enemy:”—hurt not even the ridiculous pride of the government officers: convince them by the small still voice of reason—so according to their own proverb: *Yew le puh yung kaou shing*—he who has reason on his side need not talk loud:—that the revolving heavens have now brought on a universally beneficial change, which has been indicated yearly by natural phenomena since the “brightness of reason” has occupied the “divine utensil;” say to them

— Jam redeunt Saturnia regna.

tunc jam regnat Apollo.

Allow them to make a good retreat; grant them the honors of war, arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying; and we are greatly mistaken if the policy of the Tatsing dynasty will not be altered favorably to all the nations under the azure heavens.

POST OFFICE REGULATIONS.

(From the Canton Register, August 26.)

At a meeting of British Merchants, held at the office of H. M.'s Superintendents this eighth day of August, 1834, for the purpose of re-considering the preliminary resolutions of the 4th instant regarding the formation of a Post Office establishment at Canton and Macao. The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to regarding the receipt of letters and parcels.

1. Mr. Markwick is recommended as a fit and proper person to take charge of a Post Office.

2. A Post Office is to be established at Macao and Canton.

3. Authority to be given to Mr. Markwick or his deputy to receive all letters from British ships arriving in China, such authority to be shown to the masters of vessels, on application.

4. To defray the expense and leave a fair remuneration to the Post Master, a postage must be levied on all letters, as follows:
Five cents on each ship letter.

Twenty cents on parcels not exceeding in weight one lb. and five cents additional per lb. the maximum to be one dollar.

Newspapers, and parcels containing newspapers, to be delivered free.

5. A receipt to be given for all letters and parcels, stating ship's name, and day and hour of receiving them.

6. After selecting the Macao and Lintin letters, those for Canton to be immediately forwarded by an express boat.

7. A printed form to be sent with each ship's letter, stating ship's name, number of letters, date of arrival at, and despatch from, Macao.

Regarding the despatch of Letters.

1. The intended departure of British vessels, either from Whampoa or outside the Bogue, is to be made known to the Post Master, in order that he may make up a packet for transmission thereby: the same to be delivered to the master of the ship, or the agent, as may be most convenient.

2. Letters to and from Macao to be forwarded on Wednesdays and Saturdays; the hour of starting to be regulated by the tide, of which due notice is to be given by circular, and by advertisement at the Post Office; each letter to be charged ten cents, payable on delivery.

All other foreign merchants, connected with the commerce of China, are invited to give their authority to Mr. Markwick, according to the above resolutions, as far as may be consistent with their own convenience.

As the foregoing plan is only to be considered experimental, and may be liable to future arrangements, the following gentlemen were requested, and agreed, to form themselves into a committee, namely: Messrs J. C. Whiteman, T. Fox, And. Johnston, Alex. Matheson and W. S. Boyd, any three of whom to be considered a quorum. All future matters relating to the Post Office establishment to be conducted by these gentlemen, who are to report their proceedings to H. M.'s Superintendents, as may be necessary.

(Signed)

J. H. Astell, on the part of H. M. Superintendents. Jardine, Matheson & Co. Thomas Dent & Co. Fox, Rawson & Co. Whiteman & Co. James Innes. T. R. Colledge. Richard Turner & Co. Jas. Goddard. John Templeton & Co. Dadabhoj Rustomjee. Dossabhoj Hormajee. Muncherjee Jamsetjee. Dossabhoj Rustomjee. Hormajee Byramjee. Alex. Matheson. W. S. Boyd, far sea & Douglas McKenzie & Co. J. S. Mendes. E. W. Brightman. J. R. Morrison. Nanabhoj Framjee.	Curseltjee Sapoortjee Pureck. Bomanjee Manackjee. Burjorjee Fardoonjee. J. Henry. Libery and Co. John Watson. A. S. Keating. R. Browne. Nich. Crooke. John Blade. C. A. Verannes. Andrew Jardine. Robert Thom. Thos. Allport. Joseph Cragg. H. Wright. Framjee Muncherjee. Dorabjee Hormajee. Framjee Jamsetjee. Bapoojee Vicerjee. Manackjee. Rustomjee. Ardineer Fardoonjee. Jummojee Nezeivanjee.
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CONFERENCE.

(From the Canton Register, August 26.)

We are glad to have it in our power to lay before our readers the following authentic report of the Conference held on Saturday last between Lord Napier and some Chinese officers

On the evening of Friday, the 22d August, Howqua and Mowqua came to Lord Napier, requesting that he would receive a visit from the Kwang-chow-foo, the Kwang-chow-hee and the Chaou-chow-foo, in the hall next day, at 11 o'clock. On Saturday at nine the linguists and others arrived with the chairs, stools, &c. of state. These having been placed in a manner altogether derogatory to the dignity of His Majesty's commission, an immediate alteration was made, more consistent with the relative importance of the two parties, and very much to the dissatisfaction of Howqua and his coadjutors. The settling of this important point took up above two hours, when the mandarins having arrived were received by the Superintendents in full dress, and took their seats, without any remark, according to the more recent arrangement of the chairs.

The mandarins having thus kept the Superintendents waiting for above a couple of hours, Lord Napier stated in the strongest terms possible his extreme dissatisfaction, acquainting them that such conduct would not be suffered on a second occasion.

The mandarins stated the object of their visit was in obedience to the commands of the Viceroy, to inquire: first, the cause of Lord Napier's arrival at Canton? second, the nature of the business he was instructed to perform? and third, when was it his intention to return to Macao?

To the first, Lord Napier replied by reading from the records the edict of the Viceroy dated 16th Jan. 1831. Stating that "in case of the dissolution of the Company, it was incumbent on the British Government to appoint a chief to come to Canton for the general management of commercial dealings, and to prevent affairs from going to confusion." And hereupon Lord Napier produced His Majesty's commission in accordance with the said edict, and suggested the possibility of his excellency the Viceroy, as well as themselves, having altogether forgotten the existence of such a document. In respect to the second question, his Lordship's letter to the Viceroy contained an explanation, and he recommended the propriety of their conveying it to his excellency, or of reading it themselves, on condition that it should be deposited among the other national archives,

it being altogether impossible to commit such weighty matters to the hazards of verbal communication. Thirdly, his Lordship's return to Macao would be regulated entirely by his private convenience. A great deal of desultory conversation then took place, in which the mandarins argued that the king of England should have addressed a letter to the Viceroy on the subject, to enable him to report to the emperor.

Lord Napier conceived that such would be a degradation on the part of His Majesty; that the king had appointed him, one of his own household, and hereditary nobleman, and a captain in his Royal Navy, to perform the duties suggested in the edict, and that he conceived himself to be upon a perfect par in rank with the Viceroy, and of course the proper channel of communication. The mandarins also appeared desirous of holding Lord Napier's letter to the Viceroy in the light of a private communication, which might be opened by the Hong Merchants, a proposal which of course, was firmly resisted; the business of the day being thus concluded, the mandarins partook of a refreshment, and departed in the best possible humour, hinting the probability of their return in a short time. The great military ardour of the Kwang-chow-hee induced him to remark "how very unpleasant it would be for the two nations to come to a rupture;" to which Lord Napier replied, "not the least fear on our parts, as we were perfectly prepared, but that he could assure him of His Majesty's most gracious desire to maintain the most friendly intercourse with the Emperor of China."

PROBABILITY OF A STOPPAGE OF THE BRITISH TRADE.

(From the Canton Register, August 26.)

Our readers, after perusing the following correspondence, will easily draw their own conclusions as to the probability of a stoppage of the British trade by the Chinese Government.

Office of British Superintendents, Aug. 18, 1834.

Thomas Fox, Esq., Chairman of the Meeting of Merchants.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of yesterday, accompanied by an intimation from the Hong Merchants that "in consequence of my having declined to receive the edicts of the Chinese Government, they, the Hong Merchants, had put a stop to the shipping of cargoes on British account."

I have now to request you will have the goodness to take steps to find out whether

this unjust measure has proceeded from the Hong Merchants themselves, or in consequence of orders issued to them by his excellency the Viceroy.—I beg to remain, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

Canton, August 19, 1834.

To the Right Honorable Lord Napier, His Majesty's Chief Superintendent of Trade, Canton.

My Lord,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of yesterday's date, requiring information if the stoppage of shipping off cargo on British account has proceeded from the Hong Merchants themselves, or in consequence of orders issued to them by H. E. the Viceroy.

Soon after receiving your Lordship's letter last night, a chop was put into my hands from the Hong Merchants; enclosing copy of one addressed to them by H. E. the Viceroy, entering very fully upon the recent discussions on the subject of British trade; copy of the translations by Mr. Morrison are herewith enclosed for your Lordship's information.

From inquiries I have been enabled to make amongst my brother merchants in Canton, I gather that the threatened measure of the entire stoppage of trade, though apparently originating with the Hong Merchants, could have emanated only from the government authorities.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) THOS. FOX, Chairman.

In answer, on the 20th his Lordship acknowledges the receipt of the above letter and chops; expresses regret that his compliance with His Majesty's instructions should be maliciously used by the Chinese for the purpose of annoying the British trade, and favors Mr. Fox, for the information of the British Merchants, with the following extracts from these instructions.

"In execution of the said commission you will take up your residence at the port of Canton, in the dominions of the emperor of China, and you will discharge the several duties confided to you by the said commission and orders in Council respectively, at Canton as aforesaid, or at any other place within the river or port of Canton, or at any other place which may be for that purpose hereafter appointed by us, and not elsewhere.

"The Bocca Tigris, which is marked by a fort immediately above Anson's Bay, forms the limit of the port of Canton, and your Lordship will accordingly conform to that understanding."

To the Right Honorable Lord Napier, His Majesty's Chief Superintendent of Trade, Canton.

My Lord,—I have the honor to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the 20th instant, and beg to acquaint you that the same has been generally circulated amongst the British Merchants here.

I now beg to enclose copy of a chop received yesterday from the Hong Merchants, requesting a reply to their letter of the 18th, which reply has been sent them this morning, and copy is also herewith sent for your Lordship's information.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS FOX, Chairman.

Canton, August 21, 1834.

To the Hong Merchants of Canton.

We have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 18th instant, accompanied by copy of one to your address from H. E. the Viceroy of Canton.

We can only repeat that our commercial interests are now under the Superintendence of the Right Honorable Lord Napier, the representative of the king of Great Britain, our most gracious sovereign.

We may, however, remark that the letter of H. E. the Viceroy alludes to the *possibility* of a stoppage of trade, while you state to us that the trade is actually stopped by authority of the high officers.

(Signed as before.)

Letter from the Hong Merchants.

A respectful notification. We have just now received an official reply from his excellency the governor, which we are commanded to enjoin and make known to you.

We now copy out the official order, and send it for your perusal, praying you, gentlemen, to examine it minutely. You will then know that his excellency the governor's extreme desire to cherish those from remote parts is great beyond the power of increase. We pray you to return an answer. This is the task we impose. For this we write. And with compliments, &c.

7th moon, 14th day (August 18.) Signed by eleven Hong Merchants.

From Governor Loo to the Hong Merchants.

Loo, governor of Canton and Kwangse provinces, &c. &c. in reply to the Hong Merchants.

On examination I find, that the trade from the English nation to Canton has been carried on for a hundred and some tens of

years. In this long period all regulations have from time to time been reported and established. Whether the said *barbarian eye* (Lord Napier) be an officer or a merchant, there are no means of ascertaining. But having come for affairs of commerce to the *celestial empire*, it is incumbent on him to obey and keep the laws and statutes. It is an old saying "when you enter the frontiers, inquire respecting the prohibitions; when you enter a country inquire into its customs." The said *barbarian eye*, having been sent by the said nation's king from a great distance, is undoubtedly a man who understands things; but his having precipitately come to the provincial city, without having made a full report of the circumstances and causes of coming hère, was indeed a want of decorum. I, the governor, considering that it was his first entrance into inner dominions, and that he was yet unacquainted with the established laws, commanded the said merchants at that time to enjoin orders on him, and to inquire and ascertain for what he had come to the provincial city:—that if it were, that, on account of the Company's dissolution, it had become necessary to establish other regulations, he should immediately inform the said merchants, that they might make a report to me;—to afford me data for sending a memorial, by the government post. And that the said *barbarian eye* should meanwhile return to Macao, and await the will and mandate of the *great emperor* being received and published to command obedience. Thus the business would be altogether managed in perfect accordance with dignified decorum, rendering change needless.

To refer to England,—should an official personage from a foreign country proceed to the said nation for the arrangement of any business,—how could he neglect to have the object of his coming announced in a memorial to the said nation's king,—or how could he act contrary to the requirements of the said nation's dignity,—doing his own will and pleasure! Since the said *barbarian eye* states he is an official personage, he ought the more to be thoroughly acquainted with these principles. Before, when he offered a letter, I, the governor, saw it inexpedient to receive it; because the established laws of the *celestial empire* do not permit ministers and those under authority to have private intercourse by letter with outside barbarians; but have hitherto, in commercial affairs, held the merchants responsible; and if, perchance, any barbarian merchant should have any petition to make requesting investigation of any affair, (the

laws require) that, by the said *taepuns* (chief supercargoes), a duly prepared petition should be in form presented, and an answer by proclamation awaited. There has never been such a thing as outside barbarians sending in a letter. I at that time commanded the *Kwang-chow-hée* to give minute verbal orders on this subject.

Again, I have examined in order, the points of regulation established by report (to the emperor), and have thrice issued orders, which the said merchants were required to make themselves acquainted with and to enjoin. The subjects discussed in these several orders are the long established regulations, well known to all the barbarian merchants of every nation who have business at Canton—the *flamingly luminous* ordinances and statutes. Thus commencing, I was treating not slightly the outside barbarians—Obey, and remain—disobey, and depart.—There are no two ways.

Now, (the merchants) have reported, that on going to the factory to inquire and ascertain facts, the said barbarian *eye* desired to have official correspondence, to and fro, with all the public offices, and would not obey the orders. On examination I find, that the English nation and the officers of the *celestial empire* have hitherto had no intercourse of official correspondence. The barbarians of the said nation, coming to or leaving Canton have, beyond their trade, not any public business.—And the commissioned officers of the *celestial empire* never take cognizance of the trivial affairs of trade. From the time that Canton has admitted outside barbarians to its open market, all affairs relating to commerce and the control over the barbarian merchants have been placed under the entire cognizance and responsibility of the said Hong Merchants. Never has there been such a thing as official correspondence to and fro with a barbarian *eye*.—And of those trading at Canton there is not only the English nation; nor have the English barbarian merchants been at Canton only *one* or *two* years. Yet all have been tranquil and quiet, obeying the laws. There has been no occasion for officers to examine into and manage business; on the contrary, they would but embarrass and impede the merchants. This request to have official correspondence to and fro is not only contrary to every thing of dignity and decorum; but also would prove very inexpedient for the barbarian merchants of all the nations. The thing is most decidedly impossible.

The said merchants, because the said barbarian *eye* will not adhere to the old regu-

lations, have requested that a stop should be put to the said nation's commerce. This manifests a profound knowledge of the great principles of dignity. It is most highly praiseworthy. The circumstances of the said barbarian *eye* (Lord Napier's) perverse opposition necessarily demand such a mode of procedure. It would be most right immediately to put a stop to buying and selling.—But, considering that the said nation's king has hitherto been in the highest degree reverently submissive, he cannot in sending Lord Napier here at this time have desired him thus obstinately to resist. The some hundreds of thousands of commercial duties yearly coming from the said country, concern not the *celestial empire* the extent of a hair or a feather's down. The possession or absence of them is utterly unworthy of one careful thought. Their broad cloths and camlets are still more unimportant, and of no regard. But the tea, the rhubarb, the raw silk, of the inner dominions are the sources by which the said nation's people live and maintain life. For the fault of one man (Lord Napier,) must the livelihood of the whole nation be precipitately cut off! If the governor, looking up and embodying the *great emperor's* most sacred—most divine wish,—to nurse and tenderly cherish, as one, all that are within and all that are without,—feel that I cannot bring my mind to bear it. Besides, all the merchants of the said nation dare dangers, crossing the seas myriads of miles, to come from far here. Their hopes rest wholly in the attainment of gain by buying and selling.—When, the other day, being summoned by the said merchants to a meeting for consultation, they did not attend,—it was because they were under the direction of Lord Napier. It assuredly did not proceed from the several merchants' own free will. Should in one morning the trade be wholly cut off, it would cause great distress to many persons,—who, having travelled hither by land and sea, would by one man (Lord Napier,) be ruined. They cannot in such case but be utterly depressed with grief. In commiseration, I again give temporary indulgence and delay. Let the said merchants again immediately enjoin, particularly and minutely the orders, requiring the said barbarian *eye*, with unruffled mind, to consider thrice. He should know that the said nation trades here, and annually amasses great gain, entirely in consequence of this *sacred dynasty's* extreme wish to cherish, tenderly those from far. It in no way regards the trade as an advantage, and cannot be hampered or constrained by any consideration for it. If the old-

established regulations be not in accordance with reason, how could all the barbarian merchants yield to them the willing submission of their hearts! and obediently keep them! Since the said barbarian *eye* occupies an official situation, all merchants of the said nation, when they do not keep the laws, will require to be controlled and constrained by him. But if he talk not reasonably, how can he gain the submission of the multitude! I, the governor, have for some tens of years, extended my care over those within and those without, and have never treated a man contrary to propriety. How can I be willing to treat tyrannically the requests of men from far! But what concerns the *national* dignity will not admit of being transgressed or passed over.

I hear that the said barbarian is a man of very solid and expansive mind, and placid speech. If he consider he can himself doubtless distinguish right and wrong, let him on no account permit himself to be deluded by men around him. If he can repent and arouse, obey the previous orders, and act according to them, let him answer through the said merchants, and the trade shall continue as commonly. If he still maintain his obstinacy and do not arouse, then it will appear, that the said barbarian *eye* does not wish the said nation to have here the liberty of the market, the trade shall be immediately stopped, and the commerce eternally cut off. Hereafter, when the said nation's king hears respecting these repeated orders and official replies, he will know that the whole wrong lies on the barbarian *eye*,—it is no way owing to any want on the part of the *celestial empire* of extreme consideration for the virtue of reverential submission exercised by the said nation's king.—Let the said merchants take also this reply and, having enjoined it authoritatively on the private merchants of the said nation, and the barbarian merchants of every nation, that they may make themselves acquainted with it, let it be folded up and preserved.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 7th moon, 14th day, (August 18, 1834.)

HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY.

(From the Canton Register, September 2.)

On Tuesday, the 26th instant, Lord Napier gave a sumptuous dinner to the British subjects in Canton, in honor of H. M.'s birthday. Invitation had been issued by his Lordship for Thursday the 21st, the anniversary-day, but, in consequence of the floods, the dinner was postponed. Tables had been prepared for about ninety guests, but the officers of

H. M.'s ships *Imogene* and *Andramache* did not arrive to dinner. About sixty persons sat down to table, the Parsees who declined dining, came after dinner to drink the king's health; a separate table being laid for them in the verandah.

The cloth being removed, Lord Napier proposed the health of our most gracious sovereign King William IV. with four times four. His Lordship said, in rising to propose His Majesty's health, he was at a loss for words fully to express his feelings. The sovereign whose health the company present were about to drink had done more good to his country than any of his predecessors. The passing of the Reform Bill alone would transmit his name with honor to the latest posterity. That great measure had not only had a magical effect on Europe, but its influence had been felt around the wide circle of the globe itself. But the efforts of our beloved king had not been confined to the destruction of parliamentary monopoly alone; in his reign commercial monopoly had also been overthrown. The trade to China was no longer hampered and shackled as it had once been. The gentlemen who formed the present party might now push their spirit of commercial enterprise to the farthest verge that British daring would carry it; and he trusted their efforts might be crowned with ample success. Our gracious sovereign had once sailed the salt seas himself, and in his heart he was still a true English sailor. He sincerely loved the profession, and it was his ardent wish to patronize to the utmost of his power—navigation—and her twin sister—trade. The British residents in Canton engaged, in a peculiar degree, the paternal care of His Majesty. He had it from his most gracious Majesty's own lips how much he loved them; and it was now in their power to show that they were not wanting in loyal feeling to their patriot king.

Never was toast drunk more enthusiastically. It would have done our beloved sovereign's own heart good (God bless him) to have heard the cheers with which his health was drunk by his loyal subjects in this distant part of the world. A gentleman facetiously observed that the cheering was loud enough to startle the governor from his bed. After the king's health had been drunk, Mr. Compton senior, sang "God save the King," in very fine style, and the whole company joined in the chorus.

His Lordship then gave the "Queen," and said that within the wide circle of the British dominions there is no woman who can add a greater grace to her private character, or a brighter lustre to her domestic virtues.

Drunk with three times three.

Lord Napier then gave the "Princess Victoria," and when it should please Almighty Providence to call her to the throne of the British empire, may she prove as good a woman as her mother, and as great a queen as Queen Bess. Drunk with three times three. The "Army and Navy" were then drunk with hearty cheers. Captain Elliott, R. N. returned thanks, and gave "the Commerce of Canton." Mr. Jardine, as one of the commercial community, returned thanks. Lord Napier then proposed the health of two gentlemen, the pleasure of whose company he had hoped for that evening, but, from some mistake or other, they had not arrived. These two gentlemen, his Lordship said, were ornaments to one of the professions we had just toasted, and were now in this country merely to afford us protection. He gave Captain Blackwood and Captain Chads of the Royal Navy.

Their healths were drunk with cheers, and Captain Elliott having returned thanks for the honor done to his brother officers, begged all the gentlemen present to fill bumpers, as he was going to give a toast which he knew they would drink with loud applause. He gave the health of H. M.'s Chief Superintendent, Lord Napier.

There certainly never was cheering more tremendous. The hall rang with one universal shout, which was heard over the whole range of the foreign factories. After the cheering had subsided his Lordship rose and said, were he gifted with the eloquence of a Cicero, he might even then feel at a loss to make a meet return for the courtesy with which his health had been drunk. He feared the applause was above his merits; all he could boast of—and on that point he would yield to no man—was a sincere desire to discharge his duty. He deeply lamented that in acting up to the instructions contained in H. M.'s commission, he had been involved in a misunderstanding with the Viceroy, which had, for the present, caused a stoppage of the trade. He trusted, however, this would be for no length of time; and he was of opinion that a show of firmness in the present instance would have a good effect; that the principles of free trade would be spread among the Chinese, and that ere long British steam would visit every port of China. To effect this was the worthy object of his highest ambition. It was an honest pride—and he was not ashamed to avow it—that he would glory in having his name handed down to posterity as the man who had thrown open the wide field of the Chinese empire to the spirit and industry. His Lordship

then adverted in a very feeling manner to the East India Company. It did not become us to cherish feelings of enmity against the mighty dead. The East India Company was now defunct in China. There might be some present who had felt galled by its monopoly, when it existed; but now that its power in China was extinct, hostility should be buried in oblivion. The influence of the East India Company in China had been overthrown by the genius of free trade; and, perhaps, in a few short years that body might no longer have a being. We ought, therefore, only to remember the great men it had given to the country, the lustre which has been added to the British name by its deeds of glory, and the solid advantages which our native country is actually deriving from it while it still sways the rod of empire. He would give "The Honourable East India Company, and success to its measures when they are not opposed to the good of the people," which toast was drunk with loud applause.

Mr. Young, who was a member of the late factory, returned thanks; and made use of a metaphor of the branch and parent stem. We regret that we were too far removed to hear the whole of Mr. Young's speech, who evidently spoke with impassioned eloquence.

Lord Napier then gave Captain Neish and the country trade: loud cheers.

Captain Neish, in returning thanks, declared himself very much taken aback by the honor that had been done him so unexpectedly. As a return he begged to propose the health of Lady Napier and her amiable family. The toast, which was given with much good taste and gallantry by the veteran captain, was drunk with rapturous applause.

Lord Napier, in returning his sincere thanks, vowed to make Captain Neish himself, as the *youngest* married man, bearer of the news to her ladyship of the honor that had been done her.

The Parsees having now joined the party, his Lordship rose, and proposed the health of our Parsee friends. They were, his Lordship observed, a most industrious, enterprising and valuable class of British subjects. Their peculiar situation made them especially an object for exercising the generosity of the English people. The remnant of a once mighty nation, they had been driven from their homes by the iron hands of the Turk and the Arab. They had sought protection under the shadow of our banners, and lived in the hope of yet returning to their native land, when Mahommedan superstition should have passed away.

This toast was drunk with loud cheers, when Dinear Derabjee, in simple and affecting terms, returned thanks on the part of his countrymen, and proposed the health of Lord Napier, which was drunk with three times three. At the particular desire of the Parsees, the health of Lord Clare, governor of Bojnab, was proposed and drunk with the usual honors.

The health of Lord William Bentinck, Governor General of India, was drunk with the usual honors. Captain Baker proposed the health of Captain Charles Napier, late of the British Navy, and now admiral of her most faithful majesty Donna Maria. Lord Napier returned thanks for the honor done the gallant admiral, whom he was proud to call his cousin.

In the course of the evening several songs were sung by Mr. Compton, junior, Captain Melville, Captain Crawford, Mr. Whiteman, Mr. Keating, Mr. Cragg, &c.

The party broke up about 12 o'clock, but several joined the Parsees in the verandah, where their festivities were prolonged to a late hour.

The dinner passed off extremely well. Lord Napier did every thing an able chairman could do to make his guests feel at home. We never witnessed a greater display of general good feeling. We must apologize for giving a mere outline of what Lord Napier said; we did not take any notes, and have been obliged to trust entirely to memory.

The public dinner in Canton of the 26th of August, 1834, in honor of H. M.'s birthday, will long be remembered by all who had the happiness to partake thereof with feelings of the most sincere pleasure.

INTERESTING TO THE CHINESE MERCHANTS.

(From the Canton Register, September 2.)

The following is the official translation of the notice hung up at the public entrance of the British Consulate on Saturday last, and generally distributed throughout Canton:—

State of relations between China and Great Britain at present. A true and official document.

On the 16th January, 1831, the Viceroy Le, in consequence of advice from the Hong Merchants, issued an edict requiring the chief of the factory to write home, stating that in case of dissolution of the East India Company, it was incumbent on the British Government to appoint a chief to come to Canton for the general management of commercial dealings, and to prevent affairs from going to confusion; whereupon,

at the dissolution of the Company, the king of Great Britain, in accordance with the wishes of the Viceroy, appointed Lord Napier, a member of his own household, an hereditary nobleman, and captain in his Royal Navy, to come to Canton for the above most laudable purpose; and report himself by letter to the Viceroy. Accordingly Lord Napier arrived at Canton on the 25th July, and next day forwarded his letter to the city gates, which was offered to the mandarins for the purpose of being delivered, and refused by the whole of them. It is false to say that the British officer who carried the letter desired to force his way within the precincts of the palace. The Hong Merchants, it is true, desired to take it, but it was quite derogatory to the dignity of the representative of the king to communicate through the merchants. The Viceroy now complains that he knows not for what reason Lord Napier has come, at the same time forgetting the edict of his predecessor, which brought him here, as well as his own obstinacy in refusing to receive the letter of a man of equal rank with himself. His excellency then publishes edicts requiring Lord Napier to retire to Macao; and on the 18th August publishes another edict, in which he states that the Hong Merchants have requested the trade to be stopped, but in commiseration says he "I again give temporary indulgence and delay;" knowing at the same time that the trade had been actually stopped by the Hong Merchants two days before. The Viceroy then sends the Kwang-chow-hee, and the Chaou-choo-foo, to require of Lord Napier the object of his visit, the nature of his duties, and the time of his return to Macao. Lord Napier replies to the first by a reference to the edict of January 1831; to the second by a reference to his letter to the Viceroy, which contains all the intelligence, and which they refuse to open or convey; and to the third, that his return to Macao depends entirely on his private convenience. The ignorance and obstinacy of the Viceroy has thus allowed the Hong Merchants to put a stop to the trade, when he himself only threatens to do so. He sends his mandarins, and they return as empty as they went when the official document was offered for their conveyance; and the consequence is, that thousands of industrious Chinese who live by the European trade, must suffer ruin and discomfort through the perversity of their government. The merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit, they will never relax in their exertions till they gain a point of equal importance to both countries, and the Viceroy will find it as

easy to stop the current of the Canton river, as to carry into effect the insane determinations of the Hong.

(Signed) NAPIER,
Chief Superintendent.

Canton, August 26, 1834.

MEETING OF BRITISH MERCHANTS.

(From the Canton Register, September 2.)

At a meeting of British Merchants held in the hall of His Majesty's Superintendent on Monday, the 25th August, 1834.

Mr. W. S. Boyd apologized in Mr. Fox's name for that gentleman's absence on account of ill health, and proposed that another person should be appointed to the chair to preside at the present meeting.

It was unanimously agreed that Mr. W. S. Boyd should take the chair on the present occasion.

The proceedings since the last meeting were then read and approved.

Moved by Mr. Dent, seconded by Mr. Jardine, and unanimously agreed, that the consideration of the letter from the Right Honorable Lord Napier to Mr. Fox, of the 20th instant, be deferred, and subsequently referred to the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce when formed.

The observations of Mr. Goddard on the rules and regulations for the establishment of the Chamber of Commerce were then read.

Moved by Mr. Dent, seconded by Mr. Innes, and resolved, that the rules and regulations be now referred to a committee to be appointed.

Proposed by Mr. Innes, seconded by Mr. Dent, that gentlemen willing to become members of the Chamber of Commerce do now signify the same; when the following gentlemen gave in their names, reserving to themselves full power to draw back if they should not be satisfied with the rules as formed by the committee.

Mr. Innes.	Framjee Mancherjee.
" Jardine.	Mr. Thom.
" Whiteman.	" Vettannes
" Dent.	" Fox, by Mr. Whiteman.
" Keating.	" A. Johnstone, by Mr.
" Crooke.	Jardine.
" Watson.	" Matheson, by Do.
" A. Matheson.	Nanahoy Framjee.
" Henry.	Mancherjee Jansetjee.
" Mendes.	Dotahjee Hormozjee.
" A. Jardine.	Bapoorjee Viccajee.
Burjoorjee Furdoojee.	Bomanjee Maneckjee.
Dadabhooy Rustomjee.	

Proposed by Mr. Jardine, seconded by Mr. Whiteman, and resolved; that the following gentlemen be appointed to act as a committee to revise or approve the rules and regulations drawn up by Mr. Goddard:

Mr. Dent.	Mr. J. Matheson.
" Turner	" W. S. Boyd.
Dadabhooy Rustomjee.	

And that three should be a quorum; and that they do report their proceedings to a meeting to be called for the purpose at the earliest possible date.

Proposed by Mr. Dent, seconded by Mr. Jardine, and carried unanimously, that the most cordial thanks of the meeting be voted to Mr. Goddard for the trouble he has taken in drawing up the scheme for a Chamber of Commerce.

Proposed by Mr. Jardine, seconded by Mr. Dent, that the thanks of the meeting be voted to Mr. Fox for his services in carrying on the correspondence since the last meeting, and to Mr. W. S. Boyd, for the trouble he has had in the office of Secretary and for filling the chair on the present occasion.

The meeting then dissolved.

WM. SPROTT BOYD, Chairman.

STOPPAGE OF THE BRITISH TRADE.

(From the Canton Register, September 9.)

We publish the official translation of the edict of governor Loo, ordering the stoppage of the British trade, to which we have subjoined a few notes:—

Edict of the Governor of Canton.

Loo, governor of the provinces of Canton and Kwang-se, &c. &c. and Ke, Fooyune of the provinces of Canton, &c. hereby issue a proclamation and clear order; that in consequence of the English nation disobeying the laws and statutes, the holds of its ships are to be closed, and a stop put to its trade.

* Outside barbarians being admitted to a general market, is owing to the good favor of the celestial empire towards men from afar, it is of no advantage to the commercial duties. All who are of the barbarian people should in every thing obey the laws and statutes, they must not transgress or oppose them. England has traded at Canton during a course of a hundred and several tens of years. For all matters regulations have been established, having been reported to the emperor. The chief supracargoes and

* The first clause in this edict begins with a most extraordinary assertion. We have no desire to kindle the wrath of our Chinese friends to a greater degree than that in which it is now burning, but we cannot help thinking that governor Loo must be ill-informed as to the statistics of the two provinces of his government, Kwang tung and Kwang-se, and of the neighbouring maritime province of Fuh-keen, containing, combined, a population of 44,260,885, mostly employed in, if not dependent on, foreign commerce, and its thousand ramifications, when he states that the admission of "barbarians to a general market"—so called by him because it is *not* a general market—is of no moment to the resources, aye, to the stability of this unwieldy empire. And the admission that the English have traded here "during a course of a hundred and several tens of years," is a strong cause for claiming the restoration of old privileges and demanding new, consonant with our present imposing position. As to obeying the laws—if we knew what they were, and if they protected us from every villainous extortion—had we a right of appeal—then in requiring us to obey the laws, and the laws only, governor Loo would have his much boasted reason more on his side.

the private merchants of the said nation, conducting affairs here, have long paid obedience thereto. We, the governor and lieutenant governor, from the time of taking our offices, have soothingly treated outside barbarians; and with this view have in nothing failed to display tenderness. This is what you, merchants and people, have all known and seen.

* In the 6th moon of the present year, an English barbarian, Lord Napier, who asserts that he is a barbarian *eye* (or head-man) and has come to Canton to inquire into and direct the affairs of trade, suddenly came up to reside in the barbarian factories outside the city. Not having previously reported respecting himself, and not having requested and obtained a red passport from the superintendent of customs, this conduct was rash and ignorant. I, the governor, commanded the Hong Merchants, Woo-Tunyuen (Howqua) and the others, to investigate respecting the occasion of his coming; and I ordered that, if there were any commercial affairs in which changes were requisite and necessary, he should inform the Hong Merchants, that they might make a prepared report, thereby affording grounds whereon to present to the great emperor a memorial, requesting his mandate, to be obeyed and acted on. The said barbarian *eye* did not at all pay obedience to the order and inform the merchants; but hastily presented a letter. Examining at that time the established rules of the celestial empire, and finding that ministers have no outward intercourse with outside barbarians, I disallowed any private intercourse by letter. But Lord Napier, in coming to Canton, is wholly without an official communication from the said nation's king: whether he be a merchant or an officer cannot be known. Heretofore, when, in the affairs of foreign commerce, officers have had to investigate any matter, they have ordered the Hong Merchants to enjoin their commands. And when the barbarian merchants have had to petition on any subject, they have petitioned through the medium of the Hong Merchants. Even though Lord Napier be really a barbarian *eye* (or head man), how can he have intercourse by letter with the commissioned officers of the cele-

tial empire! It would be greatly detrimental to the dignity of government.

* I, at that time commanded the Kwang-chow-hee to make it known authoritatively, that he was not permitted to report respecting, or to present letters. Considering that as it was the said barbarian *eye's* first entrance into the central flowery nation (China), he was ignorant of the principles of dignity. I further made a minute examination of the old regulations established at successive periods by sanction of memorials to the emperor, and arranging these, I commanded the Hong Merchants to enjoin them authoritatively upon him: to make him plainly hear the prohibitions and the customs; and to inform him of the decorum of propriety and good sense, and of the impracticability of acting unreasonably: thus to turn the subject in every direction, opening the way, and guiding him again and a third time.

† After this, Howqua and the others stated, that the said barbarian *eye*, Lord Napier, would not obey the orders enjoined by them, and wished to have official correspondence with the officers of China; that he did not keep the laws, and they therefore requested that a stop should be put to the said nation's trade. If the circumstances of Lord Napier's dullness and stupidity were referred to, it would have been right immediately to have closed the ships holds. But I, the governor, considered that the said nation's king has hitherto been reverently obedient; that Lord Napier's want of understanding in affairs was not in conformity with any purpose of the said nation's king; and there were no means of ascertaining positively whether he had been sent by the said nation's king or not. I also considered, that the said nation's barbarian merchants are many, and it is just now the time when they are bringing on cargo in great quantities, having crossed over the sea several myriads of miles, and braved dangers, all in the hope of trafficking and getting gain; and that while the woollens, clocks, and watches brought from the said nation are in this inner land extremely unimportant, the tea, the rhubarb, &c. of this inner land are absolutely necessary for the support of life, throughout

* With reference to the "changes" in commercial affairs, and the presence of Lord Napier in Canton, how limply the governor endeavours to bobble out of the dilemma in which he has fixed himself by being, or professing to be, ignorant of the communication made to his predecessor Le, by the Select Committee, and his reply to it. As to his doubts as to the real station of Lord Napier, we trust they will be so speedily removed he will make even himself wonder he ever entertained them. Indeed, by and by he will deny he ever did doubt Lord Napier's being a *real eye*, or that he ever took him for a glass one.

* His fatherly schooling of Lord Napier is admirable, and will be highly lauded, no doubt, by the Court of Directors and the *Quarterly Review*.

† His Britannic Majesty, King William IV. will doubtless be highly gratified at this approval of his zealous father by his august son, Lord Taou kwang, emperor of China. And the considerate and unbounded compassion of the governor will also be equally appreciated by the British merchants; but we are sorry to say that the governor has in this paragraph said the thing that is not, which common circumstance cannot excite any surprise, even in those who know the least of China and its government officers.

the whole of the said barbarian nation. Looking up, therefore, and embodying the extreme desire of the great emperor, that his grace should be displayed to the four quarters, and that all, within and without, should be alike regarded with the same benevolence, I could not bear, on account of the fault of one man, Lord Napier, precipitately to reject them utterly. I replied to the Hong Merchants, commanding them to give indulgence and temporary delay. And I again commanded the said merchants further to elucidate the orders; that if he would repent, arouse, and be reverently obedient, the trade should continue as formerly; but that if he still adhered to stupidity, then, as requested, the buying and selling should be immediately stopped.

* Again, thinking as the Hong Merchants have heretofore long directed the commerce of the barbarians, why Lord Napier should alone be unwilling to petition through the medium of merchants; I apprehended that the subject of his petition might have included something expedient to be mentioned, which was therefore kept secret within the merchants' breasts; or that the said merchants in enjoining the orders might have been wanting in plainness and perspicuity. The affair concerned those out of the bounds of civilization, whose minds, without perfect clearness and entire sincerity, could not be broken down and brought into subjection. I accordingly sent the Kwang-chow-foo and Hée, with a deputed officer, to proceed to the barbarian factories, to investigate and give verbal orders, thus to admit of a personal petition and statement being made, and so prevent there being any thought cherished but not spoken out. Owing to the said Foo and his colleagues not having taken with them linguists, they were unable to say all. They were ordered to take linguists and again proceed to give commands; but now the said barbarian eye has become suspicious and apprehensive, and will not receive the linguists as communicators of what is said. The languages of the flowery people and the barbarians are not the same, and without linguists by what means can any thing be communicated? This is still more removed from what is reasonable.

Having examined we find that in the intercourse of merchants, a mutual willing-

ness is necessary on both sides. There can be no overruling control exercised by officers. How can the officers of the celestial empire hold official correspondence with barbarians? In the important territory of the provincial metropolis, how can an outside barbarian official eye be suffered to dwell, transacting business, and extravagantly lauding and magnifying himself. To the mercantile guests it is attended with many real objections.—With regard to territory it would also have its consequences. All these are things which cannot be allowed to be brought into operation.

* Moreover, Lord Napier, without having made petitions for the purpose of asking that a clear memorial should be drawn out to request information of the imperial will, did suddenly rush up and thrust forth his own opinion. From time to time orders were enjoined on him. Of myself, I, the governor, may say, that I have lowered myself to regard the barbarian disposition; but the said barbarian eye has listened to what has been told him as if he were entangled in a net. He is indeed stupid, blinded, and ignorant. It is impossible to make him comprehend reason. If such a misled extravagant man be at Canton in control of the trade, the mercantile people also will hereafter be unable to enjoy mutual quiet. It is evidently becoming that the ship's holds should, according to law, be closed.

With the exception of all goods, the sale or purchase of which was settled previously to the stoppage, and which in consequence are still allowed to be transferred, it is now justly decided by us, the governor and lieutenant governor, that from the 12th day of the present moon (August 16th,) all buying and selling on the part of the English nation is wholly put a stop to.

Besides giving orders to all the Hong Merchants to pay obedience hereto, and to withdraw from the barbarian factories all compradores, linguists and hired servants; besides, also, sending an official communication to the Hoppo, making inquiry for and seizure of Chinese traitors, to be tried and punished; and making a proclamation in

China trade, published in London, 1839, it was observed that, "the government must allow the introduction of the warehousing system, if the monopoly of the Hong Merchants is destroyed; and this concession, however desirable, is hardly to be hoped for, as it would be thought to be yielding the first outward to foreign intrusion, for it would at once imply a right of residence, and a claim to protection." The governor foresees what must eventually occur, and with politic address endeavours to prevent the taking root of—what must appear to him—so strange an anomaly.

* The governor here draws a most weak and miserable conclusion. It may be evident to him that Lord Napier should depart from the provincial city, but he will, we suspect, shortly find that his non-acquiescence in "closing the ships' holds," will lead him into serious difficulties and responsibility. The rest of the edict is underscoring of any special notice.

observation of the governor, "with regard to territory it would also have its consequences," we consider one of the most important in the edict. In a pamphlet on the

print drawn from the several successive orders before issued; this proclamation and clear order is now also issued. For this purpose, proclamation is hereby made to all you soldiers and people, mercantile men and others, and to all the barbarian merchants of every nation, requiring your full acquaintance herewith.

From the period of this proclamation, mercantile people of this inner land are not permitted to buy of, or sell, to the English nation any goods or things whatever, large or small; and all manner of workmen, boatmen, &c. are also not allowed to receive hire or employ of the said barbarians. Should there be any having clandestine dealings or receiving hire, let the local officers immediately examine and seize them, to be punished according to the law against holding clandestine intercourse with foreign nations. In this the said barbarian eye, Lord Napier, has cut himself off from the celestial empire. It is not at all what we the governor and lieutenant governor have liked to do.

The barbarian merchants of all other nations are still permitted to trade as usual. They need have no suspicion or anxiety.

Let all with trembling awe obey: oppose not. A special proclamation.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 29th day. (September 2, 1834.)

Letter from Lord Napier to the Secretary of the British Merchants.

Office of British Superintendents, Sept. 5, 1834.

Sir,—Translation of an edict, dated the 2d instant, and issued by the Viceroy and Foo-yuen, has been laid before the Superintendents, by which it appears "that all commercial dealings up to the 18th ultimo are to be confirmed, all goods paid for up to that date are to be shipped, after which the trade is altogether stopped."

Referring back to the 16th August, it appears that an order was issued by the Hong Merchants to suspend the trade. On the 18th an edict from the Viceroy appeared "threatening to cut off the trade for ever—but of commiseration granting indulgence and delay."

In spite of this indulgence, no chops for embarking or landing cargoes were issued, consequently a complete stop to foreign trade has ensued since the 16th. In the

meantime, however, in full reliance on the edict of his excellency of the 18th, a great deal of business has been done in the way of buying and selling between the British and Chinese merchants, which obligations do not appear to be acknowledged by the edict of the 2nd instant.

This forms a ground of grave complaint and remonstrance to the Viceroy on the part of the British.

The permission to embark goods, paid for up to the 16th, is vitiated in a great measure by the prohibition to land cargoes from those ships daily expected for the very purpose of embarking the cargoes so contracted for.

This anomaly presents a second ground of remonstrance.

These two points shall be made subjects of discussion with the authorities, and any remarks on the part of the merchants will be attended to accordingly.

The edict goes on further to state, that all workmen, boatmen, or others are no longer allowed to receive hire, consequently all such persons, including servants and watchmen, have deserted the service of the Superintendents.

To remedy this inconvenience, and to afford a sufficient protection to the treasury of the E. I. Company, it has been requested that a guard of marines may be landed within the premises, and that His Majesty's ships *Imogene* and *Andromache* may pass the Bogue, and take up a convenient position at Whampoa for the more efficient protection of British subjects and their property. I have to request you will make the same known to the merchants and believe me, your very obedient servant,

(Signed) NAPIER.

To Wm. Sprutt Boyd, Esq.

Second Letter from Lord Napier to the Secretary of the British Merchants.

Office of British Superintendents, Sept. 6, 1834.

Sir,—Copy of a chop has been laid before me this evening by Mr. Morrison, by which it appears, "that the governor has ordered all the forts and guard houses only to allow British vessels to go out, but none to come into port."

Now it appears to me, from the delay and difficulty which will be experienced by res-

sels arriving from England before they can deliver their cargoes, that it may be absolutely necessary for the same boats or vessels to pass between Lintin and Canton several times before the trade even up to the 16th can be embarked.

Under these circumstances, I am desirous of letting the Viceroy know, as soon as possible, that any such insult as firing on the British flag, before the trade is all embarked, will be duly resented. If any of the merchants have any remarks to offer either on this head or those mentioned to you in my letter of yesterday, I shall be obliged by their doing as soon as possible.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER.

To W. S. Boyd, Esq., Sec. to the Merchants.

From the Hong Merchants to the British Merchants.

A respectful communication. We have just now received an order from the governor, which states that he has ordered all the forts and guard-houses, that English boats and ships are only allowed to go out of port; they are not allowed to enter. As is right we inform you, praying that you will examine and act accordingly; and also that you will inform all the gentlemen of the ships that they may all obey. With this we trouble you. For this we write.

(Eleven names subscribed.)

8th moon, 4th day. (September 6, 1834.)

The following is the reply of the Hoppon to a petition for a renewal of the British trade drawn up by Messrs. Whiteman and Co., and signed by them, by Messrs. Thomas Dent and Co., E. W. Brightman, and several Parsees, and presented in the course of the past week.

Answer of Hoppon Chung to the address of Messrs. Whiteman and Co., Dent and Co., and other British merchants, dated September 7, 1834.

Chung, by imperial appointment, superintendent of customs at the port of Canton, &c. &c.

Hereby issues an order to the Hong Merchants, requiring their full acquaintance herewith.

The English barbarian merchants, Whiteman and others, have presented a barbarian petition in Chinese writing, as follows:

[Here follows the address of the 2d instant.]

This coming before me the Hoppon, and being authenticated, I at the time issued the following public reply.

During the trade of the English nation at Canton, the said barbarian merchants have hitherto respectfully regarded the sacred virtue which has cherished them tenderly, and have implicitly obeyed the laws and statutes of the celestial empire for a continued period of upwards of a hundred and several tens of years; they have thus enjoyed mutual tranquillity, pleasure, and profit. Now, Lord Napier, calling himself the said nation's barbarian eye, has, without having previously reported respecting himself and requested a permit, suddenly came to the barbarian factories. This is extremely rash and ignorant. Several times he has been with assiduous earnestness and clearness commanded, if there be any affairs of trade which it is requisite and necessary to alter, he must immediately inform the Hong Merchants, that they may report fully, thereby affording grounds whereon to send a memorial to the emperor, in order that his mandate may be obtained and obeyed.

Further, considering that as it was the first time the said barbarian eye had come to the central flowery nation, he was ignorant of the principles of dignity, the governor again deputed high civil and military officers to go to the barbarian factories, to explain fully the regulations established at successive periods by memorial to the emperor: thus opening the way and guiding him again and a third time.

Afterwards, the Hong Merchants, on account of the barbarian eye, Lord Napier, not obeying the orders enjoined, requested that a stop should be put to the said nation's trade. It would have been proper to have closed the ship's holds immediately. But it was considered that the said nation's king has hitherto been reverently obedient, and that the said barbarian merchants have come from far, passing over many seas, and sailing for several times ten thousand miles, in defiance of dangers, to come here, so that it would be inexpedient, because of one man, Lord Napier's, perverse disobedience, to overwhelm all the said merchants with grief. The government lowered itself to the barbarian dispositions. Most perfect and well arranged was its conduct. Not as Lord

Napier's obstinate, unyielding, wilful, irregularly honoring and magnifying himself; both full of objections with respect to the mercantile guests, so as to be impracticable, and also, it may be apprehended, productive of consequences to the commercial affairs of the said barbarian merchants. At that time the governor and Fooyuen, with me the Hoppo, consulted, and resolved from the 12th day of the 7th moon to issue a prohibition stopping the trade, as is on record.

Now the said barbarian merchants have made a petition requesting and earnestly soliciting the favor of continuing the trade as usual. It was because Lord Napier did not obey the laws and statutes of the celestial empire, but presumed to squat himself down in the barbarian factories; therefore a stop was put to the said nation's trade. It is commanded that the orders be immediately enjoined on Lord Napier, that on the same day he request a passport and retire to dwell in the barbarian factory at Macao. If he wish to come to Canton, to manage the trade of the barbarian merchants, let him, according to old regulations, make a petition through the Hong Merchants to the governor and Fooyuen, and to me, the Hoppo, that we may have ground whereon to forward a conjoint memorial, requesting the mandate of the great emperor, to be obeyed and acted on, report being at the same time made that it has been obeyed.

Our imperial sovereign's glory is displayed to the four quarters. There is no place so distant that it is not reached. There is none who does not stand under the copious showers of his gracious favors. It is necessary to seek to obtain his permission and sufferance. Let the said barbarian *eye* immediately leave the provincial city and retire to reside at Macao, in every thing obeying the enactments, statutes, and old regulations of the celestial empire, and acting according thereto. Then I, the Hoppo, will condescend to grant what is requested:—I will immediately communicate and consult with the governor and Fooyuen, to issue orders re-opening the ship's holds, and continuing the trade as usual.

I, the Hoppo, have exercised my office five years, and am deeply convinced that the said barbarian merchants, having approached the civilization of the celestial empire, do implicitly obey the wisely-enacted laws. Now I, the Hoppo, have received commands to return to court to fill an official situation. I certainly cannot bear, that for the actions of one man, Lord

Napier, the trade of all the men of the said nation should be precipitately cut off.

Besides now writing a communication to the governor and Fooyuen, I issue this order. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately enjoin the order on the said nation's barbarian merchants, that they may know it. A special order.

Taoukwang, 14th year, 8th moon, 5th day. (September 7, 1834.)

ACTION OF THE BOGUE FORTS.

(From the Canton Register, October 7.)

At half past 12, on the 7th September, H. M.'s ships *Imogene* and *Andromache*, under the command of Captain Blackwood, got under weigh to proceed through the Bogue. A stir was immediately perceived among the war junks in Anson's Bay, and the Chunpee and Taykocktay forts. All of them at first commenced firing blank cartridge, and the two forts followed it up immediately with shot, which from the distance fell far short and astern of H. M.'s ships. The junks, about a dozen in number, got as far as they could into the shoaly recesses of Anson's Bay. As H. M.'s ships neared and got within range of the Bogue forts, the wind suddenly shifted to the north, the *Imogene* standing towards Wangtong fort on one tack, and the *Andromache* towards Anunghoy on the other. The *Imogene* waited until Wangtong had fired several shots, when the last one having nearly reached her, was answered by two; another was answered by two more in quick succession; the *Andromache* in the meanwhile returning the fire of the Anunghoy battery with several well aimed shot, some of which plunged into the parapet with prodigious effect, and raised clouds of dust, while others passed clean through the embrasures. The British fire while it lasted silenced the forts, but as it soon appeared that any pause on the part of the ships produced a renewal from the batteries, it became necessary to discontinue the order to cease firing on the maindeck. The action was most brisk on getting into the middle of the channel, but the Chinese fired like men in a panic, aiming very wild, or rather letting fly as the ships arrived nearly at the line of fire for each gun as it was laid. There could not have been much re-loading or training of the guns, after the first discharge. The only tolerable firing was on the part of Wangtong fort, on the island, from which

the *Imogene* received several shot, one of them coming through the side of the quarterdeck, knocking down and slightly bruising a seaman with the splinters, and grazing the fore-part of the mainmast, a great many more passed between the hammocks and the awning; and the interest which one, new to this species of argumentation, took in such a splendid sight, on a fine day (which it was) now and then received a rude interruption by the whistling of a shot close to the head. The whole of the slow working passage occupied nearly an hour and three quarters, during which the frequent tacks so often exposed H. M.'s ships to be raked by the batteries, that the little or no damage experienced from the enemy sufficiently demonstrates their want of steadiness and skill. They ought to have sunk both ships. The round stern armaments proved extremely useful. The perfect indifference with which the *Louisa* cutter was manœuvred through the passage by Captain Elliot sitting upon deck under an umbrella, must have provoked the spleen of the Chinese, for several of their shot struck her, one of them cutting nearly a third through the mast, and another injuring the gunwale of the jolly boat. The lascars behaved extremely well on this occasion, the cutter being, on some tacks, nearly as much exposed to the fire of her friends as of the forts. Soon after having effected the passage and hammered the batteries to their perfect satisfaction, the wind obliged H. M.'s ships to anchor below Tiger island.

Perpetual calms or baffling airs kept them at anchor here until the afternoon of the 9th, when they weighed to pass Tiger island. In the interim the Chinese were observed very busy in adding to their means of annoyance; a number of boats bringing additional supplies of arms and men, and a parade of some hundred match-lock men took place on the rampart. As the ships got under weigh with a fair breeze, the larboard guns were duly trained and prepared. The battery reserved its fire longer than was expected, but the moment the first shot had passed the ship's bows, a most tremendous and well directed cannonade was opened from them. The ships steered close under the fort, not more than 200 yards from it, the parapet over-looking them. The crews gave a loud cheer just as they got in front of the battery, and the effect was evident in slackening the enemy's fire. Some grape shot of a rude cast reached the ships in a spent state; which was answered with grape and canister, and the superiority of the marines and top men. One

of their shot killed the captain of the *Imogene's* fore-castle, and three more were wounded, but not severely. The *Andromache* had a seaman killed on the main-deck and three wounded. So many thirty-two pounders entered the embrasures, or shattered the stone parapet, that the Chinese loss must have been considerable. A joss house within the fort was a heap of ruins. This battery got very severely punished; more business having been done in a shorter time than on the former occasion. The ships then anchored below second bar from want of wind.

FORCING OF THE BOGUE.

(From the *Cawnpore Examiner*, December 27.)

Extract from a Letter dated His M.'s ship *Imogene*, at anchor in Urmston's Harbour, mouth of the Canton River, September 28, 1834.

We left Singapore on the 3d August, and on the 11th anchored at the island of Lung-neet, the mouth of the Canton River. Here we fell in with H. M.'s ship *Andromache*, the ship which brought out Lord Napier. The two ships proceeded up to Chuentree, an anchorage 34 miles below Canton. Doubtless before this reaches you, you will have heard of Lord Napier's arrival at Canton, of his being refused to be received by the Viceroy, of the stoppage of the Chinese trade, and though last not least, of the forcing of the passage of the Bocca Tigris by H. M.'s ships *Imogene* and *Andromache*.

If I were to give you a full account of the whole business, and endeavour to do justice to the subject, I should fill many sheets; even with considerable curtailments, I filled four letters crossed at all points to *John Bull*.

Considering the uncertainty of the post conveyance to the district India stations, I am induced on the present occasion to contract my operation within still narrower limits, but as I flatter myself that the proceedings in which I have had a share must be interesting to you, I shall enter fully into their details.

Perhaps you are aware that the local government at Canton, holding foreigners, whom they styled in their edicts as *barbarians*, in the greatest contempt, only to deign to

carry official correspondence with the British authorities through the medium of the Hong Merchants. Lord Napier on his arrival at Canton sent to the Viceroy a letter announcing his coming, and his objects in doing so, but as he refused to allow his letter to be opened by the Hong Merchants, it was not received, the Chinese government taking umbrage, or pretending to be offended at Lord Napier's coming to Canton without having previously obtained permission. The emperor published several edicts, ordering him to set off instantly and return to Macao. The style of these edicts is extremely absurd. Lord Napier's precipitately coming to Canton is declared to be a great infringement of the established laws, and altogether contrary to the high principles of dignity, but in consideration of the barbarian eye (that is, chief or head man) being a new comer he is absolved from strict investigation. I cannot forbear quoting at length the following high flown passage, as it conveys an idea of the opinion of the Chinese of the relative political condition of their own country and England, "to sum up, the nation has its laws, it is so every where; *even England has its laws* (!) How much more then the celestial empire! How flaming bright are its great laws and ordinances, more terrible than the awful thunderbolt; under the whole heaven none dares disobey them; under its shelter are the four seas; subject to its soothing care are the ten thousand kingdoms." As Lord Napier paid no attention to these orders of government, the Viceroy put a stop to the British trade, and this measure producing no effect on the 3rd or 4th of September, the Chinese posted up insulting placards against the walls of the factory, and took away all their servants, and soon after stopped Lord Napier's supplies. In consequence of these proceedings, Lord Napier requested Captain Blackwood to move the ships up the river to Whampoa, the highest anchorage up the river, about 8 miles below Canton, where the ships generally receive their cargoes. The narrow part of the Canton river terminates at the Bocca Tigris, about 2 miles above the anchorage, at Chuentree. The Bocca Tigris, sometimes also called the Bogue, is defended by six forts, three placed immediately in the entrance and about 2 or 3 miles below one on each side and one about 2 miles above on the west side of the river. The lowest fort on the east side of the river is Chuerpee fort, and opposite to it on the other shore is Tycock fort. The distance across from one to the other is about 2½ or 3 miles. Each of these forts mounts about 10 guns. About

three miles above Chuentree fort, on the east side of the river, are the old and new forts of Asenghoy, the former mounting 10 guns and the latter 40 or 44 guns. A little above Anenghoy new fort on the opposite side of the river is Wanghton first fort, a very extensive fortification, having a tier of guns as well as a fortified tower on the upper part of the island, the lower tier has 48 guns and the upper 58; we were too far distant to ascertain whether any guns were mounted on the tower behind.

About two miles above Wangton, first on the west side of the river is a fort on Tiger island, mounting, we imagine, about 30 guns; the position of this fort is admirably chosen, as the channel of the river obstructed in many places by shoals passing in this part close to the walls of the forts. The width of the river abreast of Wangton forts does not exceed two thirds of a mile, so that if the fort were properly manned the passage would be quite impossible. This digression on the position of the forts is necessary to enable you to understand the ensuing narration. To return to the ships. Captain Blackwood received Lord Napier's letter on the 1st September, and immediately a party of 13 marines, commanded by a lieutenant and two mates, supplied by the two ships, sailed in a small schooner up to Canton. They passed the forts unobserved and reached Whampoa before day light the next morning, whence they were forwarded to Canton in the boats of the merchant's ships. As soon as the arrival of the marines at the factory was known to the Chinese, they put a stop to all communications up to the river. In the mean while the ships at Chuerpee made every preparation for battle and were joined on the night of the 6th by the cutter belonging to the factory, having Mr. Davies, the second superintendent on board. I should also observe, that on the night of the 6th, Sir G. Robinson, the third superintendent, arrived from Canton with further despatches from Lord Napier, so that his Lordship at this juncture was without the assistance of either of his colleagues in office. On Sunday the 7th, we weighed in company with the *Andromache* and *Love* cutter and stood across the entrance of the Bogue, the wind being very light and not fair.

At 12-25 the junks in Anson's Bay, seven in number, commenced firing blank guns; 12-47 we tacked and stood towards the fort on Tiger island; at 2-15 we bore up, ran through the channel, which is only 800 yards wide, accompanied by the *Andromache* and *Love*, and stood towards the old and

new forts of Anenghoy, and soon after Chuerpee and Tycook forts fired some shots which passed astern and fell far short. As we continued to advance regardless of their fire, at 1-16 Wangton fort, and soon after the old and new forts of Anenghoy opened their fire at 1-27. As there was no longer reason to doubt their intention of opposing our passage, we opened our fire in return, and our example was soon after followed by the *Andromache*, as we passed through the passage. We were engaged with Wangton fort on one side and Anenghoy on the other, sometimes even as we were obliged to work through, we were in a position to be racked; but thanks to the bad aim and bad powder of the Chinese; and to the able support of the *Andromache*, our damages were notwithstanding very trifling. At 2 we ceased firing as our guns would no longer bear, and as by this time the wind had fallen nearly calm, we found it necessary to anchor, although we had still to pass the fort on Tiger island. The only person wounded on either of the ships was one of our men hurt in the arm by a splinter. Our damages were very trifling, one shot in the larboard side and one of the chain plates shot through, and one shot through the quarter deck hammock netting, which grazed the main mast, together with some half dozen ropes shot away. The *Andromache's* damages were still more trifling. On the 8th, the forenoon being calm and the wind being foul in the afternoon, we were compelled to remain inactive; on the 9th fortune was more favorable: at 2-10 P. M. we weighed with a light breeze from the southward, and at 2-20 the fort on Tiger island opened its fire, which we returned as fast as our guns would bear, being as we passed about 250 yards distant; we kept up a heavy fire, so that at 2-35 the fire of the fort was silenced, our efforts being ably seconded by the *Andromache*; our firing continued till 2-45, when we ceased; our guns being no longer able to bear; at 4 P. M. we anchored about five miles from Tiger island. Neither of the ships received any damage, worth mentioning, in rigging; masts or sails, but I am sorry to say that each ship had one man killed and three or four wounded—none very seriously; my station was on the quarter deck, on the first day, as the upper deck quarters were busily engaged trimming sails. As we worked through the passage we only fired the quarter deck guns once, but having a fair breeze on the 9th, our men made up for their inactivity at the guns. From subsequent observations made as we passed the forts on the 24th, our flag-ship appeared to have experienced con-

siderable injury from our fire; marks of new masonry being in many places visible on the walls. Various reports have been in circulation as to the number of their killed and wounded, on which however no reliance is to be placed, as they evidently disagree, and the Chinese government from motives of policy conceal information on that head. On the 10th and 11th we pursued our voyage up the river, our progress being unavoidably slow by our want of pilots and by the intricacy of the navigation of the river. On the 11th we got on the shore twice, but luckily got off both times, and anchored at Whampoa late in the evening. While at Whampoa we continued perfectly ready for action, and as rumours were prevalent of the intention of the Chinese to send fire rafts down the river to destroy us, boats were sent away every night manned and armed and provided with fire grapnels to guard against them. In the interim Lord Napier continued to negotiate with the Chinese authorities, but unsuccessfully, so that on the 15th he publicly announced his intentions of retiring and allowing the trade to be opened, which the Chinese had declared they would do as soon as he had withdrawn to Macao in compliance with their wishes. He, however, wished to go down to Macao in the cutter belonging to the factory, then lying at Whampoa with us, but this the Chinese refused to allow unless the frigates previously went down the river, but they offered to furnish him with one of their own boats. This demur caused the protraction of the negotiation for some days, but at length Lord Napier yielded the point in dispute, as his ill-health rendered it absolutely necessary that he should leave Canton; his departure was immediately followed by the retirement of the marines from Canton and by the withdrawal of the ships from Whampoa. We re-passed the forts on the 24th quite peaceably, although we were prepared for the worst in case of an attack. We are now lying in Urmston's Harbour, whence, when the weather is settled, we proceeded to Macao. Lord Napier is now at Macao, and of course there his commission has been respected, he must remain there inactive till he hears from England. In the interim, the trade has been resumed and affairs proceed quietly as before. If the home government take up Lord Napier's affairs warmly, there will probably be work for the Navy here next year; at any rate, I think we shall find it necessary to make a demonstration on the coast to support the negotiations which will be entered into relative to this business.

(To be continued.)

No. I.—PENANG.

He who can endure with equanimity a dead calm at sea for three days together under a vertical sun, may truly be said to keep his heart, like Benedict, "ever on the windy side of care." For myself, I found it quite as difficult in such a situation to get to the windy side of care as to the windy side of the ship. For three panting days did we experience an uninterrupted calm in the Bay of Bengal; on the fourth, when our hearts were nigh fainting within us, a gentle breeze sprung up, it gradually freshened towards the afternoon, nor failed us till we made the Islands called the Seyers, when shaping our course further east, we were carried by a squall in a few days within sight of Pulo Bouton, and next morning the Island of Penang was seen dimly shading the horizon many a league a-head. A delightful breeze during the day brought us within a few miles of our port, when at sunset the clouds gathered darkly around us, and a gale came on, accompanied by violent rain, and heightened in its interest by a thunder-storm such as I had seldom before experienced. The night set in dark as pitch, save when the lightning shone out with a fearful and dazzling brightness that paled the lights in our cabins through the very chinks in the bulkheads. We were glad to anchor. All ports and scuttles were closed in, and in a short time, nought was to be heard but the raging of the sea; the creaking of the ship as she laboured heavily, and the awful crashing of the thunder over head as if the very rafters of heaven were breaking. I fell fast asleep in my cabin, and did not awake till after sunrise.

The port of my cabin was open, a fragrant and refreshing air was playing in, I heard the waters rippling gently without, and a soft sunbeam was stealing tenderly upon my couch; the sound of distant voices chaunting a wild strain, and ever and anon swelling out into full chorus seemed approaching—and half doubting the evidence of my senses, full as my dreaming ear still was of "the wild wind and the remorseless dash of billows," I hastily arose, and beheld a scene of picturesque splendour that needed not the tempest as a foil for its peaceful and majestic beauty. The first rays of the morning sun were struggling through a noble canopy of clouds, and fell in all their richness on

the romantic hills of Penang, which but a few hundred yards on our right, towered in lofty and fantastic groups from the very water's edge, covered to their summits with luxuriant foliage. Falling gently back in form of an amphitheatre, they bounded a verdant plain beneath, whose sandy beach winded off in the distance, spotted with pleasant white cottages and terminating finally in the headland where the flag of Fort Cornwallis was already saluting our approach. On our left, the coast of Quada, or the Malay territory, stretched down a broad level expanse of country, lined behind by a broken range of blue mountains on whose breast hung the fleecy vapours of the valleys, imparting a singular character to the landscape as they floated away into innumerable forms. The advance of the sun gradually altered the features of the scene, and as the channel narrowed in our approach, nearer beauties on either side became visible, the bungalows on the Penang beach more frequent, and we could even descry the sentries passing their rounds on the ramparts of the fort. In about half an hour, we doubled the jetty and dropped anchor.

The neat little town of Penang now lay before us, basking in the morning sun, an irregular assemblage of white-walled, tile-covered, broad-gabled houses, wharfs and godowns; built with small pretensions in the open and airy style of eastern architecture, and chiefly pleasing from the romantic beauty of its situation. Nothing can well be conceived more picturesque than this. Behind the town, about two miles distant, stood "this goodly pile, this solemn theatre" of mountains decked in "majestic woods of every vigorous green," the highest peak, or the hill as it is called *par eminence*, rising very abruptly to the height of nearly 3,000 feet above the sea. The plain on which the town is situated narrowing as the bay forms to the south, the hills in that direction swell at once into lesser and more diversified groups, and possess a character of their own from the extensive cultivation of spices which is there carried on. Patches of green lawn peep out occasionally from underneath the bright shade I may almost call it of the graceful nutmeg and clove-trees which here burden the air with their

fragrance; while neat thatched bungalows, rather like summer houses from a distance than dwellings, command from the summits of these balmy hills an enchanting view of the bay beneath, the town, the shipping, and the sunny islands that gem the straits far as the eye can see. The range of which *the hill* is most conspicuous, presents here, too, a greater variety of scene than from the channel on the east. Remoter peaks are described between the tops of the nearer hills, and in front a deep and wild ravine attracts the eye by the superior gloom of its sylvan solitude and the dark luxuriance of its umbrage.

Lastly, you turn your eye to the south where some four miles off, the bold Island of Pulo Jarajah stands like a sentinel at the further end of the harbour, and though intercepting the view of many a fair island beyond, makes amends by the beauty of the deep tints which distinguish its foliage from the "lighter glories" behind it.

Leaping ashore on the sandy beach beside the pier, where a few idle natives were sit-

ting on their hams, or lying "carelessly diffused" in still more indolent postures, we proceeded up the road. The place appeared half-deserted; not a *deganiero* even saluted us; the houses that we passed looked on us, with their broad-low eaves, like heavy eyelids half concealing their windows, as if they were falling asleep in the deep shade of the almond-trees that screened them: the flies buzzed about our ears; a sepoy or two saluted and gazed at us as we went by; a couple of Chinamen, who crossed the way at some distance with pitchers of waters slung across their shoulders, were objects of interest; and in a little green by the wayside, a row of ship's anchors, not to be out done in the heavy listlessness which reigned around, seemed as if they had taken root for ever among the long grass that shot up about them. "A weary land of drowsy heads it was." How strangely did this appearance of lifelessness in nature called *animated*, jar with the active emotions of delight and admiration which the *animate* scene had previously awakened within me!

No. II.—MALACCA.

Malacca, from its political adventures, has acquired a strange union of characteristics in themselves the most uncongenial and unamalgamable. Its fort was originally very strong, was built by the Portuguese, strengthened by the Dutch, and blown up by the English—so that it is now reduced to some picturesque ruins. Its annihilation in 1808, when the place was restored to the Dutch, gave vast offence to that worthy nation. The houses which are still occupied by Dutch from the nearest street in the town. They are not built with verandahs after the Anglo-Indian fashion, but are sheltered from the sun by far-projecting eaves, and tall trees of deep shade at top. The ground apartments are all tile-floored and sometimes sanded in genuine Batavian taste, while from their dark, well-polished wainscoating, their broad-latticed windows graced with flower-pots, and sometimes a massy and capacious fire-place with its black marble cheeks and lofty mantle-piece, surmounted by an old fashioned mirror, decorated with fragments of venerable China-ware, and the walls perhaps animated with the solemn visage of some erst redoubtable Burgo-master, or his equally redoubtable help-mate—European associations are inseparably re-

called to the mind of the looker-on, and beguile him for a moment into a forgetfulness that he is a sojourner in the east. Should the broad-bosomed "house mother" pass herself across his vision, in all the pomp and plenitude of petticoat—"fold within fold, voluminous, inscrutable," the enchantment will for an instant be complete.

But "the day" of Malacca has "gone by"; some old names and recollections are all that remain to it; and it looks now for all the world like a superannuated Dutch clock that has *stopped going*.

But let no stranger who visits here, pass by the house of a certain venerable matron who keeps, and who has kept for Lord knows how long, the principal place of entertainment, so called in the town, Mrs. — (I cannot trust myself with the orthography) is quite the tutelary goddess of Malacca; her inn is her temple; and the heavy oaken table in the large well-sanded public room, and which seems coeval with Albuquerque himself, is her altar. Ah, the libations that have been poured thereon! The air of ever-duringness and imperishability in this sanctum is conceivably imposing. One is irresistibly impelled to

"quaff some immortality" in the massy wooden-bottomed arm-chair, whose tall, stiff back has ere now, he is almost persuaded, given ease to the limbs of many a stalwart hero, jaded and wearied with cuirass and taslet, and whose eyes must have reposed, through the cloudiness of a fifth flagon, with something short of a holy lustre, on the sweet image of the Virgin which once graced these walls. But no! These things, dear traveller, if they occur to you, are the mere coinage of the brain. The antiquity of aspect which so gains on you is not remote; this dusky apartment has been hallowed by the presence of other worthies than those of the field, and blackened by the smoke of other pipes than ever fumed beneath plume and head piece. It is sacred to the memory of jolly Burghers—"ancient men, men of renown"—faithful disciples of him who held that "not to be at bed at midnight, was to be up betimes," and who have kept moistening their barren clay in these their easy chairs, (for the other is the only one that is not so) till either their kind help-mates withdrew the goblets, or Mrs. — herself hinted the propriety of an adjournment, dropping something further perhaps touching "good hours" and "evil tongues." Whose else than the awful and impressive weight of a real Burgomaster, big with designs that would have crushed any other than an Atlas, could have "stamped" on that spacious and well-worn velvet-cushioned chair so vast "an image of himself?" What powerful political influence is expressed in that huge indenture! What comprehension and magnitude of design in this wide circuit! What calm resolution and unshakableness of purpose in the equable compression! What imperturbability of temper, and what gravity of deportment embodied in that soft rounding! and withal, what solemn (I may not exactly say *sober*) consciousness of worth and dignity

diffused in every part, and what resignation, as it were, to the arduous labours of civic office!

Here now, for I cannot heedlessly presume that Mrs. —'s reign is even yet over—here, if you wish to relieve the tedium of a solitary though "lusty brimmer" on a long moony evening, you may have the strangest stories told you of the old Dutch governors, and their deputies, and their wives, and their daughters, and how Commissioner Van This ordered one thing, and Commissioner Van That ordered the other, and how they quarrelled; and how the Burghers thereupon eat vast dinners here, smoaking away week after week and month after month, in remonstrance, as they said, though to no purpose;—and how three French sailors were once hanged for kissing some vrows in the twilight, and then stabbing their gallant sweethearts; and how one of the Councillors, who was a Baron, honest man! actually went the length of *threatening* to resign his seat because he could not convince the then governor that five thousand guilders for repairing a skylight in the Stadt-Huis was fifty times more than the whole Stadt-Huis was worth;—and then, and then, you learn how these happy times are all over, and every thing now going to wrack and ruin; and how the very bell that used to sound to church so pleasantly, has of late got such a timber tone that the spread of christianity has been sensibly affected by it. All these things, and more, can Mrs. — release to you "till the dead of night do creep upon your talk," past, present and future become dim and indistinct, your brain confused with vague imaginings, and you sink at last into a pleasing reverie wherein all the personages whose stories you have been hearing, seem to mingle and ravel together in the maze of an obscure, fleeting, and incomprehensible mystery!

No. III.—SINGAPORE.

A truce with ceremony! Come dear reader, thy hand,—and away with me to one of the many lovely eminences that overlook the town and harbour of Singapore. Can you look round now on these pleasant hills and vales and the smooth ocean far beyond, bursting from a summer shower into all the glad beauty of sunshine, nor feel your spirit refreshed by the scene? See how the cattle on that hill-side top their tails for pleasure;

the birds that have been hushed for a little time by the rain, come forth from the thick cover of the woods and fill the air with their happiness; the brook that creeps along the dell to our right overflows its little banks, and as it winds away seems, in the beautiful language of the Bible, to "make glad the thirsty land"; every moist leaf that glitters in the sun has its silent expression of gratitude for precious moisture that hath descended

on it with the blessing of heaven. As we gaze, the shower travels away over the distant islands making their hills and valleys conspicuous by contrast with the sunshine which pursues it; and now a little white sail—another—are seen stealing forth on the waters, like sister spirits in a dream, now lost behind the trees. A gentle gust from the sea sweeps up the woody glen—what fragrance in its cooling breath! what life in its genial embrace! The little shrubs quiver before it in every stem, and even the gigantic palms condescend to shake their leafy tops to it with something of a solemn playfulness befitting their stature and venerable age!

Every thing in this interesting and important settlement bespeaks the recent encroachment of man on the realms of savage nature. Alas! he has brought vice and misery with him as well as the blessings of industry. The Chinese settlers who form a principal part of the population of the Island, are the most desperate gamblers on the face of the earth, and are passionately addicted, as is well known, to the use of opium. Their propensity to these vices has been availed of by the British Government as a source of revenue, and a portion of the town of Singapore, when I visited, it was occupied by licenced houses for their express indulgence!

I strolled away one evening on a tour through this scene, and never shall I forget the impression it made on me. The street was lighted up by torches flaring from every shop,—the crowd of people was immense; stalls with fruit, vegetables, tea and sweetmeats were scattered by the wayside, and the stench of population was intolerable. The scene reminded me of what I had witnessed in passing through some of the great streets in the city of London on a Saturday night—the busy idleness, the stare of the lounge, the bustle of the vender—the fetid squalor, the lurid light, the loathsome merriment. I involuntarily secured my pockets, and pushed on through the crowd. Stepping into one of the gambling houses I found eight or ten Chinamen sitting in a circle cross-legged on a mat covered plat-form scored with black lines, where an old grey bearded man, whose hand appeared to shake the dice box by its own natural palsy, superintended the orgies with a stern countenance. The board was covered with small copper coins which were every instant swept away by some winner, and as soon succeeded by other stakes. All were intensely occupied with the game; I remarked one man in particular on every line of whose countenance anxiety was pained most bitterly; his last stake was thrown and lost—he made a sudden spring

to the door, but was instantly pulled back, and he resumed his seat with a singular air of unconcern. A woman and a little boy were partakers in the game! a gong suddenly sounding, this scene of the drama ended in the dispersion of all the characters; but I saw a new party instantly sit down, as I was leaving the house.

In the street I found a large crowd assembling a little way on, in front of some exhibition, which proved on my nearer approach to be a Chinese stage-play. The scene was conducted on a platform projecting from one of the houses and illuminated by a number of torches and oiled-paper lamps. The performance was wretched and indecent in the last degree, but excited great mirth in the degraded audience. The actors were habited in grotesque but miserable garments, and wore masks: and the dialogue was carried on in a sort of recitative to the low music of a piper who sat in his common dress at the side of the stage. The owners of the gambling-houses maintained this company of strollers as an attraction to their *hells*. I went afterwards into other gambling-houses where the stakes were higher, and the apartments fitted up with greater care. Women and children were in almost all these places, and the same terrible effects of this accursed passion everywhere more or less conspicuous in the haggard countenances of the players.

From the gambling houses it is but a few steps to the Opium-taverns—*facilities descend*! but you leave all the din, the glare, and the bustle that *there* bewilder into vice, behind you; and in *these* dark shades the miserable look for nothing but an oblivion of their wretchedness. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of these horrid abodes, where all seemed cheerless, gloomy and uninviting, even to the most depraved votary of vice. In a long, low, damp floored, dimly lighted apartment, whose walls and roof were black and greasy with smoke, and the air close almost to suffocation with the tainted breath of its occupants, I found at least a score of people in all different stages of intoxication. I noticed one who had just come in to provide himself from the stand at the door with a portion of the drug, and throwing himself down on a bench, begin to melt it in to the bowl of his pipe by applying it to the flame of the lamp beside him, when he sucked in the noxious vapour at one huge draught. He reposed for a while, and then renewed it. Another gaunt wretch I perceived more frequent in his inflammations, his reason evidently beginning to fail him, and his head to swim. Some were made loquacious, though not loud, and conversed together till their tongue

got clogged, and their eyes heavy. And in others, the helpless exhaustion of every limb, the fixed fiery eyeball, the swollen cheek, the slobbering beetle-stained lips, told too plainly that every energy was prostrated, and that the demon on whose altar this incense had been so unsparingly offered, had abundantly answered the invocation of the miserable worshippers at his shrine. But let us step into fresher air!

How different is the aspect of a city in the East from what we are accustomed to in England! Here we have no causeways shaking to the rapid wheels of carriages or stage-coaches, or ringing with the heavy rumble of more ponderous drays and wag-gons. Here no cheerful shops lighten the pavement by night, and no "pillar of smoke" hangs over the city by day. No toll-bars indeed interrupt the hurried traveller, annoying his temper more than inconveniencing his purse, but neither is he invited to the commodious hotel where jolly landlord with a countenance all redolent of cheer and

welcome, hastens to undo the door and let down the steps at his approach. The sunny solitude of these unpaved streets is enlivened by no cries indicative of "milk" or "muck-kerel" "cross-buns" or "Christmas-pies." No newsman's horn in the distance twangs ominous of dire events in their second edition. No lamplighter flies along at twilight with unaccountable speed, to make the busy scene illustrious. Your ears at morning are not here saluted by the din of opening shops; or at a later hour by the grinding of barrel-organs or the strumming of hurdy-gurdies. Here are no ancient buildings, no venerable Cathedrals, with old fashioned dial plates, no crumbling towers, no solemn Guildhalls, no antique monuments:—no firemen, no watermen, no jarvies, no charleys, no chimney-sweeps! It is the absence of these and of a hundred other characteristics, more than the existence of positive features which marks the distinction I speak of; and time is rapidly obliterating all that is not the unavoidable consequence of difference in climate.—*Bengal Herald.*

THE NEW INDIAN INSOLVENT ACT.

ANNO QUARTO AND QUINTO.

GULIELMI IV. REGIS.

CHAP. LXXIX.

An Act to amend the Law relating to Insolvent Debtors in India. [14th August, 1834.]

Whereas an Act was passed in the ninth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Fourth, intituled *an Act to provide for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the East Indies, until the first day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-three*; and by another Act passed in the second year of the reign of his present Majesty King William the Fourth, the said Act was continued in force until the first day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-six; and whereas in and by the said Act to provide for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors to the *East Indies*, certain provisions were enacted as to a commission of bankruptcy issuing against any such insol-

vent debtor as therein mentioned, and as to the proceedings consequent thereon; and amongst other things it was enacted, that a certificate obtained under such commission as therein provided, should have the same force and effect in all places situate without the limits of the *East India Company's* Charter, as if the same had been duly signed in the usual way after such bankrupt had duly surrendered and passed his last examination; and it was also by the said Act amongst other things provided and enacted, that whenever it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of any Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, upon the application of any insolvent, his assignee or assignees, or

any of his or her creditors, that the estate of such insolvent debtor which shall have come to the hands of the assignee or assignees shall have produced sufficient to pay and discharge three-fourths of the amount of the debts which shall have been established in such Court, or that creditors to the amount of more than one half in number and value of the debts which shall have been so established, shall signify their consent in writing thereto, it shall be lawful for such Court to inquire into the conduct of the said insolvent, and if it shall appear to such Court that the said insolvent has acted fairly and honestly towards his or her creditors, such Court shall be fully authorized and empowered thereupon to order that the said insolvent shall be for ever discharged from all liability whatsoever for, or in respect of such debts so established as aforesaid, and such Court shall, in the order to be drawn up, specify and set forth the names of such creditors; and after any such order shall have been so made no further proceedings shall be had in the matter of the petition before the Court, unless upon appeal made to the Supreme Court of Judicature of the presidency where such Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors shall be holden as thereby authorized; and it was by the said recited Act also provided, that no such order as last aforesaid shall prevent any creditor who shall not have been resident within the limits of the Charter of the said United Company at any time between the filing of such petition and the making of such order as last mentioned, and who shall not have taken part in any of the proceedings under the said petition, from bringing any suit or action in the *East Indies* for the purpose of obtaining execution against the goods, estate, or effects of such insolvent for any unsatisfied claim of such creditor, nor from bringing any suit or action for such claim in any Court of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, or elsewhere without the limits of the said United Company's Charter, against such insolvent, in the same manner and with the like consequences and effects as if such order as last mentioned had not been made: and whereas it is expedient to extend and add to the provisions of the said acts, so as to give to

insolvent debtors, being traders, who shall have acted fairly and honestly towards their creditors, an additional and more complete discharge, and also to render more effectual the means of obtaining such discharge, and at the same time to preserve to such insolvent debtors such relief as is already afforded by the said recited acts; and whereas under the provisions of the act passed in the first and second years of his present Majesty King *William* the Fourth, intituled *an Act to establish a Court in Bankruptcy*, a fiat is issued in bankruptcy in lieu of a commission of bankrupt in every case where the Lord Chancellor, by virtue of any former Act had heretofore power to issue a commission of bankrupt: Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that any person who now is, or who shall hereafter become, an insolvent debtor within the intent and meaning of the said Act of the ninth year of the reign of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, either upon petition filed, or by adjudication on an act of insolvency as therein provided, and who at the time of such petition being filed, adjudication made as aforesaid shall have been or shall be a person who, by an Act passed in the sixth year of the reign of His late Majesty, intituled *an Act to amend the Laws relating to Bankrupts*, or by any act hereafter to be passed, would be deemed a trader liable to become bankrupt, shall be at liberty, at any time not earlier than three months from the making of such assignment as in the said Act, intituled *an Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the East Indies*, directed, or from any such adjudication of insolvency as therein mentioned (as the case may be), to apply by petition for his discharge to any one of the said Courts in the *East Indies* for the relief of insolvent debtors, in the said last-mentioned Act mentioned as shall have already jurisdiction over the matter of his insolvency; and the principal officer of such Court shall cause a notice of such petition to be forthwith inserted in the Gazette of the presidency within which such Court shall be holden; and the chief secretary of the Government of such presidency

shall, without delay, transmit to the Court of Directors of the said United Company, by different ships, two at least of every such Gazette which shall contain such notice as aforesaid, who shall, without delay, cause such notice to be inserted in the *London Gazette*; and all creditors of the said insolvent, either alone or as a partner with any other person or persons, and either within the limits of the said Charter of the said United Company, or elsewhere, who shall not, within fourteen calendar months from the filing of such petition for a discharge as aforesaid, have given notice to the said Court of his dissent from such insolvent having his discharge, shall be taken to have assented thereto; and thereupon, and at the expiration of the said fourteen calendar months from filing of such petition for discharge as aforesaid, if it shall appear to such Court that the said insolvent has acted fairly and honestly towards his creditors, and unless creditors to the amount of one-sixth in number and value of the debts that shall have been established in such Court shall have given notice of their dissent as aforesaid, or unless a fiat in bankruptcy (not being a fiat issued under the provisions of the said recited Acts 'to provide for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the *East Indies*,') shall have been sued out in *England* against such insolvent within the time herein-after provided, such Court shall be authorized and empowered to order the discharge of the said insolvent from liability for debts, claims, and demands of, and against such, Insolvent; and such order shall operate (save as herein-after provided) as a release and discharge from all debts, claims, and demands for which such insolvent was liable at the time of his petition for relief being filed, or of any such act of insolvency committed as aforesaid (as the case may be), and whether within the limits of the Charter of the said United Company, or elsewhere, and whether such debts, claims, and demands shall or shall not have been established in such Court as aforesaid, provided, nevertheless, that such order shall not operate as a release or discharge of any person who was partner with such insolvent, or jointly bound or liable with him.

II. Provided, always, and be it further enacted, that in cases any fiat in bankruptcy shall be issued in *England* against any such

insolvent trader as aforesaid, under the provisions of the said Act, intituled *an Act to provide for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the East Indies*, or under the provisions, of any other act passed, or to be hereafter passed, respecting insolvent debtors in the *East Indies*, then and in such case such order for discharge as aforesaid shall not operate as a discharge of the debt, claim, and demand of any creditor who shall not have been resident within the limits of the Charter of the said United Company at any time between the filing of such petition and the making of such order as last-mentioned, nor shall any such creditor be debarred from bringing any suit or action for such debt, claim, or demand in any Court of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, or elsewhere, without the limits of the said United Company's Charter, against such insolvent, in the same manner and with the like consequences and effects as if such order as last mentioned had not been made.

III. Provided, nevertheless, and be it further enacted, that in such last mentioned case, upon any application made to the commissioner acting in such fiat as aforesaid, to sign the certificate of such insolvent, and after the same shall have been signed by the requisite number of creditors under the provisions of the said Act, intituled *an Act to provide for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the East Indies*, or any other act passed, or hereafter to be passed respecting insolvent debtors in the *East Indies*, then if it shall be made to appear to such commissioner that such order for a discharge has been made by the Court in the *East Indies* as aforesaid, and if such commissioner shall sign such certificate, he shall also certify in writing upon such certificate that such insolvent has obtained such order for discharge in the *East Indies* as aforesaid, and thereupon such certificate shall have the same force and effect, as well within as without the limits aforesaid, as a certificate duly obtained under the said Act of the sixth year of the reign of His Majesty King *George the Fourth*, intituled *an Act to amend the Laws relating to Bankrupts*, or in any other Act passed, or to be hereafter passed, respecting bankrupts.

IV. And be it enacted, that any such insolvent trader who shall not be made a bankrupt under the provisions of the said Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the *East Indies*, or of any other Act passed, or hereafter to be passed, respecting insolvent debtors in the *East Indies*, if he shall, after such order for his discharge shall have been made as aforesaid, be arrested or have any action brought against him for any debt, claim, o

demand for which he was so liable as aforesaid, either within the limits of the Charter of the said United Company or elsewhere, shall be discharged upon common bail, and may plead in general that the cause of action accrued before he became insolvent, and may give this act and the special matter in evidence; and such order as aforesaid, duly sealed with the seal of the said Court, shall be sufficient evidence in all Courts and places whatsoever of all the proceedings precedent to such order being made, and of the same being duly obtained; and if any such insolvent trader shall be taken in execution or detained in prison for such debt, claim, or demand, where judgment has been obtained before such order of the Court for his discharge as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for any Judge of the Court wherein such judgment has been obtained, on such insolvent producing such order as aforesaid, to order any officer who shall have such insolvent in custody by virtue of such execution, to discharge such insolvent without exacting any fee, and such officer shall be hereby indemnified for so doing; and any such insolvent trader who shall be a bankrupt under the provisions of the said last-mentioned Act, and who shall be arrested within the limits of the Charter of the said Company, shall be so discharged, and may so plead, and shall have otherwise such relief, within the said limits, as herein-before mentioned, and if he shall also obtain such certificate as herein-before provided, he may be at liberty to avail himself either of such certificate, or of such order of discharge as aforesaid, for the purposes of his discharge within the limits aforesaid.

V. And be it further enacted, that in cases any fiat in bankruptcy (other than a fiat under the provisions of the said Act, intitled *an Act to provide for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the East Indies*, or any other Act relating to the Insolvent Debtors in the *East Indies*.) be issued against any such insolvent trader within the period of eight calendar months from the time of such petition for relief being filed, or of such adjudication of insolvency being made, as the case may be, and such insolvent trader shall be duly adjudged a bankrupt under such fiat, then and in such case such Court as aforesaid shall not be authorized and empowered to make any such order for discharge as aforesaid.

VI. And be it further enacted, that after the expiration of such eight calendar months as aforesaid, no fiat shall issue against any such insolvent, upon any petitioning creditor's demand before the filing of such petition

for relief, or such adjudication of insolvency (as the case may be); and in case any fiat shall issue against such insolvent trader as aforesaid upon a petitioning creditor's debt incurred subsequently to such filing of petition for relief, or to such adjudication of insolvency as aforesaid, such fiat shall not in any manner affect, invalidate, or interfere with the proceedings under the insolvency previously existing in the *East Indies*, nor shall the assignees under such fiat acquire any right or title to take possession of, demand, sue for, or recover any property or interest, real or personal, wheresoever situated, which belonged to such insolvent at the time of such petition for relief being filed, or of such adjudication of insolvency as aforesaid, but the assignee or assignees appointed by such Court for the relief of insolvent debtors shall have the sole and exclusive right and title thereto; and all debts, claims, and demands due and payable to such insolvent at the time of such petition for relief being filed, or of such adjudication of insolvency as aforesaid, shall be established under such insolvency, and shall not be proveable under such last-mentioned fiat.

VII. And whereas by the said recited Act of the ninth year of the reign of his late Majesty King *George the Fourth*, it is enacted, that all such insolvent debtors as therein mentioned shall, within the time also therein mentioned, deliver into the Court a schedule containing a full and true account of their debts, estates, and effects as therein mentioned, and which schedule is hereby directed to be forthwith filed in the said Court; and whereas it is expedient that the creditors of such insolvent debtors residing out of the limits of the said Company's Charter should have the means of inspecting such schedule with equal facility with creditors of such insolvent debtors residing within the limits of the said Charter: Be it therefore further enacted, that the principal officer of the said respective Courts for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors shall, without delay, transmit to the Court of Directors of the said Company, by different ships, two or more copies of each such schedule, and the said Court shall retain the same, and permit any person or persons being a creditor or creditors of any such insolvent debtor to inspect and examine at all seasonable times such schedule, and shall, upon the request, and at the reasonable costs and charges of any such creditor or creditors (such costs and charges to be regulated by the said Court,) provide for him or them a copy or copies of any such schedule.

MR. CURNIN'S MILITARY RETIRING FUND.

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

GENTLEMEN,—It having been made known, that I had submitted, when at home, a plan for a Military Retiring Fund to the consideration of the Honorable the Court of Directors, and as it was deemed probable, that the Honorable Court would adopt no immediate steps with the plan, because it had not emanated from you, and had not your sanction, I was advised by some of yourselves to reconsider the subject in your behalf after my arrival in India.

As I had the assurance of the Governor-General of the high interest which he took in the adjustment of this question, and of the immense importance of it, both to you and to the Empire, and in compliance with the urgent request of some of those who had a more direct interest in the question, I drew up a letter to your address giving a detail of the plan, of which it was pleasing to the Governor-General to direct, that I would submit an abstract to him.

In compliance with this injunction I drew up the paper or outline which was subsequently published in the Calcutta Papers, and in consequence of the favorable reception which that abstract had met with, it was pleasing to the Governor-General to appoint a Committee of Officers, of whose competence to form a correct opinion on this subject you can entertain no doubt to examine and to report upon the plan for his Lordship's private information. And as the Committee was pleased to recommend the plan to his Lordship's favorable consideration, it has been submitted to the Government, and I have been given to understand is to be referred to England with a recommendation in the strongest terms to the favorable consideration of His Majesty's Government and of the Honorable Court, provided the data and the results deduced from those data shall be found to be correct, and as a matter of course, provided the plan shall not involve too great an outlay of the resources of the state.

You will see from this outline, that the onus devolves on me to justify this measure both to His Majesty's Government and to the Honorable Court; and as I have no aid, and but little leisure to draw up the various statements on which this justification must be made to rest, I trust you will not consider that I treat you either with slight or with disrespect, if I abstain from entering into discussions which may appear on this subject in the public papers: but when you shall have formed committees and considered the subject in every way in which it can be viewed in relation to yourselves, I shall be happy and desirous to offer any explanation which your Committees may require from me, or to adopt and to recommend any improvements in the plan which may occur to you.

The Editor of the *Hurkaru* having obtained the permission of the Governor-General to publish the different papers which were sent in to Government on this subject, I take upon myself the responsibility that those papers shall appear in the *Hurkaru* in an authentic form.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN CURNIN,
Assistant Assay Master Calcutta Mint.

THE OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

TO CAPTAIN T. M. TAYLOR,

Military Secretary to the Governor-General.

SIR,—In obedience to the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor-General, contained in your letter of the 9th ultimo, requiring us to report for his Lordship's personal information on the feasibility of Mr. Curnin's proposition for a Military Retiring Fund. We have the honor to state that we have carefully examined his plan (and given due attention to the objections stated in Colonel Galloway's Minute) and that the result of our deliberations is that it deserves to be recommended to the Honorable the Court of Directors with the utmost weight of his Lordship's influence; and, that

when sanctioned by the home authorities, it is likely, notwithstanding the considerable sacrifices it requires from the army, to be eagerly and gratefully accepted by such a majority as would immediately bring it into efficient operation; and further, we think it expedient that subscription to the plan should be made obligatory on all cadets entering the service.

2.—The practicability of the proposed measure depends, first, upon the consent of the Honorable the Court of Directors, to admit an addition to their present liabilities for off-reckonings and pensions to the extent, at its maximum, of about £300 per corps, or £61,800 per annum, for the Indian Army, which is under the amount implied in the Court's offer to the army of the 6th March, 1832; secondly, on the correctness of Mr. Curnin's calculation founded on the law of mortality which he has ascertained to prevail among the Officers of the Army, interest being allowed at 6 per cent. These calculations have been so tested that we have entire confidence in their accuracy, but they would doubtless be subjected to examination by other skilful actuaries or competent persons. An able exposition of the plan has been prepared by our President, and is herewith submitted.

3.—The point which we consider not to be fully established by Mr. Curnin's calculations, is the degree in which promotion will be accelerated. We are not satisfied that it will attain the extraordinary rapidity assumed by Mr. Curnin; but this is a point which under any arrangements must remain uncertain. We are convinced that promotion will be greatly accelerated, and an over probable estimate of the precise rate appears of less consequence, provided the high pensions which the scheme assigns for specified periods of service be obtainable, and herein lies the superiority of Mr. Curnin's plan, over all which have preceded it, that whether promotion be quicker or slower, it provides competent pensions after moderate terms of service, and whether an individual retires on his pension sooner or later, or finds inducements to prefer remaining in India, the character of the service will be decidedly improved, and the evils of protracted absence from our native land greatly alleviated.

4.—These observations refer to the future prospects of the Army as influenced by the proposed rates of pensions; but for the immediate relief of those who have now served upwards of 25 years, we earnestly recommend to the generous consideration of the home authorities the supplementary part of Mr. Curnin's plan, even if its operation should be restricted to the ranks of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel.

5.—If Mr. Curnin's plan should appear complicated at first view, we submit that it is only on account of the difficulty of applying the ordinary doctrine of annuities to the circumstances of the case, and that when the home authorities have verified the calculations and defined the new condition on which increased pensions will be granted, the few points to which it will be necessary for officers to attend will be perfectly clear and simple. This objection is therefore in our opinion entirely groundless.

6.—We think it desirable that Government should assume the entire management of the Fund as it is now framed, or with such modifications as may be deemed expedient, and in the mean time we recommend that the abstract of the plan and the accompanying papers be circulated for the consideration of the Army.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servants,

(Signed) G. SWINEY, Lieutenant Colonel.
 " W. KENNEDY, Lieutenant-Colonel.
 " G. YOUNG, Captain.
 " H. B. HENDERSON, Captain.
 " W. N. FORBES, Captain.
 " ALFRED T. JOHNSON, Captain.
 " I. THOMSON, Captain.
 " ROBERT MACGREGOR, Lieutenant.

Fort William, February 2, 1835.

I regret that I am unable to concur in the opinions above expressed for the reasons assigned in my Minute of the 28th ultimo.

(Signed) A. GALLOWAY, Lieutenant-Colonel.

[BY THE COMMITTEE.]

Mr. Curnin's plan is this:—Upon an officer's joining the establishment he is supposed to subscribe

For the first 5 years 5 rupees per month.

second	„	10
third	„	15
fourth	„	20
fifth	„	25

and for the rest of the time during his continuance in the service 30 rupees per mensem: and in addition to these payments the officer is expected to relinquish the increase of pay and allowances for one year, to which he will have become entitled upon the attainment of each step to that of Lieutenant-Colonel inclusive.

For these payments and donations, the officer, after 25 years' service, including three years for one furlough, becomes entitled to a retiring allowance of £525 per annum, in which is included the pension of his rank.

In the event of the officers continuing another year in the service after he becomes entitled to this retiring pension, the first payment of the pension is withheld; and the officer gets credit for the additional pension, which, at his standing in the service, the £525 would purchase. This sum is found to be £50, so that an officer having served 26 years becomes entitled to a retiring pension of £575. If the officer should continue another year in the service he also relinquishes the first payment of his *increased* pension, and for this relinquishment he gets credit for an additional pension of £62 10s.; so that after 27 years service the officer's pension would become £637 10s. In this manner the pension is increased each year, by the amount which the acquired pension of the previous year would purchase, till the officer has been 35 years in the service, when his pension is finally fixed at £1,500 per annum.

The pensions on retirement will be seen in the accompanying Table, under the number of years served:

*25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
£5250	5750	6375	7075	7850	8700	9700	10800	12000	13600	15000

To extend the advantages of this scheme to those officers who are on the establishment, and to place them exactly in the position which they would have occupied had the fund been instituted when they entered the service, they are called upon to pay down, on the institution of the fund, if they have served but

1 year	91 Rupees.	14 years	6,604 Rupees.
2 „	160	15 „	7,555 „
3 „	237	16 „	8,570 „
4 „	364	17 „	9,695 „
5 „	1,005	18 „	10,943 „
6 „	1,226	19 „	12,587 „
7 „	1,466	20 „	17,478 „
8 „	1,729	21 „	19,652 „
9 „	2,022	22 „	24,367 „
10 „	2,341	23 „	27,333 „
11 „	4,569	24 „	30,633 „
12 „	5,208	25 „	34,309 „
13 „	5,938		

in addition to the regulated subscription of their standing and the increase of pay and allowances for one year to which they will become entitled on promotion.

It has been satisfactorily shown by Mr. Curnin, that as the army is now constituted, an officer will have to serve as

Ensign.....	5 years
Lieutenant.....	12½
Captain.....	14½
Major.....	6
Lieut.-Colonel.....	8 *

As it might be inconvenient, if not impossible, for some officers to pay down the sum required from them to entitle them to the ultimate benefits of the Fund, it is proposed to withhold from them the increase of pay and allowances, to which they will have become entitled on promotion for one year towards the payment of the augmentation of the pension of the retired officer if such claims should not be otherwise provided for; and for the rest of the time by which their promotion will have been accelerated by the agency of the fund towards the payment of the immediate donation if any shall be due from them; or, until, without the agency of the fund, they might fairly have calculated upon being promoted.

Officers who may become subscribers to the fund, and who through ill-health will have the privilege of retiring upon the half pay of their rank, will be allowed such a pension, in addition, as shall be a liberal equivalent of their share of the assets of the institution—and as, with the agency of the fund, when in complete operation, all officers of ten years standing may fairly calculate on being Captains, the benefit which the institution of the fund is calculated to confer on the junior branches of the service cannot but be perfectly apparent.

These are the principles of the permanent fund; but to give immediate effect to it, and that celerity of promotion which is desirable in an Army subjected to the influence of an Indian climate, and at the same time to fix a limit to the claims of the Army upon the state, it is proposed to solicit, on the part of the Army, the Honorable Court to allow for every corps, in each Presidency, £1,503 per annum, including the off-reckoning money; and the present pension fund; and from this income, when the fund shall have been put in operation, it is proposed to allow to all officers who have served their regulated term and who may be disposed to retire, a pension;

if a Captain..... of 400 Guineas per annum.

if a Major..... „ 500 „

if a Lieutenant-Colonel..... „ 600 „

including the retiring allowances of their rank, and to all other officers who shall have served the regulated terms, and who may become subscribers to the fund, but who may still be unwilling to retire in the first instance, it is proposed to give credit for their present value of the pension of their rank, and for their subscription of 30 rupees per mensem, and when they may feel disposed to retire, the pension which shall be the equivalent of both.

To those officers who may have completed their term of service before the whole amount of donation due from them shall have been paid, and who may continue in the service, credit will be given for the retiring pension of a Captain, unless it can be shown that, without the agency of the fund, the higher rank had been attained;—for the amount of their subscriptions and donations;—and for their subscription of 30 rupees per mensem: and when it may be their wish to retire, they shall have the pensions which are the equivalents of these contributions, provided that the pensions shall not exceed those which the foregoing table assigns for the officers of the different standings.

To those officers who may not have served their term when this scheme shall have been put in operation, it is proposed to allow 400 guineas per annum if they will retire when their term shall have been served; and, in addition, one guinea per annum for every 100 rupees which they may have paid in the shape of donation to the fund, provided these together shall not exceed 500 guineas.

There are various sources in the fund itself to enable it to meet its engagements on behalf of the Army, which engagements, it will be perceived, are but

* And it is estimated that, with the agency of the fund an officer will have to serve as:

Ensign	but 3 years
Lieutenant	7
Captain	8.
Major	3
Lieut.-Colonel	5

temporary, and are calculated to remove from the service the senior officers; and to give that celerity of promotion which is so much required: but if these sources of annual supply and the annuity from the state together, should not be found sufficient, in the first instance, to meet the whole liabilities of the fund, which nothing but experience can precisely determine; it is calculated that the appropriation for the purposes of the fund, of the increase of pay and allowances for one year, of those who are promoted in consequence of the retirement of an officer, will speedily bring the claims upon the state within those limits which it may be the pleasure of the Honorable Court to assign, when of course, all further deductions, if necessary, would go towards the payment of "the donation" still due from the officer so promoted.

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY, IN THE SERVICE OF THE
HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY, ON THE ESTABLISH-
MENTS OF BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY.

GENTLEMEN,

While in the service of the Honorable Company at Bombay, I was brought into communication with some of your Brethren in Arms, who were desirous of instituting a MILITARY RETIRING FUND, which should have for its object the acceleration of promotion, and the pensioning off those on the Fund, who, without such an institution, must continue a dead weight, pressing alike on the prospects of the Army, and on the resources of the state, and injuring by that pressure the efficiency of both. Other reasons were assigned for the existence of that desire; such as the alteration which the value of money had undergone during the late continental war; and that consequent inability to live in that style at home, on the remuneration which the state allowed;—and on their own savings, which their rank and previous habits absolutely required, after a service of from twenty-five to thirty years in this country. They also assigned as a reason for their desire to establish a Retiring Fund, their conviction that the Directors of the East India Company and His Majesty's Government had done all that either the exigencies or the finances of the state warranted, in order to accelerate promotion; and that, therefore, as these had failed to create the desired and uniform celerity of promotion, nothing remained for them but humble submission to circumstances, or the institution of a Retiring Fund based on correct principles; and having for its sole object the facilitation of retirement, and consequently the acceleration of promotion.

Being desirous of contributing my humble efforts towards the accomplishment of so momentous, so important, and so desirable an object as the institution of a Military Retiring Fund, I endeavoured to possess myself of such Tables as might then have been in existence, and as were calculated to represent, accurately, the decrease of European life in India; but I soon found that no such Tables were in existence; and as I knew that to proceed with this question with any chance of being sure of the accuracy of deductions without such documents was hopeless, the desire was created on my part to compile such Tables as would, in my opinion, be found of immense value to the State itself, as well as in relation to your affairs.

To Colonel Leighton, Adjutant General of the Bombay Army, I am indebted for his permission to use a correct copy of the Bombay Army List; and to the friendship of Colonel R. H. Russell of the Madras Army, I am indebted for a copy of the Army List of Madras; but as that List was not correctly compiled, I returned it, for correction, through the late Sir John Malcolm to Colonel Conway, since which time it has never reached me.

Having been compelled to return to England before that document and a similar one ordered from Bengal could have reached me, I represented the want, and the value, as well as THE IMMEDIATE PURPOSE of the document which I wished to compile both to Captain Loch and to Colonel Astell who then occupied the chairs of the Court of Directors; and I can have no hesitation in assuring you, in the most public and positive manner that those Gentlemen not only afforded me every facility which I could require, but that they, as well as Major Carnac, have expressed themselves as being anxiously desirous that you should have a Retiring Fund, with a view to its accelerating

your promotion, and of affording you that remuneration in retirement to which your services and your respectability entitle you. I mention these names to you—and to them I may annex that of the present President of the Board of Controul,—not to impress you with any thing like the belief that they are the only Directors who are favorable to your claims, far from it, for they are all favorable; but I am induced to enter into this explanation that you may accept it as an assurance, that if the plan of the Retiring Fund now submitted to your consideration should meet that attention at your hands which I humbly conceive it merits, you will meet with little difficulty in getting His Majesty's Government and the Honorable the Court of Directors to sanction it, as a final measure, provided the change of system should not involve a larger appropriation of the resources of the state than may be consistent with the efficiency of Government and with a due regard to the public creditor.

It does not appear to me to be necessary that I should in this place revert to the mode in which the Tables were formed, of which the results deducible from them are about to be submitted to you; or that I should submit the tables themselves; as either of these courses would swell this communication to an unwieldy extent; for this, however, there is the less necessity, as the accuracy of the tables and my deductions from them will doubtless have been attested before they are submitted to you: but I deem it right to inform you that the following deductions have been obtained from the law of mortality which I have observed to prevail among 12039 officers who have been on the Indian Establishments, and of whom, those among you who were on either of them, prior to the 1st of January, 1832, form a part. You will perceive that as the older lives among you or who may have passed away, have spent a considerable portion of their latter days at home, as Colonels, and therefore in a climate more congenial to them than India would have proved had they continued in it; and that, on the other hand, as circumstances or choice have compelled others, after having been advanced to the higher ranks in the service to continue till their death in this country, that a table of mortality such as I have formed, from all, must represent, the duration of life in this country *greater* than it should be for those who continue here; and less than it ought to be for those who return to Great Britain after a residence of twenty-five years and upwards in this country. You will also perceive that the value of an annuity on a life in England, which had resided upwards of twenty-five years in this country, or in any other tropical climate, ought to be less than if that life had never quitted England. By looking into the East India Register for this year, page 198, you will observe that the value of an annuity on a life of 43 years of age, which it is presumed had spent 25 years in this country, has been fixed as being worth 10.356 years purchase, when the interest of money is assumed to be 6 per cent. per annum, which value is taken from the Northampton Tables as prepared and published by Dr. Price. Now I entertain the conviction, and in due time I will endeavour to prove that conviction to be well founded—that that value is greater than it should be; and acting on this impression, I have adopted 9.379 years' purchase as the true value of an annuity on a life of 43 years of age, of which twenty-five years have been spent in this country, when the interest of money is 6 per cent. per annum; which value, is that that my tables indicate, *increased by 10 per cent.*

What is meant by "he has an annuity settled upon him," is generally, although vaguely, understood; but what the value of an annuity or of a pension is, is not so accurately conceived. With the view of clearing in some degree the way before us, and of showing the difference in value between money to be immediately paid or received, and money, the payment or the receipt of which is deferred for a given interval of time. I assume that ten-thousand Cadets who are all certain of living over twenty-five years in India arrive together, and agree to subscribe such a sum each, as shall, when twenty-five years shall have been served, amount to such a sum as shall entitle them, upon retirement, to an annuity of £1 per annum; that is, to the payment of 11. one year after their retirement, and to one pound after the lapse of every year till they shall have all dropped off. With this view they will each have to pay down such a sum of money, as being improved at compound interest, and at 6 per cent. per annum, shall amount to £9.379 or to £9 7s. 7d. in 25 years. But an annuity and a pension are essentially different:—for if an annuitant be not alive when the payment of the annuity becomes due, his heirs or executors have no claim; whereas in the case of a pension they have a claim "for the broken period"—for that part of the pension which was in course of accumulation, from the time that the last payment of the pension became due. This distinction between an annuity

and a pension leads to this principle—that a pension payable till the day of one's death is always worth one half year's purchase more than an annuity: Hence, a pension to an officer of 43 years of age, who has been twenty-five years in India, if of one pound, is worth £9.879 or £9 17s.7d. Or, if the pension was £339.14 its present value, to a life of 43 years of age, would be worth £3350 7s. sterling.

- It will be found that if £780.63 were invested at 6 per cent. compound interest, it would in 25 years amount to £3350 7s. This, therefore, is the sum which each of the Cadets should invest, when entering the service in India, in order to secure his own retiring pension of £339.14 per annum. But if only 3935 Cadets should live over the twenty-five years out of the ten-thousand who had come out together, it is manifest that the sum which each should subscribe in this case, will be less than the above in the ratio of 10,000 to 3935: or, that in this case, the subscription of each Cadet should be £307 3s. 9½d. This, Gentlemen, is precisely your case; and I have thus endeavoured to introduce it, in the simplest form to your notice, with the view of dissipating scepticism; and of showing you the effect which time produces on the value of money.

It will be apparent to you, that it is the same in principle whether the £307 3s. 9½d. is paid upon the Cadets entering the service, or that he engages within 25 years to make good the sum to which that will amount, or that he engages after having been in the service some time to pay such contributions and donations as the regulations of the fund may require, and the sum to make up the claims against him on account of the fund as soon as he possibly can. The contributions which I require from a Cadet will accomplish this: and on a future page you will see what should be paid down by every officer in the service, so that that sum and his future contributions shall, when his 25 years shall have been served, amount to 33503,5 rupees, interest being allowed on each at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum.

The opinions of so many of you as to the necessity of a Retiring Fund, and your willingness to subscribe towards it have been so distinctly and unequivocally expressed, that at first sight it would appear to be a work of supererogation on my part to allude to it. But as I have undertaken to represent your present prospects to you, with the view of inducing you to come to the resolution to amend them, so I feel myself bound to bring this picture prominently before you, for your guarantee and confirmation of its fidelity, that those who are yet to succeed you may be enabled to compare their prospects and yours, and to form an accurate estimate of the measure of gratitude which they shall owe you, for having come to a safe and a final conclusion on a question in which their interests as well as yours, were so justly considered.

In the different measures which have emanated from the authorities at home it is hard to distinguish, (particularly for me who am not a military man,) what has been done in the way of augmentation through state necessity, from what has been done purely with the view of accelerating promotion: but after the most serious consideration which I have been able to bestow upon the subject, I am bound to consider the measure of the 1st of May, 1824, as one expressly adopted to accelerate promotion by the creation of so many additional Field Officers; and in the next place, as a consequence of that creation, by affording to some of those, thus promoted, an immediate stimulus to retire, who, without that creation, would have had to wait for years before the ordinary routine of the service had placed them in an equally favorable position. But whatever may have been the motive for augmentation, the Army has had the advantage of it; and at a glance, you will perceive that that was to a very considerable extent.

Within the twenty years ending with 1823.

		Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Of those parts of which it was composed in 1804.
		by	by	created	
The Cavalry	} has been increased on the establishment of	by 1	by 1	by 1	
Infantry		" 1	" 1	" 1	
Artillery		" 1	" 1	" 1	
Engineers		considerably	" 1	" 1	

and yet, there were in 1824 on the different Establishments, but particularly on those of Bengal and of Madras, many subalterns who had been promoted to Captaincies by Brevet. The exact numbers were, per corps, for Bengal 5½; for Madras 4½; and for Bombay 0½.

I find myself perfectly incapable of forming any thing like an accurate idea of what the present condition of the Army would have been but for the augmentations of 1824, and of 1826; but those who knew the Army then, can find no difficulty in admitting that but for those augmentations, or some similar measure, the condition of the Indian Army at the present day would have been any thing but enviable, as the conclusion of the foregoing paragraph, and the following table must amply testify.

The following Table of the times served by the Field Officers of the Indian Army who were promoted within the eight years, ending with the 30th of April, 1832, and of the casualties from which such promotion has arisen is submitted for your consideration and inspection.

(See Table A.)

from which you will see the gradually increasing time which the junior Officers of the Cavalry and Infantry have had to serve before they had been promoted, and if I had been certain of the real state of the Indian Army on the 1st of May, 1834, so as to have been enabled to form the Table from the experience of ten years, rather than from that of eight years, I have no doubt but the subsequent promotions would have marked those differences in a much more distinct and particular manner. The promotion in the Artillery and Engineers seems to be an exception to my conclusion, but their case is owing to inordinate augmentation, and in some degree to the inefficient state into which those corps were allowed to lapse about the beginning of the present century. This however, is not likely to occur again: as there are several Captains, in each of those corps, who seem to have served the regulated time to entitle them to their pensions, and who are yet far removed from the line which separates them from their Field Officers.

From this Table you will be enabled to make several important deductions relative to your future prospects; but as I wish to avoid every alternative and appearance by which it might be inferred that I was begging the question which it is my immediate purpose to force you to affirm, I will not permit myself to make any deductions from it, nor to say more than to point your attention to one fact. That, as within the time of those Officers the extent of augmentation took place which was indicated in the small Table preceding it, and as you have no prospect of any similar extent of augmentation, you may from this form an idea of the time which it will be necessary for you to serve to attain to the different ranks in the service: and the more effectually to aid you, the following Tables are added:—

(See Tables B, C, D.)

The numbers in the second columns of the foregoing Tables are the years, and the decimal part of that year which had expired when those Officers had arrived in India, supposing four months to have been taken up with the voyage; the third columns contain the dates of their promotion to their present ranks similarly expressed; the fourth columns contain the times which they had served before they had been so promoted; and the fifth columns contain the times which they will have served in their present ranks on the 1st of January 1835.

In these Tables the Army rank rather than the Regimental rank was taken, from which it will be seen that the periods served as Subalterns are really greater, and as Captains, so much less than I have deduced.

Now, if notwithstanding all the augmentations and the consequent retirements which have taken place, the following should be the result:

		Bengal.		Bombay.
That a Colonel	had to serve on	30,842	32,275 years	31,022 years
" a Lieut. Col.	the Establish-	27,049	27,367 "	26,189 "
a Major	ment of	24,854	24,351 ..	22,997 ..

before those ranks upon large averages were obtained, and within whose time the army was nearly doubled; I ask you in the most respectful and emphatic manner what your own prospects are; when, as you must be well assured there is no hope of an augmentation to accelerate your promotion; and that, constituted as the army now is—it admits its numerical strength being increased to nearly double its present extent of men, with-

out imposing on the State the necessity of granting an additional Commissioned Officer to its roster. I repeat it,—what can your future prospects be, when, notwithstanding the augmentations of 1824 and of 1826 you perceive that

The Senior Captains... } on the 1st of January 1835
 „ Lieutenant. } will have served in their
 present grades

and that in their former grades

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF		
Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
12 590 years	10,722 years	10 735 years
11,870 „	10,232 „	12 987 „

The Senior Captains..... } had served
 „ Lieutenants..... }

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF		
Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
14 212 years	11,974 years	11,121 years
1,803 „	1 550 „	0,895 „

Now as from the 1st of January, 1835, the Junior Majors on these Establishments will have to serve at least six years before they can be promoted to Lieutenant-Colonelcies, the present Senior Captains will, collectively, have to serve the average duration of three years before they can be promoted to majorities; and, at least, *nine years* before they can hope to be Lieutenant-Colonels.

The present Senior Captains therefore, }
 will have served at least before pro- }
 motion to a } Majority,
 Lieut.-Col.

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF		
Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
29 802 years	25,696 years	21,856 years
35 802 „	31 614 „	30,856 „

But as the Senior Lieutenants have the chance of quicker promotion to Companies than the present senior Captains have to majorities, I suppose the present senior Lieutenants will have been promoted, when they shall, on an average, have served $2\frac{1}{2}$ years each.

They will therefore have served }
 as subalterns before promotion }
 to a }

Captaincy }

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF		
Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
16,173 years	14,282 years	16,382 years

As the present senior Captains were, upon the average, promoted prior to the promotion of 1824, and to the augmentation of 1826; and as the present senior Lieutenants have nothing in anticipation whereby their future progress in the service can be accelerated, it is evident they will have to serve much longer as Captains, than the present senior Captains have served: but as the amount of correction which *ought* to be added for the acceleration of promotion caused by those events, will vary with the temperament of individuals, I shall omit the application of any correction and assume that the present senior Lieutenants will have to serve only as long as the present senior Captains will have had to serve before they are promoted.

The present Senior Lieutenants will have served before }
 promotion to }
 Majorities..... }
 Lieut.-Colonelcies. }

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF		
Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
31,763 years	28,004	30,117
37 763 „	34,004	36,117

In this statement I have not permitted myself to make any other supposition than that from the time of obtaining his majority a Major will require, at the least, six years before he can hope to be promoted to a Lieutenant-Colonel—and this I am induced to believe no man can think in excess. I may also assume, and with equal certainty of being within the limits of truth, that from the time of promotion ten years must elapse before a Lieutenant-Colonel can reasonably expect to be a Colonel.

Agreeing with me in this, the following are the results, and you are most earnestly entreated to consider them not only in relation to yourselves, individually, but as regards the interests of the Army at large; and, further, that in coming to a decision on the Propositions which are about to be submitted to your consideration, and which those results most eminently and powerfully justify, you are not only, to a certain extent,

fixing your own future prospects, but likewise those of your children and successors; nay, more, that taken in all its generality, this is perhaps the most momentous question which has ever, or ever will be submitted to you for your decision, whether as regards yourselves, or the State you serve; and that, on that account, it imperatively demands your most profound consideration.

TABLE OF RESULTS.

The juniors of each rank will have to serve, at the least, the time under each denomination of rank before they can hope to be promoted to the rank next above it. That is, on the establishment of	BENGAL. A Junior.				MADRAS.				BOMBAY.			
	Lieut.	Capt.	Major.	Lt.-Cl.	Lieut.	Capt.	Major.	Lt.-Cl.	Lieut.	Capt.	Major.	Lt. Cl
	years	years	years	years	years	years	years	years	years	years	years	years
	16,177	15,590	21,590	31,590	14,282	28,004	34,004	44,004	16,382	30,117	36,117	47,117

or, by taking the mean results, which may be called the Military Experience of India, it appears that the

	Captain.	Major.	Lt. Colonel	Colonel.
Junior Lieutenant.....	15 612 years	29 964 years	35 964 years	45 964 years
" Captain.....		14,352	20,352	30,352
" Major.....			6,000	16 000
" Lieut.-Colonel.....				10 000

The times which the present senior Lieutenants have served as Ensigns are included in the first periods for each Presidency and in the upper line of the mean results; but as the mean time which they have served as Ensigns is 1,416 years the numbers in the upper line of this last Table must be diminished by that amount in order to find the exact expectations of the junior Lieutenants; and to find the expectations of an Ensign those numbers must be increased by the time which an Ensign may be expected to serve before he can be promoted to a Lieutenant.

If this period be fixed at five years, the Military Experience of India will stand as follows:

	Lieut.	Captain	Major.	Lt. Col.	Colonel
	years	years	years	years	years.
The junior Ensign	5,000	19 196	33,548	39,548	49,548
" Lieutenant		14,196	28,548	34,548	44,548
" Captain			14,352	20,352	30,352
" Major				6,000	16,000
" Lt.-Colonel					10,000

With the exception of the Colonels of the Bengal Engineers, no Colonels have yet had to serve so long as this Table indicates before they had been promoted: but that they have not had so long to serve is owing I conceive, to the vast augmentation which the Indian Army underwent while those Officers have been in it; and, perhaps, in some degree to the circumstance, that several Officers were formerly enabled to realize fortunes which permitted their early retirement from the service, and by whose withdrawal, promotion was further accelerated. Still, I must own, the above Table is based upon a fallacy of principle, which it is necessary you should perceive to be enabled to make those deductions from it that are most likely actually to square with future experience and with fact.

You will perceive that the present officers of some standing are imbued with nearly the same feelings, because they have all had the benefit of celerity of promotion owing to augmentation, and that, therefore, they cannot yet have felt to its full extent, that they are each in the way of the other; you will also perceive that the present senior Captains only served as Subalterns 22,436 years each, before they had been promoted; but that the present senior Lieutenants will have served 15,612 years, and that the present Ensigns must serve 19,196 years before they can be placed in the same position: and that, therefore, without some change the Subalterns of the army must become in succession older and older men, as well as the Captains and Field Officers; and that, as by the augmentation of 1824, young men were made Colonels, who have yet many days to

live, the goodness of their lives must necessarily render promotion to Colonelcies from year to year slower for several years yet to come. As then promotion on the one hand will become slower, and men on the other hand older, with less rank, many of these will strike a balance between their prospects of promotion and prospects of dying in this country, and give up the contest by retirement. On this principle, retirement and promotion will become more uniform; and on it, I conceive, I am justified in making a deduction from the last result and to conclude

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{that an Ensign must} \\ \text{serve before promotion} \\ \text{to a} \end{array} \right\}$	Lieutenant.	Captain.	Major.	Lieut.-Col.	Colonel.
	5 years.	17½ years.	32 years.	38 years.	46 years.

Having now placed before you a picture of your future prospects in a plain, and I fear, too faithful a shape to be either gainsaid or controverted, it must rest with you to determine whether you will, through apathy or indifference, permit this picture to be realized, or resolve at some sacrifice to attempt to correct it.

I have no doubt as to the issue of this communication to you: I know that where there is in those proposals no feeling to be discovered but honesty of purpose, and that too from an individual totally unconnected with you, but devoutly attached to your interest, you will second his efforts to befriend you, and trust to his future zeal in your cause to adjust any difference of claims which what he is going to call upon you to submit to, may occasion.

Let us suppose that when the Indian Army was instituted about 1760, it had been declared to the Cadets then beginning their career, that if they should agree among themselves to subscribe monthly 5 rupees for the first five years; 10 rupees for the next five years; 15 rupees for the next five years; 20 rupees for the next five years; and lastly, 25 rupees for the next five years; and to relinquish in addition as a donation, the difference of pay and allowances for one year, to which they would have become entitled on promotion, they should, after the expiration of 25 years, including three years for one furlough, have the privilege of retiring on the following scale of pensions.

After a service of 25 years on a pension of 5,250 Rupees

26	5,750	"
27	6,375	"
28	7,075	"
29	7,850	"
30	8,700	"
31	9,700	"
32	10,800	"
33	12,000	"
34	13,500	"
35	15,000	"

and that through the effect of augmentation, the scale of promotion was throughout such, that before promotion

An Ensign	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{had to serve but} \end{array} \right\}$	3 years
A Lieutenant		7 years
A Captain		8 years
A Major		3 years

and that after the fund had begun to take effect, this scale of promotion was observed uniformly to prevail; and endeavour from this picture to infer what the present circumstances of the Indian Army would have been.

It cannot be otherwise than self-evident to you that hundreds who are now in the service, would have retired when they had become entitled to the pension of £525; and that none would have continued in it, after having served thirty-five years; at which period, the augmentation of the pension ceases; unless they had been in the receipt of much higher allowances from official situations: and further, by comparing the progress of promotion among them in consequence of the existence of my supposed fund with the progress of promotion among you, THAT THE MONEY WHICH THEY WERE CALLED UPON TO PAY, IN THE SHAPE OF DONATION, WAS MONEY, WHICH, WITHOUT THE AGENCY OF THE FUND, THEY NEVER WOULD HAVE RECEIVED. In short, that it was money left to them in trust for their own future benefit and for the acceleration of promotion in the Army by those who had previously retired.

You cannot look at this principle with any degree of attention without coming to the conclusion at which I have arrived, nor can you look at it in too steadfast a manner; as it is in my estimation, on your accurate perception of this principle, and on the adoption of it, that the certainty of your success in the institution of a Military Retiring Fund, depends.

I will suppose, the Army after the proofs which I have placed before them, can have no difficulty in coming to an unanimous conclusion, that the institution of a Military Retiring Fund, which should speedily change the aspect of their prospects by accelerating promotion, has become absolutely necessary: and that they have resolved, at any sacrifice, to subscribe towards it such a sum monthly, as may be deemed sufficient for this purpose: all that I require ON THE PART OF A CADET is the fulfilment of the conditions of the Fund which I have supposed to have been instituted in 1760. That is, I require a subscription of

5 Rupees	per mensem	for	5 years.
10	"	"	5 years.
15	"	"	5 years.
20	"	"	5 years.
and 25	"	"	5 years, and 30 Rs. per mensem for

the rest of the time he may continue in the service, and that upon promotion, that he shall relinquish the difference of pay and allowances for one year, to which he will have become entitled, in consequence of such promotion.

Should YOU agree to this moderate rate of subscription, the following table contains the present value of your future contributions and donations, *on the supposition, that your promotion is as rapid as I have assumed it to be*, namely, that

An Ensign	} shall be promoted to a	Lieutenant	} After a service in the next junior grade of	3 years
A Lieutenant		Captain		7 years
A Captain		Major		8 years
A Major		Lieutenant-Colonel		9 years

(See Table E.)

This table also contains, under the head of "present value," the present value of an annuity to commence when you shall have served twenty-five years in this country, including three years for one furlough: the difference between which, and the present value of your future subscriptions and donations, according to your standing in the service, is the sum which each of you should pay down as an immediate donation to the fund, in order to place you in the position which you would have occupied had this fund been in operation when you entered the service and to entitle you to the full and eventual benefits of it.

I will suppose that every officer of the Indian Army who has not served 22 years in India becomes a subscriber to the Fund, and that he has paid down the immediate donation due from him, what more is necessary to give full efficiency to the Fund and to preserve its stability and integrity, than a small monthly subscription in addition to the above, to make good the deficiency which the slowness of promotion, for a time, will occasion.

If you were to fulfil the above conditions relative to the payment of "immediate donation", the comparative slowness of promotion between the results of experience and my assumed scale, would necessarily arise from the great number of officers in the service, who, having served their full time, are not embraced in the conditions of the Fund; but to bring them within the operation of it, to adopt the wiser course, and give at once the required celerity of promotion, I earnestly recommend you to allow, to every officer who shall retire, when this plan for Retiring Fund shall be put in operation,

If, a Captain, a pension of	400 Guineas;	} including the retiring allow- ances of their rank without any demand whatever upon them for the boon.
If, a Major	500 Guineas;	
If, a Lieut.-Col.	600 Guineas;	

These terms are so liberal—and they are not more liberal than just—that I am persuaded many who have served their regulated time would gladly avail themselves of the offer, and retire, and thus bring up the celerity of promotion to what I have assumed that, with the existence of this fund, it must ultimately attain.

It is apparent that after these officers shall have retired, hundreds of officers would become entitled to pay and allowances, to which, for years, without the Agency of the Fund, they would have had no claim. I beg to claim, in the name of the Indian Army, this increase of pay and allowances from them, *for one year*, towards the payment of the pensions of the retiring officers—and for the rest of the time by which their promotion shall have been anticipated by the Agency of the Fund, or till the full amount of their immediate donation shall have been paid up, as their payments in liquidation of the “immediate donation” which at the institution of the Fund will have been due from them.

I have requested you to allow all Captains, who may have served their time to retire on 400 Guineas per annum—and it must be apparent to you that according to the present rate of promotion, no higher rank in that interval of time will have been obtained. I now entreat you to extend that principle to yourselves, and, in accordance with it, to allow every officer when he shall have served 25 years, the same Retiring Pension, *increased by the pension which his donations paid on his own account may be the equivalent of*, and estimated at the rate of a Guinea increase to the pension per annum for every 100 Rupees paid as donation to the Fund, so long as these sums together shall not exceed 500 Guineas. And to an officer who may be obliged to retire through ill-health before his time shall have been completed, I should consider that you acted but barely just by allowing a Guinea per annum for every 100 Rupees which he may have paid on his own account to the fund both in the shape of monthly subscription, and of donation: and to an officer who may have served his time of 22 years without having had a furlough, and from whom nothing but his future subscriptions were due, I would allow the full retiring pension of 500 Guineas on his paying down the monthly subscriptions which he must have paid, had he continued for three years longer in the service. Here the Fund will incur a loss; but that loss will be of very trifling amount: and of no value compared with the advantage arising from his retirement.

As the scale of Retiring Pensions is liberal in the extreme, promotion among you will necessarily be rapid; and as the increase of your pay and allowances will be equally great, the deductions made from your income will soon have made good the amount of “immediate donation” due from you. When, therefore, you shall have served your time, you will, from your own payments and from the Court's pension for 25 years service in India (to which I suppose you become as absolutely entitled as if that portion of your pension came to you by inheritance or bequest,) have become entitled to the retiring pension of 500 Guineas. Now if your standing in the service should impress you with the propriety of continuing another year in it, you of course, relinquish the first payment of your 500 Guineas: but at the end of the 26th year when that payment shall have become due, I suppose it, money paid over to a life Assurance Office for an additional pension to the payer during the remainder of his life. The pension which is the equivalent of 500 Guineas to a life of 44 years of age, and which has been 26 years in India, being about 500 Rupees, if you should retire after 26 years, you will have become absolutely entitled to the retiring pension of 5750 Rupees. And if you should continue another year in the service, you, in the same manner, relinquish the first payment of your *increased* pension; and for this relinquishment you will have become entitled after a service of 27 years to the retiring pension of 6375 Rs.

A Table of the pensions to which an Officer of the Indian Army will have become entitled for a service of 25 years and upwards in India, and for certain subscriptions and donations which he will have paid within that time.

Time served, 25 years.....	Pension to be allowed in Rupees.	5250
26 "	5750
27 "	6375
28 "	7075
29 "	7850
30 "	8700
31 "	9700
32 "	10800
33 "	12000
34 "	13500
35 "	15000

These pensions are so large and liberal, that I have no doubt but you will immediately adopt the scheme which is to confer them upon you; and for the purchase of which, if the pensioners whom you may now create, to accelerate your own promotion, had the equivalent of their pensions provided for, would only involve the contribution of a comparatively small sum for 25 years, and the relinquishment of the difference of pay and allowances for one year to which you would become entitled on promotion; and your claims to the off-reckoning money when you shall have become Colonels, which money I propose to combine, for general use, with the money which may be assigned for the Retired Officers and for the payment of the Retired allowances for your Fund.

We now come to the most important part of the subject; and, that is, the power and the will of the Honorable Court to assist you to the extent which the previous portion of this letter would appear to imply. I know, from many considerations, that the Directors are most anxious to do all that is in their power to assist you; and you know from their public declarations their inability to assist you to the extent which this measure will absolutely require. As then, any request that is made and involving a condition which it is impossible to comply with, must necessarily be rejected; so, to avoid refusal, and, at the same time, to carry your point, the safer plan for you to adopt is not to ask for more than the Honorable Court can with safety and prudence allow you.

Now the Honorable Court knows the average annual amount of the Off-reckoning Fund;—it knows what it has to pay per annum to the Retired Officers;—it knows also the sum by which this is being increased from year to year; and which, if the present system prevails must go on increasing for many years yet to come. The Honorable Court can therefore, assign with tolerable accuracy the maximum limit towards which your claims upon them are likely to approach. All, then, which I should deem it proper for you to require, is, that the Honorable Court, in order to aid your laudable and highly expedient and politic endeavours, would have the goodness to anticipate the future, and assign to you at once, and per annum, that limiting sum, not as a right, but as a limit beyond which if your Retiring allowances should extend, you, or those who may hereafter enjoy the benefit of the promotion caused by the excess of retirement, should contribute among yourselves to make up the excess of expenditure which those retirements may have occasioned.

I am unable, but even if I were able, it would be unwise so far as your interest is concerned; and presumptuous, with reference to the feelings and the prerogatives of the Honorable Court, to give any opinion as to the amount of the limiting sum which the Honorable Court might feel disposed to fix, but as I require a sum in order to develop my entire views on this subject to you, I will assume, simply, as a basis for calculation, that the Honorable Court has resolved to allow, to each Presidency, such a sum per annum, payable in London, as shall be equivalent to a pension, to each Regiment or Battalion on the Establishment of £1,500, including the Off-reckoning money; and, as one of the conditions on which this grant is made, that you shall pay out of it the present Retired Pensions and their Off-reckoning claims to the present Colonels and to such other Officers as may not come into the present scheme. If this, or an analogous arrangement were made, you would have an immediate and available excess of capital to pay up the pensions of the Officers who may retire on your Fund; which excess, you must see, will, from year to year go on increasing, as you become Colonels, and as the present Retired Officers drop off, or are otherwise disposed of.

As then you would have an annually increasing income, available for the payment of the pensions created by, and chargeable to, your Military Retiring Fund, and as you would be enabled soon to pay up the amount of immediate donation due from you to the Fund, there would be but few Officers, except those who should retire in the first instance, who would become in any degree chargeable to you. And if, unfortunately it should be the case, that in the first instance some officers, from inability, or any other cause should refuse to subscribe to your Retiring Fund, you must see that, as these drop off or see their advantage of joining it, and as you and they who may join it increase in rank the amount of annual donations in favor of the Fund, would, and must, as regularly increase. As then the claims of the present Retired Officers and of the Colonels and your own pensioners for many years yet to come, would regularly decrease, and as the claim of those upon you who should subsequently retire, would be of an inconsiderable amount, you must see that in a few years your annual donations would soon amount to the equiva-

lent of the excess of Retiring Pensions, allowed as an inducement to retire, when, of course, the payment of the annual donations for this purpose would cease.

Taking all this into consideration, I am bound to conclude that you can experience no difficulty in the adoption of an efficient Retiring Fund, unless that difficulty should be created by yourselves. You can meet with no difficulty from His Majesty's Government or from the Court of Directors; as they will doubtless gladly aid you in the adoption of a scheme which should fix so reasonable and proper, as well as expedient a limit as 53, as the average age of their senior Officers in India, and at the same time, a limit to your claims upon the State: and, as the Honorable Court must see that as this would be a final measure, and by which your promotion and happiness, as well as the efficiency of the Army would be most essentially increased, I have no doubt but they would be liberal in the extreme in supporting it.

As there are officers in the service, in the possession, and others in the expectation of appointments, the emoluments of which they may estimate at a higher value than your pensions, however liberal, and the enjoyment of liberty and the associations of home, these must necessarily enjoy the acceleration of promotion which will have been occasioned by the retirement of those above them. And as these being men of refined and honorable feelings would repudiate the idea of being dependant on their juniors for their advancement in rank, they might, in the first instance, be averse to the institution of a scheme which would be likely to embarrass them and place them in an unfavorable light to their associates: but as the celerity of promotion becomes slower as an officer advances in the lists of Majors or Lieutenant-Colonels, nearly, although not exactly, in a geometrical progression, I have tables by me, founded on this principle, whereby I can estimate the present value of an officer's claims from his standing in either of those lists, from whence the amount of the fine may be determined, which every Field Officer should pay to the Fund, who may be unwilling to retire and still more so, to be under an obligation to you for the advantage which he may have acquired by the retirement of any number of officers above him. These, therefore, can have no objection to the institution of the fund, and on that account I hope they will join you by subscribing their thirty rupees per mensem towards it.

A Captain or a Major, who might have retired on the proposed pensions of those ranks when this scheme shall have been put into operation may feel disposed to wait for a time longer in this country, and without any intention of benefiting by the Fund at your expense: to this, of course, you cannot object; but with the view of preventing any to hang on who may be disposed to retire, and who may wish to wait till the operations of the fund shall have conferred a superior rank upon them, you will, I conceive, act wisely by the adoption of one or the other of two principles—namely, to grant them the pension of their new rank upon the payment of 10,000 Rupees to the fund; or which perhaps would be found by far the more preferable plan to give them credit for the present value of the retiring pension of their rank, and for their subscription of 30 Rupees per mensem; and when they may feel disposed to retire, the pension which shall be the equivalent of both.

This is equally applicable to the class of officers considered in the foregoing paragraph. And it can evidently be rendered equally applicable to those gentlemen who may not have served their term when this plan shall be put in operation, by giving them credit in the fund for the equivalent of the retiring pension of a Captain; for the amount of their donations and subscriptions paid on their own account to the fund; and for their subscriptions of 30 Rupees per mensem: and when these respective classes of officers may feel disposed to retire, the pension which shall be the equivalent of their respective contributions, provided these pensions shall not exceed those which are assigned in a foregoing Table for the officers of different standings in the service.

There is another class of officers, who, having got as high as the nature of the Service admits of, can derive no possible advantage from the existence of the Fund but the heartfelt pleasure which a good man enjoys at the advancement and the happiness of his associates: I trust that as this is a measure calculated to place the Indian Army in the most enviable position that ever a body of men and the public servants of a State were placed in, they, although they can derive no immediate advantage from it, will so far favor and encourage the institution of the Fund as to subscribe a day's income monthly

towards it, in the hour of need—its infancy—and for the benefit of their Brethren in Arms.

Some officers who may be disposed to retire may urge upon you their desire to have a sum in hand rather than a pension, with which request of course, and at the institution of the Fund, you cannot comply; as the sum which you would have to pay to one would suffice to pay the annual pensions of about ten retiring officers. This, too, is the reason, why it would be objectionable in the first instance to pay from your immediately available capital the debts of the retiring officer: but if the claims against you were made good, and that your scheme had attained a steady course of operation, there is nothing which at present occurs to me either in the principle or the practice of it, that could hinder you from giving an officer or all officers the full and the immediate equivalent of his ulterior claims upon you! Those however who may hitherto have expressed this desire, may have done it from a variety of motives. They may have entertained the idea that if they were to retire on the engagements of the Fund, they had no security that their pensions would be regularly paid to them; as it was uncertain that those who succeeded them would continue to subscribe for this purpose; and have therefore inferred, that as a "bird in the hand was worth two in the bush," an immediate payment would be more agreeable than a pension: but if this feeling ever prevailed, it can no longer be maintained, or find a place in the heart of any reasonable man; as in this instance, every officer subscribes for himself alone and leaves to the directors of the fund but the negative virtue of being honest.

Others may have reasoned on a different principle and have concluded that as their pensions died with them, and perhaps as they had families to provide for, an immediate payment would be of much more value to them than a pension. Here you will see the advantage of your being called upon to subscribe for yourselves, as it enables you to avail yourselves of your corporate capacity, and to enter with good faith into the feelings and the views of your retiring associate.

In this instance you can become your own assurers, and can guarantee to the family of the retiring officer a much larger sum as the equivalent of any portion of his pension which he may be pleased to remit, than he can possibly obtain elsewhere: for if he applies to an Assurance Office, in England, that office will assign the equivalent amount of his remitted income, diminished by about 20 per cent., as the profit to the proprietors of the office on the transaction; and diminished too in consequence of the retired officer when he is in a condition to appear before the directors there, being in all cases, one year older. The application of this principle carries with it another advantage—it renders you less dependant on others for an immediate capital to pension off your seniors, and gives you the privilege of pensioning off a greater number of them.

I have now given expression to all that I consider it material to place before you at the present time, and must therefore come to a conclusion: but before I do this, allow me to exhort you to be unanimous in your determination to adopt the present scheme, which, so far as I can see, is based on principle and in equity, and thereby put an end for ever to the uncertainty and the dreariness of your future prospects. Do not, I implore you, regard with too keen a vision what may occur to you as difficulties in perspective, for if you adopt the scheme you will see those vanish before you and melting like the clouds of heaven before the rays of the rising sun. As I have already stated, you can meet with no difficulties from home; as you ask for nothing but what can be safely and fairly given; and if you should be impressed with this conviction, I think you would act wisely, by subscribing at once; whereby you would have a large capital accumulated to give immediate effect to the fund when the sanction of the Honorable Court shall have reached you. If, on the other hand, that sanction should be withheld, why the amount of your subscriptions could revert to your respective estates. I may add, as my own conviction, that the Honorable Court will never sanction this,—or any other scheme for a Retiring Fund which is not in accordance with the feelings and the wishes of the whole Army. And therefore to be successful, that must be adopted by the officers of the

to be, Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend and well-wisher,

JOHN CURNIN.

TABLE B.

A List of the Officers of the Bengal Infantry who it may be presumed will be the Seniors in their respective Corps on the 1st of January, 1835; with the dates of their arrival in India; the dates of their promotion to their present rank; the times which they have severally served in their former rank; and the time which they will have served on that day, in their present rank.

David Ruddell	08,040	22,677	14,637	12,323	James Matthie	22,081	24,003	1,922	10,997
Jas. Marshall	08,508	19,003	10,495	15,997	W. Shortreed	20,456	23,332	2,876	11,668
Wm. H. Sleeman	09,656	21,312	15,139	10,688	F. Corner	22,522	24,332	1,810	13,668
Saml. Malthy	06,506	21,852	15,346	13,148	R. Woodward	23,470	25,364	1,894	9,636
G. F. Hollaud	06,700	21,395	14,695	13,605	J. Butler	21,366	23,526	1,160	11,474
H. F. Caley	07,629	22,285	14,656	12,715	C. J. Oldfield	20,360	23,526	3,166	11,474
Peter Johnstone	07,489	22,099	14,610	12,901	G. L. Vanzetti	18,730	19,701	0,971	15,299
J. G. Drummond	08,774	23,425	14,651	11,575	A. Agnew	21,295	23,526	2,231	11,474
Stephen Moodie	06,700	21,395	14,695	13,605	J. L. Revell	18,930	20,058	1,128	14,912
Geo. Hicks	08,508	23,164	14,656	11,836	G. Gordon	19,895	22,795	2,900	12,205
J. L. Barle	07,065	21,658	14,593	13,342	W. Beckett	19,626	21,047	1,421	13,953
Geo. Tomkyns	07,506	22,162	14,656	12,838	J. Welshman	21,377	23,526	2,149	11,474
David Hepburne	08,621	23,271	15,150	11,729	F. B. Todd	20,593	23,526	2,937	11,474
Lewis Bruce	08,774	23,425	14,651	11,575	J. S. Hodgson	22,426	21,252	1,826	10,748
Edward Gwatkin	05,648	19,003	13,355	15,997	J. E. Bruere	18,651	18,584	0,000	16,416
W. J. Gardner	08,621	23,271	14,650	11,729	E. J. Dickey	23,684	24,627	0,943	10,373
Alexander Carnegie	11,695	26,069	14,374	9,931	J. Evans	20,506	23,526	3,020	11,471
L. N. Hull	15,722	26,111	10,459	8,819	B. Barberie	22,844	21,332	1,488	9,669
John Oliver	07,065	21,658	14,593	13,342	T. Cooke	20,360	22,526	3,166	11,471
W. Cubitt	06,506	21,236	14,730	13,764	F. W. Anson	22,788	24,332	1,544	9,669
W. Pasmore	06,506	21,236	14,730	13,764	T. H. Newhouse	20,802	23,526	2,721	11,474
W. C. Denby	06,577	21,241	14,664	13,759	R. R. Ludlow	20,336	23,526	3,190	11,473
W. Simonds	08,621	23,271	14,650	11,729	J. Dyson	22,522	21,786	2,261	0,214
F. C. Robb	10,533	26,636	16,103	8,361	R. E. Battley	20,851	23,526	2,675	11,474
John Maule	10,615	26,326	15,711	8,674	C. Cheater	21,369	23,526	2,157	11,474
L. S. Bird	08,774	23,425	14,651	11,575	G. E. Vankey Chusan	22,708	24,578	1,871	0,422
S. Corbett	19,717	26,630	15,913	9,370	J. A. Wood	23,963	25,364	1,401	9,636
G. H. Johnstone	09,656	21,312	14,656	10,688	R. B. Lynch	24,358	21,863	0,505	10,137
Alexander Gerard	08,508	23,164	14,656	11,836	J. W. Gibson	24,481	25,610	0,883	9,636
C. D. Wilkinson	11,528	25,452	13,994	9,548	J. A. Fairhead	22,081	23,526	1,415	11,474
D. D. Anderson	05,999	19,003	13,004	15,997	A. Hodgins	20,506	22,526	2,020	2,474
M. Nicholson	14,478	25,742	11,264	9,258	A. Jack	24,725	25,742	1,017	9,258
J. S. H. Weston	10,615	25,665	15,050	9,335	W. Sawrin	23,524	24,707	1,179	10,293
W. C. Oriel	08,508	23,329	14,821	11,671	C. Haldane	19,432	20,652	1,220	14,318
G. O. Barker	08,508	25,019	16,511	9,991	J. D. Nash	24,777	25,019	0,642	9,981
Robert Low	09,484	24,312	14,828	10,688	R. Angela	20,760	23,526	2,766	11,474
C. W. Cowley	12,601	27,888	15,128	7,112	A. G. F. Younghusband	21,377	24,304	0,000	0,696
T. H. Sanders	09,656	21,658	12,002	13,342	W. C. Carleton	20,728	23,526	2,798	11,474
Charles Griffith	11,744	26,953	15,209	8,016	G. R. Westmacott	23,596	25,364	1,768	9,636
S. M. Horsburgh	07,629	22,285	14,656	12,715	G. Barney	19,618	21,307	1,779	13,603
E. Pettengall	05,999	19,003	13,004	15,997	J. H. Low	24,623	25,361	0,741	9,636
M. A. Bunbury	08,621	23,329	14,645	11,671	S. F. Hannay	20,588	23,526	2,938	11,474
G. Watson	06,506	21,236	14,730	13,764	J. Martin	18,670	19,003	0,333	15,997
Henry Dwyer	06,700	21,395	14,695	13,605	J. Leeson	19,692	22,060	2,368	2,910
James Boudien	08,045	22,677	14,632	12,323	A. Webster	21,804	23,773	1,969	11,277
Richard Newton	05,999	19,003	13,004	15,997	M. Hughes	14,604	16,458	1,854	18,592
T. R. Macqueen	08,508	23,164	14,656	11,836	R. W. Fraser	22,700	24,375	1,675	10,625
W. B. Gerdistone	09,484	24,312	14,828	10,688	T. J. Nuthall	24,352	24,962	0,610	10,038
Benjamin Blake	06,577	21,211	14,664	13,759	H. T. Rahan	18,536	18,674	0,138	16,326
R. A. Thomas	05,648	19,003	13,355	15,997	T. Fisher	18,530	18,584	0,054	16,416
David Mason	06,774	21,932	15,158	13,068	R. F. Macvittie	24,358	25,364	1,006	9,636
James Parsons	06,700	21,395	14,695	13,605	J. Graham	19,536	20,918	1,382	14,082
H. C. Barnard	06,506	21,236	14,730	13,764	J. Finnis	20,506	22,229	1,784	12,710
F. G. Lester	06,506	21,236	14,730	13,764	F. Moore	22,081	24,205	2,124	10,795
John Hogan	08,508	23,164	14,656	11,836	J. D. Douglas	20,360	21,956	1,596	13,044
G. A. Vetch	06,577	21,241	14,661	13,759	H. R. Osborn	19,741	21,003	1,262	13,997
Thomas Dickinson	06,700	21,395	14,695	13,605	A. H. J. Micol	19,774	21,003	1,229	13,997
Hope Dick	08,621	23,271	14,650	11,729	D. Bamfield	22,489	24,332	1,843	10,668
E. Herring	09,045	23,710	14,665	11,290	G. M. Sherer	22,306	24,644	2,338	10,356
H. C. M. Cox	06,774	21,935	14,621	13,605	W. G. J. Robe	20,873	23,526	2,653	11,474
Thomas Webster	09,484	24,312	14,828	10,688	F. Winter	22,385	24,901	2,516	10,099
A. Dickson	08,045	22,677	14,632	12,327	C. H. Cobbe	21,377	23,526	2,149	11,474
Robert Stewart	06,577	21,241	14,664	13,759	P. P. Turner	22,917	25,364	2,447	9,636
Robert Beecher	06,506	21,236	14,730	13,764	J. H. Smith	20,626	23,526	2,900	11,474
George Jenkins	06,506	21,236	14,730	13,764	R. Haughton	20,837	23,526	2,889	11,474
Charles Andrews	05,999	19,003	13,004	15,997	N. F. Mackenzie	20,851	23,526	2,675	11,474
G. J. B. Johnston	07,489	22,099	14,610	12,901	C. Towle	20,665	23,526	2,861	11,474
Robert Delamain	14,478	28,408	13,925	6,597	G. Farmer	25,032	26,342	1,310	8,658
W. Grant	05,999	19,003	13,004	15,997	H. O. Frederick	23,782	25,364	1,582	9,636
George Young	05,648	19,003	13,355	15,997	S. J. Groves	24,467	25,534	1,067	9,466

TABLE C.

A List of the Officers of the Madras Infantry who it may be presumed will be the Seniors in their respective Corps on the 1st of January, 1835; with the dates of their arrival in India; the dates of their promotion to their present rank; the times which they have severally served in their former rank, and the time which they will have served on that day, in their present rank.

Edward Franklin	19,543	26 03	6 500	8 967	F. B. Doveton	22,243	25 125	3,182	9 575
W. Stuart	11,096	25 690	4 603	9 901	E. Simpson	21,741	23 723	1 982	11,277
P. P. Hodge	18 654	24 252	9,598	6 748	M. W. Perrin	21,492	25,036	3,544	9,967
W. Prescott	17,533	25,49	7,960	9,507	R. Apthorp	21,591	24,537	2,946	10 463
W. L. G. Williams	20 018	27 219	7,201	7,781	W. G. Yarde	26,459	27,219	0,760	7 781
J. D. Stokes	18 741	27 630	8,886	7,370	W. C. Chinnery	24,445	26,688	2 243	8,312
H. S. Burgess	18,497	26,189	7 692	8 811	M. Poole	21,065	22 469	1,404	12 531
J. Howison	14,522	24,345	9,823	10,655	R. A. Reid	20,506	20,614	0,108	14,386
H. White	06,774	21,395	14,621	13 605	R. H. Bingham	21,475	24,241	2 766	10,759
G. Lee	09,656	24 312	14 656	10,682	Arthur C. Wight	26,182	27,162	0 980	7,838
C. Maxtone	09,656	24,279	14,623	10 721	P. A. J. Longworth	20,296	20,266	0,000	14,734
W. Stokes	08,045	22,677	14,632	12 323	H. R. Kenny	21,065	22,416	1,351	12,584
C. M. Robinson	09,656	24,332	14 676	10,668	D. Winter	23,429	26,197	2 768	8,803
A. R. Spicer	08 045	22 677	14,632	12,323	P. D. Glover	20 336	20,266	0 000	14,734
G. Dods	11,804	24 455	12,651	10 445	J. S. Sherman	20,627	21,786	1,159	13,214
C. Farran Junior	18,966	30 077	11,105	4 929	C. F. Le Hardy	21,311	24,266	2,955	10,734
W. H. Smith	19 629	28,019	8 390	6 981	H. L. Harris	22 580	25,345	2,765	9 655
R. Luard	19 741	25,557	5,809	9,447	S. A. Grant	22,081	24,069	1,988	10,931
Thulher	08 508	23,164	14 656	11,836	G. B. Marshall	21,492	23 910	2 418	11,090
Shaw	07,341	21 932	14 588	13,068	R. W. Sparrow	21,738	23,827	2,089	11,173
Dwyer	18,711	26,956	8 202	8,044	R. Prellman	22,306	24,885	2,579	10,115
Plowden	11 528	25,126	13,598	9 874	J. W. Bayley	20 633	22,896	2,262	12,104
Butler	08,045	22 677	14 632	12,323	W. Cuppage	20 506	20 532	0,026	14,468
Hutton	12 522	26 011	13 519	8,959	W. D. W. Lys	21 311	22 978	1,667	12,022
MacDowall	08 508	23 164	14 556	11 836	W. Beaumont	24 725	26,625	1,900	8,375
R. Hutchinson	06,533	21,225	14 692	13 775	J. Dennett	19 966	19 449	0 000	15,551
H. Harkness	06,774	21,395	14,621	13 605	J. O. Backhouse	22 54	25 996	3,445	9,014
A. Rehe	08 684	23,329	14 615	11 671	Harry H. Walls	20,497	20,38	0,030	16,614
Mackintosh	07,506	22,285	14 779	12 715	H. Morland	21,492	24,332	2,840	10 668
Coyle	05,648	19 007	13,355	15 997	W. Craigie	20,728	22 312	0 514	13,458
J. Hingane	08 645	22,677	14,632	12 323	I. Mines	20 717	22,181	1,464	12,819
Snell	08,045	22,208	13,16	12 792	E. Horne	21 506	20 518	0,012	14,482
Adol Derville	18 081	25 419	7,338	9,581	W. R. Johnstone	20,725	21 586	0 858	13,414
J. F. Palmer	11,524	24 332	12,801	10,668	J. Harkness	19 741	19 449	0,000	15,551
J. Tod	08,503	24,332	15,821	10 668	J. Hutchins	21,492	23 241	1 749	11,759
J. R. Haig	19,741	26,425	6,681	8,575	F. R. Crozier	22 711	24,784	2,073	10,216
W. McLeod	08,045	22 677	14 632	12,323	S. R. Hicks	19,995	19,449	0,000	15,551
H. W. Poole	08 045	22 677	14 632	12,323	I. Hayne	23 106	26,581	3,481	8,419
G. Story	17,741	24 786	7,042	10,214	T. Beddingfield	20 506	20,921	0 415	14 079
W. J. Butterworth	18,399	24 460	6 061	10,540	C. Pooley	21,467	22,247	0 780	12 753
W. Taylor	08,045	22 677	14 632	12,323	P. Eades	20,627	21 912	1,285	13,088
J. Wright	18,684	23,329	4 643	11,671	G. H. Harner	22 081	24 069	1,988	10,931

TABLE E.

showing the present value of monthly subscriptions of 5 Rupees for 5 years, of 10 Rupees for 5 years, of 15 Rupees for 5 years, of 20 Rupees for 5 years, and lastly of 25 Rupees for 5 years; and of a donation of 542.52 Rupees payable at the end of the fifth year, of 1812.51 Rupees payable at the end of the eleventh year, of 3255.12 Rupees payable at the end of the nineteenth year, and of 2281.05 Rupees payable at the end of the twenty-second year—interest being 6 per cent.

Rupees	Present value of contributions of					Present value of Donations on promotion to the rank of				Amount of Donations.		Immediate Donations.
	5 Rs. (0-5)	10 Rs. (5-10)	15 Rs. (10-15)	20 Rs. (15-20)	25 Rs. (20-25)	Lieut.	Capt.	Major.	Lt.-Col.	Rs.	and of Contributions.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.							
3145.8	238.08	302.51	284.01	233.21	175.82	380.01	667.39	579.07	285.65	1912.12	3145.77	000
3433.8	198.23	330.20	310.01	254.60	191.91	414.81	728.50	603.27	311.80	2058.38	343.33	91
3751.0	154.89	360.71	338.66	278.12	209.64	453.13	795.81	659.01	340.61	2248.56	3590.58	160
4103.4	107.79	391.59	370.63	304.21	239.33	486.58	870.55	720.90	373.60	2459.74	3866.32	237
4391.0	56.32	421.87	405.46	332.99	251.00	517.71	952.80	789.01	407.30	2149.61	3627.25	864
4915.8		474.72	443.82	364.48	274.74	557.76	1042.32	863.65	446.38	2352.95	3910.71	1605
5382.5		394.29	485.95	399.08	300.82	580.14	1141.92	945.63	487.73	2576.28	4156.42	1226
5895.7		308.59	532.28	437.13	329.59	617.58	1250.79	1035.79	535.35	2821.93	4429.51	1466
6400.9		214.87	583.31	479.04	361.10	638.32	1370.72	1115.99	586.68	3093.39	4731.71	1729
7086.8		112.33	639.67	525.33	395.99	673.32	1503.16	1244.93	643.36	3391.45	5064.77	2022
7766.9			702.12	576.62	434.65	713.39	1649.91	1366.30	716.17	3722.38	5435.77	2341
8543.3			586.56	633.44	477.48	697.28		1500.95	775.77	2276.72	3974.00	4569
9391.7			459.64	696.34	521.90	664.04		1649.99	852.80	2502.79	4183.67	5298
10354.8			320.66	765.99	577.39	664.04		1815.02	918.10	2753.12	4417.16	5918
11370.4			167.97	843.05	635.48	616.50		1997.62	1032.43	3030.19	4676.60	6694
12519.5				923.26	699.71	667.97		2199.51	1136.82	3336.33	4964.30	7555
13792.7				776.06	770.87	616.93		2423.20	1252.43	3675.63	5222.56	8570
15205.7				608.96	819.84	616.93		2671.41	1380.74	4052.18	5510.98	9695
16776.2				425.26	937.61	616.93		2947.35	1523.35	4470.70	5883.57	10943
18527.9				223.06	1035.52	616.93			1682.42	4882.32	6291.00	15787
20183.1					1144.79	616.93			1859.95	5295.95	6704.74	17478
22669.0					958.71	616.93			2058.44	5705.44	7317.15	19652
25120.5					754.14	616.93					754.14	21367
27860.8					528.15	616.93					528.15	27333
30910.7					277.72	616.93					277.72	30633
34309.1						616.93						34309

COLONEL GALLOWAY'S MINUTE.

I greatly regret that I am unable to give an unqualified assent to the opinions expressed by my colleagues as to the feasibility of Mr. Curnin's proposition. It appears to me that this plan is open to most of the fundamental objections which have been urged against other similar schemes, and that the improbability of its being adopted is augmented by the increased benefit it professes to confer.

2. Its introduction is made to depend upon the aid of the home authorities to a great extent. This renders its institution precarious; whilst as it professes to accelerate the promotion of 3d Captains (to the rank of Colonel, I presume,) by 12 years, this must add so much to the cost of the pension fund as to render the concurrence of the Honorable Court (if that cost shall be put upon the state,) at least very doubtful. If put upon the Army the difficulty is not removed but only its position changed, for the Army I conceive is unable to bear it. But it is said the sum now demanded from the Court is "less" than the amount which the Court recently offered: this has the appearance either of an oversight or of a fault. There can be no possible reason for this.

3. Calculations for such funds assume that the whole army, at least so many as will render the exceptions inconsiderable, are willing to accept the project; in other words, that they are willing to forego a part of their present comforts for the prospect of a considerable benefit to accrue to them many years hence. But men generally speaking, are not willing to exercise such self-denial, and if they were, we know that a vast number of the officers of this army are so encumbered that they have no prospect, even with the proposed pension, of being able to quit the country in 25 years. They are in debt and their creditors would not suffer them to go, and they are, many of them, no less involved by the, at least equally strong obligation, to provide for their families. It is said, however, pensions are saleable, but this requires certificates of health which would not easily be procured by those (generally invalids) who would become candidates for pension, and in the case of debtors, pensions, if sold, would be consumed in liquidation of debts or on life insurance.

4. Captain Badenach's tables state that in 25 years only five officers in 100, have retired on pensions. This included a period when the emoluments of officers were larger than now. I am aware that this, if a fact, facilitates the establishment of a fund; but I advert to it here to show that where the chance of enjoyment is 20 to one against a man, there is little temptation to sacrifice present means. Yet by this scheme an Ensign or 2d-Lieutenant after five years service is required to pay per month's,

.....	10 Rs.
After 10 years (a Lieutenant say) ditto.....	15
After 15 years (ditto) ditto.....	20
After 20 years (a Captain) ditto.....	25
After 25 years ditto ditto.....	30

and there are many Captains now upwards of 25 years in the service.

5. It has often been alleged that the officers of this Army, especially the juniors, have not the means of supporting themselves, I do not therefore see how we can exhibit them as candidates for the purchase of Life Estates of from £400 to £1,500 per annum even on this plan.

6. It is said when the operation of the fund comes into complete effect, the want of means will be greatly remedied—higher rank and pay will accompany length of service. But this scheme will have to be submitted to men who are now in the Army and who have actually served, so as to subject them to the high rates of contribution, and yet they hold inferior commissions and small allowances, so that those who are the most unfortunate are by this plan required to pay most.

7. I conceive the principle upon which this fund is made to rest is objectionable, viz. upon time and not upon rank; involving as that does supersession, which I hold to be an obstacle of the greatest magnitude to the reception of this plan by the Army. We cannot expect that men will become instrumental in their own (comparative) degradation, and therefore I think it is certain that those who stand well for promotion without this fund will not pay for standing worse. Every corps which had not an officer

ready to accept the pension when entitled, would be exposed to supersession. But it is replied that when the operation of this fund will have been completed, that is, many years hence, all who are eligible will have attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and thus there will be no supersession. But the plan has to be submitted to those who are now in the Army. The consequence seems to me inevitable.

8. The senior officers of the Army will in all probability object to the off-reckonings being merged into this fund.

9. Other objections might be stated—some are recorded by one of our colleagues; but on the whole, as far as my judgment goes, I really cannot take it upon me to say that I entertain a hope that this fund, as proposed, will meet with either the concurrence of the home authorities or be acceded to by the Army. It is beyond the means of the latter, and from the former its requisitions are such that I do not expect they will be granted.

10. My own opinion is, but I state it with great deference to the sentiments of others, that there is no way of affording the desired relief to this Army so easy of accomplishment, or that would be so acceptable as by government granting to such of the senior officers whose resignation would not create supersession as might wish to retire, a compensation for the resignation of their Commissions, the amount (with whatever donation the Honorable Court may be pleased to grant,) being reimbursed by the army—not by payments from present allowances, but by giving up the allowances of the higher rank which the retirements shall have created until the amount of compensation paid to the retiring officers shall be liquidated.

11. For this there is the precedent of His Majesty's Government in regard to the disposal of unbought commissions in seniority service corps, and the Honorable Court have themselves introduced the principle of promotion without full emoluments in the case of Colonels of Regiments, who do not receive off-reckonings, notwithstanding promotion, until certain liabilities on the off-reckoning fund are liquidated.

12. With respect to the Army this scheme would call upon them for nothing which it did not first confer, whilst the advantage of rank would be immediate and their rise to all their present expectations would be accelerated.

13. I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing my admiration of the pains which have evidently been bestowed by Mr. Curnin in drawing up the papers which have been laid before us.

January 28, 1835.

(Signed) A. GALLOWAY, Lieutenant-Colonel.

COLONEL GALLOWAY'S OBJECTIONS AND MR. CURNIN'S REPLIES.

1.—And the improbability of its being adopted is augmented by the increased benefit it professes to confer.

1.—I beg here to premise that any objections made by Colonel Galloway have, as I conceive, reference only to the means by which the prospective scheme is to be brought into operation; for he admitted to me that the fundamental principles of the plan were perfect. The objections therefore, if of any force, can only be temporary.

The excellence of the plan consists in a great degree on the largeness of the retiring pensions; as these offer the greater incentives to retire; and, therefore, the greater stimulus to promotion.

2.—Its introduction is made to depend upon the aid of the home authorities to a greater extent. This renders its institution precarious: whilst as it professes to accelerate the promotion of 3d Captains (to the rank of Colonel I presume) by 12 years. This must add so much to the cost of the pension fund as to render the concurrence of the Honorable Court (if that cost shall be put upon the state,) at least very doubtful. If put upon the Army the difficulty is not removed but only its position changed; for the Army I conceive is unable to bear it. But it is said the sum now demanded from

the Court is "less" than the amount which the Court recently offered. This has the appearance of an oversight or a fault. There can be no possible reason for this.

2.—The aid of the home authorities is solicited only to the extent which they have already sanctioned—the Honorable Court offered to entertain 24 Lieutenant-Colonels on the pension list per annum: this involved an annual expenditure of £148,920 per annum, or £723 per corps, without taking into the account the expenditure on account of the retiring allowances of Majors or Captains, or of officers retiring upon half pay.

This is a misconception of the whole plan; if the Honorable Court has its expenditure under this head fixed, that plan must be the most agreeable to them, which makes men most contented with their own condition: a Captain's becoming a Colonel does not increase his claims for retiring pension on the Company. The Court is conceived to allow only 6 per cent. interest on the subscriptions of the Army; and only that, in addition, which they are at present paying under various heads as off-reckoning pensions, &c. &c. In short an equivalent of all the claims upon the state is asked and neither more nor less.

3.—*Calculations for such funds assume that the whole Army, at least so many as will render the exceptions inconsiderable, are willing to adopt the project; in other words, that they are willing to forego a part of their present comforts for the prospect of a considerable benefit to accrue to them many years hence. But men generally speaking are not willing to exercise such self-denial, and if they were, we know that a vast number of the officers of this Army are so encumbered that they have no prospect, even with the proposed pension, of being able to quit this country in 25 years. They are in debt and their creditors would not suffer them to go, and they are many of them, no less involved by the, at least equally strong obligation to provide for their families. It is said, however, pensions are saleable, but this requires certificates of health which would not easily be procured by those (generally invalids) who would become candidates for pensions, and, in the case of debtors, pensions, if sold, would be consumed in liquidation of debts or on life insurance.*

3.—If men are, generally speaking, unwilling to forego a part of their present comforts and to exercise self-denials, how does it happen that Majors are annually bought out.

In my original letter I included certain paragraphs to point out how, as I conceived, those who are in debt might be relieved of their liabilities, and I have been given to understand that portion of my letter was objected to, because its publication might interfere with a more economical mode of liquidation now in progress. I cannot therefore well understand how the case of debtors can be urged as an objection: but all men are not in debt—and even the creditors of debtors would exercise a sound discretion in contributing for their debtors to enable them to attain superior rank, and therefore greater facilities of making good the demands against them. But with his present knowledge of the Indian Army will Colonel Galloway maintain, that it is wiser to allow men to struggle with their present difficulties, and with the certain prospect of having to serve longer and longer intervals in the inferior grades of the Army, and to mature its present dissatisfaction with its prospects and condition into permanent discontent; than to adopt a plan that must dissipate—so far as their ultimate prospects are concerned—all sources of dissatisfaction from the Army. In short, it is wiser to allow 4,000 men on whom the integrity of this Empire depends, to perpetually brood over the dreariness of their prospects, that a few who are in debt might not be incommoded; or to adopt this plan by which the well-being and the happiness of all would be secured, at the probable risk of inflicting a temporary inconvenience on a few? What has been said relative to debtors applies in an equal degree to all other obligations except that of an officer's family; and on whose account it becomes more imperative that he should subscribe; inasmuch as by subscribing he attains higher rank; and his family—a higher claim for allowances in case of his demise.

4.—*Captain Badenach's tables state, that in 25 years only five officers in 100 have retired on pensions. This included a period when the emoluments of officers were larger than now. I am aware that this, if a fact, facilitates the establishment of a Fund, but I advert to it here to show that where the chance of enjoyment is 20 to one*

against a man, there is little temptation to sacrifice present means—yet by this scheme an Ensign or 2d Lieutenant after 5 years service is required to pay per month 10 Rs.

After 10 years' (a Lieutenant say) ditto.....	15
After 15 years' (ditto ditto).....	20
After 20 years' (a Captain) ditto.....	25
After 25 years' (ditto ditto).....	30

and there are many Captains now upwards of 25 years in the service.

4.—The inference from Captain Badenach's tables is wrong:—if only 5 out of every 100 retired the reason must be sought for on other grounds:—and perhaps Colonel Galloway's own case will serve as an apt example;—the retiring allowances were not sufficient to induce more than the eighth part of those who had lived over 25 years in India to retire; and thus the other seven-eighths were compelled to stay as an incumbrance to the service till the vitality of the system became exhausted. This inference might with equal force have been urged against entering the service, and yet the Directors find no want of candidates for cadetships.

Here a comparison of things with each other is made, which, to my mind, admit of no comparison. Facts are reasoned on, derived from the present system in place of facts which must hold good in that which this scheme will bring into operation: but, even according to the present system, his reasoning is not conclusive; or how could the sacrifices be made that are being made to buy out Majors. Some are called upon to contribute thousands; and yet, at this instant, there are more who are ready to make these sacrifices than there are of Majors to retire.

7.—I conceive the principle upon which this fund is made to rest is objectionable, viz. —upon time, and not upon rank, involving us that does supersession which I hold to be an obstacle of the greatest magnitude to the reception of this plan by the Army. We cannot expect that men will become instrumental in their own (comparative) degradation, and therefore I think it is certain that those who stand well for promotion without this fund will not pay for standing worse. Every corps which had not an officer ready to accept the pension when entitled would be exposed to supersession. But it is replied that when the operation of this fund will have been completed, that is, many years hence, all who are eligible will have attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and thus there will be no supersession. But this plan has to be submitted to those who are now in the Army. The consequence seems inevitable.

7.—When a man enters the Army it is with the view of acquiring distinction, respectability, and competence in old age.—If in a gradation service, rank has not been attained the fault does not rest with the individual, but with circumstances, he therefore suffers enough in having to endure disappointment without having to endure the additional pang that that disappointment inflicts the additional penalty of incompetent reward for services which, with any other rank, he could not have more faithfully executed. But this scheme does not confer emolument according to rank—for it brings the attainment of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel within the period when retirement can take place. Not being a military man I shall be excused, I hope, if I do not perceive the force of the remark relative to supersession nor the probability of any inconvenience that can arise from it; and, as will be seen, the Army has had already sufficient samples of supersession and they must endure it.

لجوارمين جيت من عند ابي و ابيكم وقال الله عز وجل ملة ابيكم
ابراهيم فهذه الابوة نفسانية لا ينقطع نسبها كما قال النبي صلى الله
عليه وسلم كل نسب ينقطع يوم الضيعة الانبيي وقال يا بني هاشم
لا ياتوني الناس يوم القيامة باعمالهم وتاتوني بانسابكم فاني لا اعني
عنكم من الله شيا اما اراد به النسب الجسدانية لانها ينقطع اذا
اضمحلت الاجسام وبقيت النسبة النفسانية لان جواهر النفوس
باقية بعد فراق الاجساد وان كان يظن ان الله الجسداني يحیی ذكره

8.—*The senior officers of the Army will in all probability object to the off-reckoning being merged into this fund.*

8.—An Ensign in the service has a claim on the off-reckoning fund, and before it can be alienated from its present channel, his consent as well as that of a Colonel must be obtained. It is not intended to withdraw the off-reckoning money from any man who insists on his share of it, but simply to sink that portion of it against which there is no claim into the Retiring Fund and to apply it in the payment of the retired pensions.

9.—*Other objections might be stated—some are recorded by one of our colleagues. But on the whole, as far as my judgment goes, I really cannot take it upon myself to say that I entertain a hope that this fund as proposed will meet with either the concurrence of the home authorities, or be acceded to by the Army. It is beyond the means of the latter; and from the former its requisitions are such that I do not expect they will be granted.*

9.—If the consent of the Army be not obtained the consent of the home authorities will not be required: but if the consent and the approval of the Army be obtained that will go far, under present circumstances, in influencing the consent of the home authorities. At all events it is apparent that these two points can only be determined on by being submitted to the parties in question. The Army are the best judges of their own wants, on the one hand, and the Honorable Court, as to its power of compliance, on the other.

10.—*My own opinion is, but I state it with great deference to the sentiments of others, that there is no way of affording the desired relief to this Army so easy of accomplishment, or that would be so acceptable as by Government granting to such of the senior officers whose resignation would not create supersession as might wish to retire, a compensation for the resignation of their commissions, the amount (with whatever donation the Honorable Court may be pleased to grant,) being reimbursed by the Army, not by payments from present allowances, but by giving up the allowances of the higher ranks which the retirements shall have created until the amount of compensation paid to the retiring officers shall have been liquidated.*

10.—These remarks have no reference to the subject under consideration; and therefore I do not think I am called upon to reply to them. But lest a different opinion should be entertained, I may be permitted to ask what is meant in a foregoing remark relative to a "certificate of health?" If this plan were adopted, might not the Army refuse to pay for the retirement of an officer, who, had he staid but another year, must have given them the step without purchase? But this plan involves a principle that would be a perpetual source of annoyance to the Army. It can offer no guarantee to the Government that all officers on its roster would be young and efficient men. Its adoption would give the Government no assurance that it could calculate on the contentment of the Army; and, as no guarantee is offered on either of these heads, I think it, therefore, inexpedient.

It may fairly be asked if the Government would exercise a sound discretion in giving retiring Officers the equivalents of their Pensions and Commissions. I say it would not; and for this reason, that although most officers, after having had a lesson or two from the men of the world in Europe, might manage to take care of what was left them, it does not follow that all would exercise the same measure of prudence; and hence, the Government would be ever exposed to calls upon it, that a regard for the respectability of the service would force it to admit: and, therefore, that although this is an exception to a general rule, it is a case which should be guarded against.

It is worthy of remark that Colonel Galloway objects, to the Army being called upon, *for a time*, to subscribe towards the payment of adequate pensions to their senior; and yet wishes to render that system of payment, with reference to his own plan, perpetual; without being able to determine when circumstances would render the continuance of those payments possible; and his system would afford the Government no additional security for the zeal, or the contentment, or the efficiency of the Army: whereas, with reference to the plan against which these objections are directed, the

Government has every possible security ; —an officer's contributions are in deposit for his own ultimate use, and thus, as his money and his ultimate prospects are secured to him, his allegiance and zeal in the cause of the state will ever be above suspicion.

It is singular that there is no objection made, except that with reference to time, that does not apply against any system of retirement ; and therefore, with at least equal force, against the plan proposed by Colonel Galloway.

(Signed) JOHN CURNIN.

OBJECTIONS BY COLONEL SWINEY AND MR. CURNIN'S REPLIES.

" A principal feature of the scheme is the possession of the Off-reckoning Fund, with the view, I suppose, of making it profitable by distributing it in pensions to retiring officers."

That is the precise motive : and I may remark that so long as it was discretionary with officers to retire, the allowing the off-reckoning money to Colonels had this effect, it repressed the desire to retire, and thus impeded promotion ; but when the state changes one part of the system, by giving the Army a perpetuity as the equivalent of all claims — the policy may well be questioned of continuing the application of that money in the same manner when there is another mode of application more conducive to the well-being of the state. To me that appears to be the preferable mode of application whereby a trifle is given to promote the ultimate happiness and the consequent immediate contentment of the many ; rather than to the few, that they might act as a dead weight upon the energies of the Army.

" But Mr. C. has apparently overlooked the fact that although a majority of the Colonels in the enjoyment of off-reckoning are resident in Europe, yet all of them are not. The latter are still in active service ; and the off-reckonings of their regiments form only a part of the emoluments of their situations."

If an officer, seeing the consequences of the off-reckoning system, should resolve for the general good to relinquish his eventual claims to it, he cannot at any future time regret his having done so ; as he will have quitted the service on an ample competency long before, and without the agency of the retiring fund he could have had any claims to off-reckoning.

" To another part of the scheme for providing the necessary funds, precisely the same objection applies. I mean that part which stipulates for our being entrusted with the management of the Honorable Company's present pension list, upon a grant, say of £60,000 per annum, being made to us for that purpose. The expense for pensions for length of service has, I presume, already reached its maximum, and a great proportion of the retirement to be effected by the proposed fund, perhaps not less than one-half, even upon the lowest scale, will be a clear addition to that amount. With or without a retiring fund, therefore, the £60,000 per annum will still continue to be paid, and the Army will gain nothing whatever by having the mere disbursement of that sum transferred to their hands."

If the pension list had reached its maximum, I agree that there could be nothing gained financially, by receiving money with one hand and paying it away with the other. What the Honorable Court is asked for is shortly this—to give the Army credit for an annuity equal in amount to that to which the ultimate claims upon the Company will extend. But as it is conceived that the pension list has now reached its maximum, I must enter into some statements to show that it has not, and that before the maximum is attained, the cadets of 1828 must first be disposed of : that is, the pension list will have attained its maximum about 1856 or 1860. To give you something like a proof

of this, I have drawn up the following table; and if I had conceived that the absolute names of the parties would have been preferable, I would have added them.

		1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
Retired.....	Lieutenant Colonels ..	3	18	15	12	5	7
	Majors.....	5	16	7	7	16	10
	Captains.....	11	9	12	13	16	11
Died	Lieutenant-Colonels ..	0	0	10	4	5	4
	Majors.....	2	0	8	5	2	3
	Captains.....	5	6	2	5	5	5
Increase to the list of Pensioners.....	Lieutenant-Colonels ..	..	8	5	8	..	3
	Majors.....	3	16	..	2	11	7
	Captains.....	6	3	10	9	11	6
Decrease from the list of Pensioners.....	Lieutenant-Colonel ..	3	..	..	..	..	..
	Majors.....	..	..	1	..	..	..
	Captains.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Increase of cost in £ sterling in		933	8168	3153	531	5004	291

from whence it may be seen that in the six years, beginning with 1828, the pension list had been increased by £27,277 on the supposition that the new pensioners retire on the same amount of pensions as those who died had enjoyed, but as the new pensioners of Majors and Captains retire on higher pensions in place of the increase being as above, I take it to be in reality about £5,000 per annum.

And from this it may be inferred that as a final measure the Honorable Court could with perfect safety make a considerable addition to their expenditure under this head in 1833, without any risk of passing the bounds to which the amount of the pension list will attain.

(COLONEL SWINEY'S NOTE UPON THE ABOVE REMARKS.)

"There is some misapprehension on the subject of the maximum of pensions—when I said that the pension list must have already reached that point, it was on the supposition that no extraordinary inducements to resign had been conceived at The natural average under the Court's Order of 1796, I must still think has reached its maximum; but of late years those orders have been disregarded, and accordingly the average has been considerably increased by the addition of pensioners whose retirements have been purchased. If this system were to be continued it would be difficult to say when the maximum would be attained, it would depend entirely upon the caprice of individuals, and Mr. Curnin's calculations could affix no limit to it.

"My objection was one which Mr. Curnin ought to have replied to upon a different principle, by stating what I now understand to have been his intention from the first, that the fund is to relieve the Company from the present pension list, and all expence connected with the retirement of officers from the service, excepting only the charge of 6 per cent. interest of the fund capital."

With regard to what has been said relative to supercession, I must repeat my conviction that if the retiring fund be instituted as I wish it, it will settle down to this—that a man will be a Lieutenant-Colonel before he has been 25 years in the service, and therefore that the contemplated supercession through the agency of this fund is perfectly visionary.

As a proof of this, allow me to remind you that there are at present on the

Bengal.....	191	} establishment of field officers who have served 30 years and upwards, and of whom not one-sixth part would have been now on the establishment, if this fund had been in operation when they became qualified to retire: and that of those who have served their time, but who have not yet served 30 years, they are about an equal number: and that from among these many would have retired ere this time if the fund had been instituted when they had served their full term. The
Madras.....	134	
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inevitable conclusion is that the present Majors, to a man, would have been Colonels, if this fund had been earlier instituted.

(COLONEL SWINEY'S NOTE UPON THE ABOVE.)

"What is here adduced as a proof is only an assertion, unsupported as it is by calculation. The present Majors are of from 27 to 32 years service; and if Mr. Curnin's scheme be well founded, ought to have been Colonels from 1 to 6 years."

"And this leads me to another point of the proposed scheme which involves a further outlay on the part of the state. I mean the request which we are to make that the Court of Directors will allow every officer's pension for length of service to be considered as in deposit, &c."

"This objection too should have been answered on a different principle. If I now understand the scheme correctly, the state will have nothing further to do with the pension list after having made the grant of £1,500 per battalion to the fund."

I have shown that according to the present system an officer cannot hope to attain higher rank than that of Captain in 25 years. What, then, can be understood of the regulation which declares if you continue in the service till you become a Major that you may retire on £292, or if till you become a Lieutenant-Colonel that you may retire on £365 per annum. Is not the Captain's pay here placed in deposit by the state? I merely want to make that regular and perfectly proportional to time, which is now irregular and dependent upon circumstances.

"There are I think two objections against adopting it (the time principle) first independently of its creating a large fund upon which Government will have to pay compound interest of 6 per cent., it amounts to an increase of from £20 to £40 for every year of our delaying to accept of them; thus, in fact, placing a direct bounty on not retiring instead of encouraging every body to retire as early as possible."

By the present system a Captain may retire on £192 per annum; by that in contemplation an officer having served precisely the same time may retire on 500 guineas per annum, so that it cannot be well maintained that there is not a sufficient inducement to retirement held out. With regard to compound interest a state having fixed debt knows nothing about it. The fund will obtain interest on its capital half yearly, and if with this interest more capital is purchased, the state only observes in the transaction that it has become a longer debtor to the fund.

"Upon the whole, then, without going into the question of the rate of subscription at all, which however is to my mind not only heavy in itself, but based upon an erroneous principle. I am of opinion that the scheme is totally impracticable. It would eventually saddle the Company with an expense extra to their present disbursements of not less than £150,000 per annum, exclusive of the off-reckoning, of course."

With the view of pointing out the eventual expense of this plan to the Government, we must suppose, that we see it in full operation; and that in consequence, the retirements have become so regular as to require an annual supply of one cadet for every corps. Now of the 206 cadets so required, supposing none of them to have been dismissed in the interval, 80 would survive after being 25 years in the service. The whole question is reduced to this. How will those 80 men dispose of themselves? Now, although it appears impossible to give any thing like a precise answer to so general and indefinite a question, it is possible to have recourse to probabilities which may be found to square actually with the results of experience. I conclude therefore that if those 80 men, and of the number who attain to every age to 48 inclusive, ten per cent. retire annually, and that afterwards they retire in a higher ratio in consequence of the increased pension, till they have all been disposed when the last had attained the age of 53.

If no officers retired, of the 80 men of 43 years of age, the following Table will shew the number who would attain to each succeeding age : and the numbers below these are the probable numbers who would retire annually :—

	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
Survivors.....	80	76	73	69	66	63	60	57	55	52	50
Retired.....	8	7	6	5	4	4	4	4	5	6	6

With this data we are now enabled to give a tolerably accurate estimate of the ultimate sum which this measure would require from the Company.

When a society is annually recruited by an equal number of individuals of the same age, the maximum number in that society at any one time will be the product of the annual supply, and of the expectation of life of the recruits admitted ; and therefore if we multiply the numbers which are assumed above to retire annually by the expectation of life of each class upon retirement, we shall have the number of each age who will be constantly upon the pension list. The following table exhibits the results.

Age.	Expectation of Life from Indian Table increased by one-tenth.	The number of each age who will annually retire.	The maximum of each age on the pension list.	Retiring pension of each age.	The total of the pensions to each class.
	Years.			Rupees.	
43	17,702	8	112	5,250	7,15,500
44	17,419	7	122	5,750	7,01,500
45	17,127	6	103	6,375	6,56,600
46	16,829	5	81	7,075	5,91,300
47	16,526	4	66	7,850	5,18,100
48	16,215	4	65	8,700	5,65,500
49	15,896	4	61	9,700	6,20,800
50	15,525	4	62	10,800	6,69,600
51	15,136	5	76	12,000	9,12,000
52	14,717	6	86	13,500	11,61,000
53	14,281	6	86	15,000	12,90,000
Total outlay for retired officers.....					83,34,900

Now, as of the 5,250 rupees to which an officer becomes entitled for his own contributions and for his services, the part which the state is supposed to contribute is 1,777 rupees, the part of the gross amount which the Company will have to pay will be found from the following proportion :—

As 5250 : 1777 :: 8334900 : 28,21,200.

Thus we find the maximum claims upon the Honourable Company, and if to this maximum 10 per cent. be added for contingencies, we shall have the sum of 31 lacs, beyond which it is not likely that the amount of the pension list will ever extend, and which singularly enough, amounts to an outlay of about £1,500 per corps per annum.

(Signed)

JOHN CURNIN.

(NOTE OF COLONEL SWINEY'S UPON THE ABOVE LETTER.

The above table would give 48.2 resignations annually from among the Field Officers of the whole Indian Army, and the proportion for Bengal would be 23 only—but nearly 50 would be required in order to effect the rate of promotion which Mr. Curnin says “ he has satisfactorily shown,” will be the consequence of his plan of a retiring fund being adopted.)

(Signed)

G. SWINEY.

Mr. Curnin's reply to the remarks which I ventured to offer on the nature and probable effects of his proposed scheme, has made me much better acquainted with the object he has in view than I could have hoped to be from the bare perusal of his letter and accompanying abstract, in both of which, however, he has now made considerable alterations. Still I am far from believing that all my inquiries have been satisfactorily answered; but I concur with my colleagues in signing the report, because I think it only pledges this Committee to the opinion that Mr. Curnin's plan appears to merit the most favourable consideration, and that if after a more complete investigation into the principles upon which it is grounded, than any we have it in our power to undertake, it shall be found to hold out a fair prospect of realizing the benefits expected from it, it will be gratefully accepted by the Army at large.

2.—The general scope of the proposed scheme and the conditions upon which it is to be instituted, appear to me to be as follows. The Army on adopting it is to give up for the future all claim to the surplus off-reckoning fund, and to all pension for length of service from government. Officers are also to consent to contribute at the rate of five rupees per mensem, during the first five years of service, and to increase that rate by five rupees per mensem at the end of every five years, till on having completed twenty-five years' service, it will amount to 30 rupees per mensem (which, however, in my opinion, should continue to increase in the same ratio,) at which it is to remain stationary; and further, they are, on every promotion, to give up the difference of pay and allowances between their old and new rank for twelve months. There are also certain subsidiary objects of the Fund for which they are liable to be called upon for a day's pay and allowances once in every month, if there shall be a necessity for it.

3.—In return every Officer after twenty-five years' service, is to be entitled to an annuity from the Fund for life, of £525 per annum; and each yearly payment which may not be claimed, in consequence of any individual declining to retire immediately after completing the period above-mentioned, is to be appropriated to the purchase of another annuity, to be added to the former; so that, by this species of accumulation, his income will have increased in ten years, or after thirty-five years service, to £1,500 per annum, beyond which no further accumulation is to be permitted. Every officer compelled to quit the country on account of ill health, after ten years' service, but before he is entitled to his pension, is to receive back the accumulated amount of his contributions, including lapses, together with an annuity from the Fund equal to the half pay at present allowed. These are the benefits accruing to officers who may retire—to those who remain, Mr. Curnin states that it has been satisfactorily shown, that whereas an officer will have to serve, on the present system, forty-six years before he can attain the regimental rank of Colonel, he will by the agency of the proposed scheme, obtain that post in twenty-six years, and consequently gain twenty years promotion by means of the Fund.

4.—The full and accurate examination of a proposition which contemplates so great an alteration in the condition and prospects of the whole Indian Army, would require a far more perfect acquaintance with the doctrine of annuities, and with calculations affecting the probabilities of life in India, than I can pretend to; I shall therefore leave that part of the question to be discussed by such practical men as the Honorable Court may think proper to refer it to at home, contenting myself with merely suggesting the following queries:

1st. Whether it be right to calculate annuities for persons who are about to reside entirely in Europe from tables giving the mortality of Europeans in India alone?

2dly. Whether Mr. Curnin's tables be not objectionable, as calculated for the whole of India indiscriminately, as since the chance of life is admitted to differ materially in the three Armies, the value of annuities ought to differ also?

3dly. Whether it be clearly ascertained what will be the financial effect, as far as the state is concerned, by our funding the 'present value' of the required annui-

ties, as they are granted, and drawing 6 per cent. interest on the capital so funded—whether, in short, the Government can take the management of the entire Fund, as an Insurance Fund, upon itself, without considerable immediate expense, and the possibility of contingent loss to a much greater extent.

5.—To aid the Fund the Honorable Court is required to make it an allowance of £1,500 per annum for every effective battalion or regiment in the Indian Army, and the aggregate sum is calculated, I know not on what ground precisely, to yield a surplus of £61,800 or £300 per corps per annum, after paying the present incumbents on the off-reckoning, as well as the Pension Fund. When, however, my colleagues proceed to state that this sum of £61,800 per annum is “under the amount implied in the Court’s offer to the Army of the 6th March 1832” they appear to me to underrate the advantage to the Company, by adopting such an undefined mode of expression. The sum tendered by the Court at the period adverted to, would, at its maximum, amount to £100,750 per annum, even supposing the average expectation of life in the case of retired officers to be as low as 13 years, and if that sum be taken as an annuity, and its present value 13 years deferred, added to the present value of the aggregate annuity which is assumed to be now paid in pensions, they will together, at 6 per cent. interest, amount to £3,180,206; whereas the yearly sum of £900 per regiment, which is all that is now asked for when the off-reckonings are deducted, is only equivalent to £30,77,610, so that the state would gain by the transaction £102,566. If this estimate be correct the objection implied in my third query (par. 4) will fall to the ground, and there may perhaps be reason to hope that the liberality of the Honorable Court will induce them to enlarge the grant which is now solicited on the part of the Army.

6.—In endeavouring to ascertain the probable effect on promotion in the event of the proposed scheme being immediately adopted, we are to consider the surplus of £300 per annum per each corps as available for purchasing the retirement of officers who have already served 25 years. To these officers Mr. Curnin proposes, in the subsidiary arrangement alluded to above (par. 2), to allow pensions in the following proportion:—Lieutenant-Colonel £630, Major £525, Captain £420 per annum. The surplus in question will, for Bengal alone,—to which presidency my remaining observations must be confined,—amount to £29,700 per annum; and as the annuity proposed for a Lieutenant-Colonel is about £265 per annum more than the retiring pension to which he would be entitled under the old rate, and equal if not superior to the value of his expectation in the service, provided his name be not more than half way up the list,—it is probable it would be accepted by a considerable number in the first instance, and further, as the Majors who were promoted by the retirement of their seniors would have the same inducement to accept the pension, they would successively make way for others, and thus complete the number which the fund could provide for, without there being any occasion for offering pensions to Majors or Captains, *as such*,—a step which in order to avoid the chance of giving disgust by causing supersession, should never be resorted to under the present organization of this Army. This arrangement would accordingly provide for 47 Lieutenant Colonels and give a step in the first instance to somewhat more than every second regiment or battalion in the service;—and, of the aggregate sum,—£29,700,—a small balance of £90 would remain for the following year.

7.—I have spoken of all Lieutenant-Colonels accepting the proffered pension, “who were not more than half way up the list,” under the idea that those who were higher up would be inclined to remain for the chance of succeeding to off-reckonings. The possession of staff-appointments and of commands, and indeed many other circumstances, might operate as a hindrance to retirement in the first instance, although considering the very precarious tenure of life in this climate, the immediate enjoyment of an annuity of £630 per annum is much better than the mere arithmetical value of a reversionary expectation which cannot be realized till after several years of suffering and exposure at an age when the constitution is least able to bear them: still however, as we can probably count upon only half the Lieutenant-Colonels, the rest must be considered as retarding the period when the off-reckonings will fall to the disposal of the Fund. Now, it is not probable that the upper moiety of the Lieutenant-Colonels would be absorbed by promotion in less than 7 or 8 years, and during that period, at least, no assistance to the Fund could be derived from the off-reckonings. But in order at once to fix a limit to the retardment here alluded to, it would be expedient to accompany the

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLIV.

A SLIGHT SKETCH OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

Some observations on the administration of Lord William Bentinck were offered in No. 11 of these papers: the present may therefore appear somewhat superfluous, and will hardly escape the charge of repetition. As, however, his Lordship's Government is now drawing to a close, I cannot resist the attempt to sketch a summary of the proceedings which have been adopted under his authority; especially as during the continuance of it, some most important changes in the mode of conducting the affairs of British India have been introduced. These changes have been productive both of good and evil: not the least, that they have caused more disappointment to the native and more discontent to the English population, both in and out of the service, than perhaps have resulted from the measures of any preceding Governor.

It should, however, be recollected, that nearly three years have elapsed since the publication of that paper, affording considerable opportunity for a change of opinion on the subject of Lord William's public character and administration; and it is with considerable regret that I am compelled to acknowledge, that a more extensive acquaintance and a closer observation of his proceedings have convinced me, that the view which was given of these in my first essay, tends to place them in much more favourable light than succeeding experience has justified. Like most of his Lordship's admirers, which at the commencement of his Indian career were many, I was deceived by the great professions which were made, and too ready to believe that the glittering show which was exhibited was in reality the sterling metal which it purported to represent: mortifying indeed is the discovery that, like many other commodities of little value, the profusion with which the professions were poured forth was only the consequence of their intrinsic worthlessness; and that the tinsel was only a foil for the base metal which it covered.

The summary of Lord William's professions is as follows:—

1st.—A determination to do his best for the interests of the people over whom he was placed.

2d.—A conviction that many abuses existed both in the system of Government, and the mode of its administration in the detail.

3d.—A resolution to make merit the test of promotion, and to adopt a plan which should prevent the concealment of indolence and inefficiency, while it enabled the able and meritorious to obtain the reward of their industry and talent.

4th.—A resolution not to be a puppet in the hands of his councillors, secretaries, and other officials, but to see and judge for himself.

5th.—And in prosecution of this he invited communications and suggestions from all parties, in or out of the service of Government.

Let us now see the result of all this. The only striking features of Lord William's administration are:—

First.—The abolition of the practice of *Suttee*.

Second.—The judicial reforms.

Third.—The breaking through the illiberal policy of excluding the Natives and East Indians from office.

Fourth.—The toleration of unlimited freedom of the press.

And now let us examine these a little in detail.

First.—The abolition of the practice of *Suttee*. Every friend to humanity will rejoice at this; but very little merit is due to Lord William for the measure. There was not an individual Englishman in the country who did not wish to prevent such a barbarous rite, and who would not have given his best endeavours to effect its destruction. The question was "can it be done with safety," *i. e.* without occasioning disturbances and insurrections which should cause a greater amount of evil and misery than that which it was intended to abrogate. For a considerable time this was answered in the negative; and as long as it was conscientiously believed, that an attempt to abolish *Suttees* would produce more evil than the *Suttee* itself, the local rulers of

India were morally, and in every point of view, perfectly justified in resisting the exertions of philanthropists at home, who were ignorant of the customs and opinions of the people of India.

But opinion had greatly changed upon this subject for several years before Lord William's arrival in India; and as far as I had an opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of my countrymen, I can only say, that of all whom I conversed with, whether of the civil, military, mercantile, or miscellaneous classes, full three out of four were not only convinced, that all over Hindoostan and Bengal the Sutte might be abolished with perfect safety, but were anxious to see the promulgation of a law to this effect—and this full five years before the law was actually enacted. It is obvious that when such were the sentiments of the majority of the English in India, *i. e.* of the rulers of the country, the abolition would have been effected a little sooner or later, whoever might have been appointed to the situation of Governor-General. It is equally clear, that had the Governor on his arrival at once enforced such a measure, without consulting those whose long residence in India might be supposed to enable them to know something of its affairs and of the people, he would have deserved the credit of much more zeal than judgment.

Second.—The Judicial Reforms. The same remarks apply to this head:—the utter insufficiency of the establishment for the administration of civil justice, and the intolerable evils which were entailed on the country and people by the virtual denial of justice, had been officially, privately, and in the public prints, so often brought to the notice of those in power and the public at large, that it was plainly perceived that the machine of Government would not go on much longer on its old footing: nay, those who looked beyond the present, were fully aware that the almost annihilation of credit, the falling off of mercantile transactions, and the impoverishment of the country, which were the consequences entailed in a considerable degree, by the state of the Courts, whereby every encouragement was held out to dishonesty, began seriously to affect the Government revenue. Then, indeed, it became an object to remedy the evils complained of: as long as it was imagined that the people were the only sufferers, little anxiety was manifested; but no sooner did the fundamental principle, for which the British Indian Government exists, the realization of a large revenue, appeared to be in danger, than it was found necessary to introduce

some improvement. Numerous representations and suggestions had been made to Government on the subject; and, like the Sutte case, the judicial reforms would have been forced upon our rulers and extorted from them, whoever might have been entrusted with the Government of the country.

Thirdly.—The breaking through the illiberal policy of excluding the Natives and East Indians, as much as possible, from all share in the Government of their country. In this, again, Lord William is by no means entitled to the whole credit. It had for some time previous to his Lordship's arrival here, been pretty generally acknowledged, that the attempt to govern the country almost entirely by European agency had been a complete failure. Those, too, who were a little more far sighted than their neighbours, and were intelligent enough to observe and take warning by the signs of the times, were convinced that the old system of unjust exclusion could not be maintained much longer; and many representations of the expediency of adopting a more liberal policy, had at various times, by different functionaries, been made to Government. Nevertheless, it is but fair to allow, that Lord William deserves much more credit for his share in this measure, than in either of the two preceding measures. A considerable number of men, both high in office and in subordinate situations, were still imbued with the old prejudice of the vast superiority of the English; the inefficiency and corruption of the people, and the great danger which would ensue to our Government, by admitting them to any share of influence and authority. Dire prognostications were held forth of the evils which would be entailed by the enlightened measures which were proposed, or rather by the commencement of a more liberal system; for it must be carried much further before its beneficial results can be fully developed; and it is probable that with a ruler of an ordinary mind, some years would have elapsed before the advocates of the proceeding would have been allowed to triumph. In this measure, therefore, let the full meed of praise be awarded to the decision of character and liberality of the present Governor-General.

Fourth.—The toleration of unlimited freedom of the Press. This is indeed a measure dictated by a pure and enlarged policy, and for which, I believe I may say, we are indebted solely to Lord William. There were some, doubtless, among the Government functionaries who were anxious for the abolition of restrictions on the expression of

public opinion on official men and measures, but they were by far too few in number to have counteracted the prejudices of the many, had they not been powerfully supported by the heart of the Government. I have certainly heard observations from several men, tending to detract from the wisdom and liberality of this measure. It is said, that after all, what can the expression of public opinion do? The circumstances of India and its population are such, that its rulers may, at present at least, with perfect safety treat it with contempt. A weak minded and self-sufficient man might have been nettled and annoyed at the attacks on Government which have been from time to time poured forth; but one of strong character and conscious of his own power could afford to take no notice of them. Besides, it is said that Lord William is one of those phlegmatic and humorous individuals who laughs at all the abuse he may have received, and can even enjoy the wit and cleverness of a philippic, (should it contain any) feeling the force of the old adage "let those laugh that win." Besides this, he has very wisely looked upon the freedom of the press, both as an index and a safety valve for the public mind:—to point out, how far he and his masters, the twenty-four Molochs of Leaden Hall might go; and to allow of the escape of a great portion of that discontent which if pent up might have caused an explosion producing much more dangerous consequences.

All this may be, and probably is, both true and lamentable. True, as regards Lord William individually; and lamentable that the free expression of public opinion should yet have so little influence upon the actions of our rulers, and so little power to remedy the evils under which the country is groaning;—still, "*gutta cavat lapidem*." Let the press persist in doing its duty, in which it will be joined and assisted by the people; ultimately it must triumph, and our rulers will be forced to adopt a more enlightened and a wiser policy. No small share of mental strength, however, is requisite to enable a man to tolerate being told that he is wrong, or that his measures are oppressive, even though he may not profit by what he hears. Few men in authority, either in India, England, or any other country, would submit to it while they possessed the power to prevent it. Let the full and unrestricted share of praise be awarded to the man who has borne all that has been said and published against the present Governor-General.

Let him also receive full credit for his attempts to improve the resources of the country

by introducing a general plan for the improvement of its communication by road-making—and for his attempts to increase commerce by the opening of the Indus. Lord William's resolution to make merit the test of promotion and to adopt a system, &c. sounded very well: in practice, however, there has been just as much nepotism and favoritism under the present administration as at any previous period. It is also very doubtful whether the public servants on the whole do more than they did before. The diligent and efficient have been disgusted by the unmerited suspicion which has been cast upon them, while occasional instances of notorious idleness and inefficiency exist now as heretofore. If these are able to remain undiscovered by the Government, it is a poor result of the grand system of public reports and private espionage which has been introduced; but in truth, some of them, to say the least, have been so well known for years to the public at large, that it is utterly impossible that the head of the Government could remain in ignorance of them.

The determination expressed by Lord William not to be a puppet in the hands of his councillors, &c. &c. has degenerated into his having too often become a tool in the hands of spies and informers, whose purposes he has been made to serve by forwarding their views, and gratifying their malice; and as to the laudable purpose for which his journeys through the country were said to have been undertaken, to enable him to see and judge for himself of its condition and the state of its inhabitants; had this been done at his own expense, the credit of purely good intentions might have justly been conceded to him. The cost of his expensive journeys has, however, been defrayed as it is called, by Government, that is to say, by the people of India, who are certainly at a loss to discover what benefits they have thereby derived, except the honor of being subject to the innumerable petty extortions, oppressions, and misconduct of his Lordship's suite and camp followers, which in India always rise in amount in proportion to the rank of the master; and the only practical result of these journeys that has hitherto been exhibited, is that of an agreeable party of pleasure amusing themselves with viewing the various sights and scenes of the country, and in the selection of salubrious and attractive residences for their abode according to the climate and the seasons.

Indeed, as a general principle, although in theory it sounds well; great difficulties are opposed to the production of any beneficial effects from local inquiries conducted

by a Governor-General in person. The office is of too great importance to ministerial interests at home to be bestowed on any Indian functionary; and those who come out fresh from England, are necessarily precluded by non-acquaintance with the language from having any personal communication with the people. Besides, if this bar did not exist, etiquette opposes another: a Governor-General cannot, as has been before observed, go about in disguise, like the celebrated Caliph of Bagdat (Haroon al Raschid) to inspect the proceedings of his subordinates, and the attempt too often ends like the mountain in labour:—sometimes, indeed, the production is by no means of so innocuous a nature; for a distorted abortion, like the present espionage system, is only an instrument in the hands of the evil-disposed to the injury of all able and honest men. A journey and inquiry by the Governor-General, if properly conducted, might be made productive of some benefit; but if we are to judge from the results which have hitherto followed the various peregrinations of respective Governors-General, the wisest course for the Court of Directors or the Ministry would be to procure a revision of the last East India Charter act, so as to enable them to prohibit any future Governor from leaving Calcutta, a most desirable measure for the inhabitants of that fair City of Palaces, who would thereby enjoy sundry additional good dinners and agreeable entertainments, while the money which would be spent in the journeys might be applied to a variety of much more useful purposes.

As to the invitation for communications and suggestions from all parties, in or out of the service; the public have yet to learn how far those which have been offered have ever been suffered to supersede Lord William's preconceived notions; and there are not a few anecdotes current on good authority of positive evils, nay, instances of bribery and extortion on the part of the officials of different functionaries, having been brought to his Lordship's notice, into which no inquiry whatever has been instituted.

The conviction that many abuses exist both in the system of Government and the mode of administration in detail, is still nearly as strong as ever in the minds of those who possess any acquaintance with India or its affairs. It is, we may conclude, equally present to the perception of the Governor-General, if we are to judge by his non-interference system; and the implied candour and plain dealing of this measure is entitled to the highest praise. His Lordship has strenuously supported the system of non-

interference in the internal affairs of the native states, simply because he is convinced that bad as their administration may be, that of the British Government is not a whit better. But what has been the general result of Lord William's Government? what has become of his determination to do his best for the interests of the people over whom he has been placed; professions in abundance we have had; it has been a government of professions which has begun and ended in words. It may have been his intention to have fulfilled them; but he forgot to add the qualifying proviso that his good intentions were never to interfere with the main principle of the British Indian Government, profit to themselves and their masters at the expense of the people of India. Every arm of government, civil and military, has been crippled by the miserable system of petty economy which has been introduced. The abominable system of purveyance and forced labour is still in full force. The commerce and manufactures of the country are daily deteriorated by the vexatious system of internal duties which is still preserved; the people are still oppressed by having the business of the courts and offices conducted in a language foreign both to the governors and the governed; the police arrangements have deteriorated; men are daily appointed to situations of responsibility; who, for any thing that is known of their qualifications, may be unable even to speak to the people; the people are neither happier nor richer than they were before: indeed their impoverishment has been progressive; for, while the evils enumerated have continued in full force, the revenue screw has scarcely been relaxed half a thread of the many hundreds of which it is composed: and to crown all, the government servants of all classes have been filled with disgust and discontent at the imputations and aspersions with which they have been assailed; at the disappointment of hopes and expectations on the strength of which they left their home, their kindred, and their country, and which have cheered and supported them in the discharge of their laborious duties while exiles in a foreign land: while the natives, the East Indians and the English settlers are found equally murmuring at the little which has been practically done to improve their condition.

Of the existence of the feelings among the English population, both in and out of the service, Government is sufficiently aware; our rulers do and may, for some time to come, set it at defiance; although the evil consequences will be ultimately felt. But it is

impossible they can know the extent to which they prevail among the people of the country : we have been so long accustomed to set at nought their opinions, and even to consider them as incapable of forming any, that it is almost like a new sense to entertain the notion of regulating our proceedings by the consideration of their effecting upon, and reception by, the people. The day is past, however, when they can safely be treated with such contempt : they are most accurate judges of character ; and the circumstances in which they are placed, defenceless and open to attacks from all around them, have encreased this natural quality to a degree of keenness and activity of which the spider's eye, which is said to "*see all round*," is scarcely susceptible. They are ever on the watch, for at present they feel their weakness, and know that they are in our power ; and bitterly do they murmur among themselves at our extortions and oppressions. They see the daily retrenchments which are taking place in every department, which so far from benefiting them, are only an additional means of depriving them of the advantages which they enjoyed by the former expenditure ; and native soldiers and employées of all ranks are now wandering about the country, cursing the wretched parsimony which has deprived them of the means of subsistence, while they know that the taxes are levied as usual to the utmost, and that the money thus raised is hoarded to be transmitted to England.

All this they see and reason upon. The question is now more strongly agitated than ever " what right have we to rule the million for the benefit of the few ?"—and further, the point is also discussed, what is the amount of our power to support this right ? Many influential individuals among them are now familiar with our language, and many more are daily becoming acquainted with it ; a native press exists both in Bengal and in the upper provinces, and one of the leading English Journals of Calcutta has lately become in part the property of a native of wealth and talent—communication between

people in distant parts of the country is daily becoming more frequent and will become still more so. By a wise and enlightened system of legislation, all this might be turned to the consolidation of our power and the improvement of the condition and consequent happiness of the people of the whole Indian Peninsula ; but if nothing be done to turn sentiments into a different channel from that in which they now run, the warning which predicts the downfall of the British Indian rule will not be long ere it be fulfilled.

It may be asked, why such an attack as this is levelled at Lord William Bentinck ? What has he done worse than former Governors-General of India to deserve it ? It must be remembered that he is a public man, and that as a public man alone his proceedings are here discussed ; and that he has brought it upon himself by his abundant professions and non-performance. If his predecessors in the high and responsible office which they filled, did little for the people and the country ; if they contented themselves with the enjoyment of their ease and dignity and all the splendour and luxury of their situation and solace themselves for their separation from their home and friends by the prospect of a pension after their return to England ; they at least made no grand professions. But Lord William Bentinck has gratuitously placed himself in this position. He may have recommended more liberal measures to the Home Government, he may have endeavoured to rouse them to a sense of their true interests ; but if so, the secrecy with which the affairs of Government are administered, has prevented the public from being made acquainted with it ; and the general result of his measures has been to lay a foundation on which may rise consequences of greater moment both to the English rulers and the Indian population than have ever yet resulted from the acts of any preceding Governor—whether these shall be productive of good or evil time alone can show.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

December, 1834.

LORD NAPIER'S NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE CHINESE.

[Concluded from page 132.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

(From the *Bombay Courier*, December 13.)

To the Right Honorable Lord Napier, Chief Superintendent of the British Trade in China.

My Lord,—We the undersigned Parsee Merchants beg leave respectfully to address your Lordship on the subject of the extreme difficulties in which we find ourselves involved by the present position of affairs between your Lordship and the Chinese Government.

In common with all British subjects we hailed your Lordship here with joy, and looked for the happiest result to the trade and well-being of foreigners in China. We did not expect that the change in trade could be brought about without some difficulty, and were prepared to postpone our individual interests to the general good. We received the first order of the stoppage of the British trade as one of the customary measures of the Chinese Government in such cases, and thought it would soon yield to your Lordship's measures.

We can, however, no longer conceal from ourselves that the affairs has assumed an appearance which does not hold forth promise of early adjustment; and we therefore respectfully lay before your Lordship this our memorial, and point out to your Lordship the dreadful consequences which must result to our constituents, whose interests we are not authorized to commit by any act of our own, and whose commercial existence may perhaps depend upon the consequences which must ensue to them if the present stoppage of the trade be not speedily removed.

The months of August and September are those in which the principal sales of cotton, &c. are made here, and the Chinese buyers though accustomed to the arrival of several ships at a time, may form most dangerous combinations against the importers, when the large quantity which will arrive during the present difficulties come to be brought into market at once.

Our constituents in India calculating also upon the usual promptitude of remittance for their goods, will contract engagements, depending on such remittances, and the con-

sequence of their being detained here need not be described to your Lordship. The ship-owners must also be great sufferers, if their ships are detained—their expenses are heavy and many of the voyages depend on agreement which they will not be able to fulfil, unless the trade be speedily renewed. Indeed, whichever way we look, ruin appears certain if the present state of things lasts but a short time longer. We are convinced your Lordship is acting for the best, but we cannot set down quietly and see certain ruin coming both to ourselves and to others who have entrusted their property to our care; we therefore beseech your Lordship to devise some measures for relieving us from this most perilous situation, and avert the ruin, which we are sure it cannot be your Lordship's wish nor his Majesty's benevolent intention should be entailed on us.

We have, &c.

(Signed) DADABHOY RUSTUMJEE,
and other Parsee Merchants.

Canton, 10th September, 1834.

Canton, 10th Sept, 1834.

To Dadabhoj Rustumjee, and the other Parsee Merchants.

Gentlemen,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your memorial stating the “extreme difficulties in which you find yourselves involved by the present position of affairs between myself and the Chinese Government, &c. &c.”

I can assure you I am very sensible of the cruelty and injustice with which the said Government has acted towards the British Merchants, and that I will relax no endeavour to restore matters to their former course. It would be highly inexpedient to enter into premature discussion on these points. I therefore can only repeat that they shall continue to have my best and most deliberate attention.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER,
Chief Superintendent.

To the Right Honorable Lord Napier, Chief Superintendent of the British Trade in China.

My Lord,—We had the honor to receive your Lordship's acknowledgment of our

memorial of the 10th instant, and we felt grateful for the assurance that your Lordship would use every exertion to relieve us from the distress occasioned by the present unhappy position of affairs with the Chinese Government. We consider it our duty to inform your Lordship that we met the Hong Merchants this day at the Consou-house by their invitation, and were there informed by Howqua, the senior Hong Merchant, that he had used every exertion in his power to bring about an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties, but in vain. The Viceroy has notified to him, that he is resolved to stop all the commercial intercourse till your Lordship has left Canton and the frigates ordered away. We beg respectfully to lay before your Lordship the Chinese Chop we have received on the subject. It is farthest from our wish to embarrass your Lordship by repeated memorials, but we dare not in justice to ourselves, and in duty to our constituents—whose interests are vitally threatened by the stoppage of the trade,—omit an opportunity of representing our case to your Lordship, which we do most respectfully, merely repeating what we stated in our former memorial, that the consequence of the continuance of the present state of things will be utter ruin to thousands of our countrymen depending on the China trade. The Hong Merchants represented the case as pregnant with damage to property, and even life, from causes over which they have no controul; and recognizing us as peaceable merchants, have recommended our leaving Canton, offering us Chops. We therefore once more beseech your Lordship earnestly to consider our case, and adopt measures for relieving us from the distress under which we now suffer, and the ruin which nothing but speedy resumption of the trade can now avert.

We have, &c.

(Signed) DADABHOY RUSTUMJEE,
and other Parsee Merchants.

Canton, 15th September, 1834.

To Dadabhoy Rustumjee and other Parsee Merchants

Gentlemen,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and beg to acquaint you, whatever you were told at the Consou-house by Howqua and the other Hong Merchants, that the whole is false. I may say that I believe that you are indebted to Howqua himself for the stoppage of the trade. When they presume to tell you even your lives are in danger, they are only endeavouring to operate on your fears.

You are British subjects and entitled to the same protection as Englishmen themselves. If you take my advice you will remain where you are, and if a few days do not put an end to this unnatural state of affairs, let the blame rest on the head of the guilty.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) NAPIER,
Chief Superintendent.

(From the *Canton Register*, September 16.)

Canton, 14th September, 1834.

To W. Sprott Boyd, Esq. Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce.

Sir,—Having read the translation of the Special Edict of the date 11th September, 1834, forwarded to me yesterday, I find that any further endeavours on my part to reason his Excellency the Governor into a more becoming line of conduct would be quite superfluous, and whereas it has been stated by the Hoppo, in his reply of the 7th September, 1834, to a petition from Messrs. Whiteman and Co. to open the trade, that the same should take place as soon as I had taken my departure for Macao, I have now to request that you will be pleased to move the proper authorities to order up the British cutter, now at Whampoa, that I may take the earliest opportunity of giving effect to the same.

I beg to remain, your obedient servant,

(Signed) NAPIER,
Chief Superintendent.

Canton, 15th September, 1834.

Gentlemen,—My letter to Mr. Boyd of yesterday would prepare you for the present. I now beg leave to acquaint you that I cannot any longer consider it expedient to persist in a course by which you yourselves are made to suffer. I therefore addressed Mr. Boyd, that the authorities might provide me the means of doing that which all parties must anxiously desire, namely, "to retire and admit the opening of the trade." When I consider that the subject in dispute is not one of a commercial nature, but altogether personal in reference to myself, I can retire with the satisfaction of knowing that your interests are not compromised thereby, indulging a hope that the day will yet arrive when I shall be placed in my proper position by an authority which nothing can withstand.

I consider it my duty to use every effort to carry His Majesty's instructions into execution, and having done so far without effect,

though nearly accomplished on two occasions, I cannot feel myself authorized any longer to call on your forbearance.

I hope, Gentlemen, soon to see the trade restored to its usual course of activity, and that it may long continue to prosper in your hands is the ardent wish of. Gentlemen, your very faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) NAPIER,
Chief Superintendent.

PROCLAMATION.

(From the Canton Register, September 16.)

LORD NAPIER'S OBSERVATIONS ON GOVERNOR LOO'S EDICT, DATED THE 2D OF SEPTEMBER.

Canton, 8th September, 1834.

To William Sprott Boyd, Esq. Secretary to the Merchants meeting.

Sir,—Whereas Mr. Morrison has laid before me the translations of an Edict of the 2d of September, issued by Loo, Governor of Canton and Kwang-se, and Ke, Fooyuen of the province of Canton wherein, among other things, it is stated that, “on examination of the rules of the celestial empire they find that ministers have no outward intercourse with outside barbarians, and that it cannot be known whether Lord Napier is a merchant or an officer.” I beg to acquaint you, for the information of the said Hong Merchants, and Loo and Ke, that during the last 200 years a constant personal intercourse has been maintained between the Viceroy of Canton and the British subjects resorting thither; for example: in the year 1637 on the part of Captain Waddell, after having destroyed the fort at the Bogue; in 1734 on the part of the Supracargoes of the E. I. Company; in 1742 on the part of Commodore Anson; in 1754 on the part of the Supracargoes; in 1759 on the part of Mr. Flint and the Supracargoes; in 1792 on the part of a committee from England; in 1795 on the part of the Supracargoes; in 1805 on the part of Mr. Roberts and Sir George Staunton; in 1806 on the part of Mr. Roberts, and again on the part of Mr. Drummond and Mr. Elphinstone; in 1811 on the part of Sir George Staunton; in 1816 on the part of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe and Captain Clavell, R. N.; and on many other occasions by the chiefs of the factory on their annual return from Macao to Canton. So far, therefore, the allegation of the said Loo and Ke is not founded on fact.

Again, that they know not whether Lord Napier is an officer or a merchant is equally false; for the Kwang-chow-foo, the Chaou-

chow-foo, and Kwang-chow-hee waited on Lord Napier, when they saw him in the uniform of a Captain in the British navy; and when they might have assured themselves of that fact, as well as of all others connected with his mission to China, had they carried his letter to the Viceroy, or had his Excellency given him the same reception as had been usually accorded to others.

And, whereas, it is further stated in the said Edict that the trade was stopped by the request of the Hong Merchants on the 16th of last month, but that he, the Viceroy, replied to them, “commanding indulgence and delay;” which command was issued on the 18th ultimo, and was never obeyed by the Hong Merchants; and whereas, in the present Edict of the 2d instant, it is now declared by Loo and Ke, that from the 16th day of August all buying and selling on the part of the English nation is wholly put a stop to, with the exception of all goods, the sale or purchase of which was settled previously to the stoppage; and whereas, in full reliance on the honor of the Viceroy and the authority of the Edict, “commanding temporary indulgence and delay,” the British Merchants have transacted considerable business with the merchants of China between the 18th of the last month and the 2d of the present; and in the face of that Edict, and in the forgetfulness of his “command to grant indulgence and delay,” the Viceroy now joins with the Fooyuen in the very unjust measure of stopping the trade altogether from the 16th of last month, to the great prejudice, not only of the British Merchants, but of that of the subjects of his imperial majesty the Emperor of China; I do hereby, in the name of His Britannic Majesty, protest against this act of unprecedented tyranny and injustice, thus decreed by the said Viceroy and Fooyuen.

And, whereas, notice has been taken, in the same Edict of the 2d instant, of the expected arrivals of ships from England with cargoes to be given in exchange for teas and other merchandize; and whereas, all merchandize is allowed to be embarked up to the 16th ultimo, and ought in justice to be extended to the 2d instant; and as the permission to embark such merchandize implies the *delivery* of outward cargoes for such purpose, and still the trade is wholly put a stop to, which prevents the delivery of such cargoes and the embarkation of the merchandize already so permitted to be shipped, I do hereby again protest, in the name of His Britannic Majesty, against the absurd and tyrannical assumption of power on the part of the Governor and Lieutenant-governor.

And, whereas, by a letter of the Hong Merchants of September the 6th, giving notice, "that the Governor has ordered all the forts and guardhouses, that the English boats and ships are only allowed to go out of port, and are not allowed to enter;" and that such a prohibition is altogether at variance with the Edict permitting a certain part of the trade to be embarked, I have to request that you will hereby give notice to the Hong Merchants that it is a very serious offence to fire upon or otherwise to insult the British flag.

And, whereas, they are already aware that there are two frigates now in the river, bearing very heavy guns, for the express purpose of protecting the British trade, I would warn the Hong Merchants, again and again, that if any disagreeable consequences shall ensue from the said Edicts, that they themselves with the Governor and Lieutenant-governor are responsible for the whole. Recommend them then to take warning in time; they have opened the preliminaries of war; they destroy trade, and incur the loss of life on the part of the unoffending people, rather than grant to me the same courtesy which has been granted to others before me. They are all aware that the king, my master, sent me here in consequence of Howqua's advice to Governor Le, and, therefore, why do they vainly contend against their own actions to the destruction of trade and the misery of thousands. But let the Governor and the Lieutenant-governor know this, that I will lose no time in sending this true statement to his imperial majesty the Emperor of China, at Peking; and I will also report to his justice and indignation the false and treacherous conduct of Governor Loo, and that of the present Kwang-chow-foo, who has tortured the linguists and cruelly imprisoned a respectable individual, Sunshing, a security merchant, for not having acquiesced in a base lie, purporting that I arrived in Canton river in a merchant ship. Whereas, they are both aware that I made my passage and arrived in one of the ships of war now at anchor in the river. His imperial majesty will not permit such folly, wickedness, and cruelty to go unpunished: therefore, tremble Governor Loo, intensely tremble!

And, again, Governor Loo has the assurance to state in the Edict of the 2d instant, that "the king, my master, has hitherto been reverently obedient." I must now request you to declare to them that His Majesty, the king of England, is a great and powerful monarch, that he rules over an extent of territory in the four quarters of the world more comprehensive in

space, and infinitely more so in power than the whole empire of China; that he commands armies of bold and fierce soldiers, who have conquered wherever they went; and that he is possessed of great ships of war, carrying even as many as 120 guns, which pass quietly along the seas, where no native of China has ever yet dared to show his face. Let the Governor then judge if such a monarch "will be reverently obedient to any one."

And, now, I beg you to inform the Hong Merchants, knowing their duplicity, I suspect they will not communicate the foregoing to the Governor and to the Lieutenant-governor. I would, therefore, give them warning that if I do not receive an answer from his Excellency touching the points narrated in this letter by Monday the 15th, I will publish it through the streets, and circulate copies among the people, one of which may peradventure find its way into his Excellency's presence.

I beg to remain, your very obedient servant,

(Signed) NAPIER.

EDICT.

(From the Canton Register, September 16.)

GOVERNOR LOO'S REPLY TO LORD NAPIER'S OBSERVATIONS, DATED THE 8TH OF SEPTEMBER.

Loo, Governor of Canton &c. to the Hong Merchants, requiring their full acquaintance with the contents hereof.

In every thing relating to the trade of the English barbarians at Canton there have long been established rules. There has never been such a thing as the residence here of a barbarian officer or superintendent. The great ministers of the celestial empire, unless with regard to affairs of going to court and carrying tribute, or in consequence of imperial commands, are not permitted to have interviews with outside barbarians. The affairs of the former *Ming* (dynasty) need not be brought into discussion. How have any officers of the great *Tsing* dynasty had intercourse to and fro with barbarians? As to the intercourse between barbarian officers and those who have formerly held the office of Governor in the years of Keen-lung and Kea-king (1736 to 1821) referred to in the paper copied by the said merchants, perhaps, when the said nation has sent tribute there may have been interviews given to the tribute-bearers; otherwise, there certainly has not been this ceremony. This even the said nation's private merchants must all be

aware of. I, the governor, have been obedient, maintaining the national dignity. From the first I have not been commencing what is strange or sounding forth my loftiness.

In the 10th year of Taou-kwang, the said Hong Merchants having reported that the English Company would, after the 13th year of Taou-kwang, be dissolved and ended, that the merchants of the said nation would trade for themselves, and that they feared affairs would be under no general control, the then Governor, Le, commanded them to enjoin orders on the said nation's merchants to send a letter home, that if the Company was ended and dispersed, a chief (*taepan*) should still be appointed to come to Canton, to manage affairs. The books of records are still existing: there is no word of a superintendent. The said barbarian *eye*, Lord Napier, styles himself superintendent come to Canton. Whether a superintendent should be appointed over the said nation's barbarian merchants or not, it is in itself needless to inquire about minutely; but we Chinese will still manage through the medium of merchants: there can be no alteration made for officers to manage. Besides, the business is one newly commencing; it is incumbent to present a memorial, requesting the mandate of the great emperor to be obeyed and acted on. The said barbarian *eye*, Lord Napier, brought not any written communication from the said nation's king. Suddenly he came. I, the governor, knew not what man he was, knew not what business he was to transact. I sent the said merchants to inquire and investigate, and to require him to inform them of the causes of his coming, and what was the nature of the business he was to perform, to afford grounds for a full memorial. In what was this not accordant with reason? Even though the said barbarian *eye* were indeed an officer, why should he communicate to the merchants of the central flowery (nation) not a word! If unwilling to converse with the said merchants, still what should prevent him from commanding the said nation's private merchants to resolve the matter with them, and inform them fully? But on four successive occasions, when they inquired and investigated, he remained as though he heard not, determined in the wish to have official correspondence and letters to and fro with all the public officers of the inner land. The said nation and this inner land have heretofore had no interchange of official communications and letters; nor in the celestial empire is there this rule. How could I, the governor, in opposition to rule, permit it!

The said Hong Merchants had before solicited that a stop should be put to the said nation's buying and selling. I, the governor, because the said nation had had an open market here for upwards of a hundred years, and because the said nation's king had several times sent tribute, so that I could not but call him reverently obedient; but still more because the said nation's separate merchants had, many of them, crossed the seas and come from a distance, so that I would not, for the fault of one man, involve the mercantile multitude: I therefore replied commanding an indulgent delay. Again, apprehending that the said merchants, in enjoining the orders, had not attained perfect clearness, I also sent officers to proceed to the barbarian factories, and personally make inquiry. On the part of me, the governor, it was the utmost, the extreme of careful regard and perfect kindness. But the said barbarian *eye*, even in the presence of the deputed officers, did not speak plainly of the object of his mission. Still, apprehending that their words might not be truly delivered, I commanded them to take with them linguists and proceed thither. When the flowery (Chinese) and barbarians have oral intercourse, linguists interpret what is said; throughout the empire it is in all cases thus. Yet neither would the said barbarian *eye* employ the linguists to interpret for him, so that the deputed officers could not say every thing.

Since the said barbarian *eye* has come for the purpose of examining and directing trade, but did not tell clearly the object of his mission, whether after the Company was dispersed affairs should be conducted as before or not, or how they should be conducted, by what means could trade be carried on? I could not, but according to law, close the ship's holds: that I, the governor, did it not willingly, but with extreme pain of mind, has been already clearly explained in the proclamation. The said merchants having orally stated that they had fully taken account of the goods, the purchase of which was settled before the 12th of last moon (i. e. the 16th of August) and had wholly stopped, not having since had any commercial dealings. I therefore ordered the stoppage from the day of the said merchant's petition: it was in no way a former and a latter two modes of acting. I, the governor, six times successively issued official replies, all in conformity with the old established regulations. I in no way forced into difficulties; nor did I thrust forward my own notions; neither did I, by a single word, rudely reprehend the said barbarian *eye*. The replies have all

been printed, and publicly displayed; all eyes may see them. Even the said nation's king, if he see them, cannot say that I, the governor, have not spoken what is reasonable.

The said barbarian eye has not learned to arouse from his previous errors, but has further called to him many persons, bringing in boats, military weapons, which have been moved into the barbarian factory: a great opposition towards the laws and prohibitions! Into the important territory of the provincial city how can outside barbarians presume to bring military weapons, causing alarm to the inhabitants! I therefore commanded the fort, named Lee-tih, that should any sampan boats proceed towards the city they should be stopped and authoritatively informed that if the said barbarian vessels perversely opposed and disobeyed, the military would, of course, fire off the guns, which would be but what their offence brought on them. Yet several times, when barbarian merchants were stopped, they were at once sent back to the place whence they came, without being brought to investigation or punishment. Thus it may be seen that I the governor have not tyrannically treated the outside barbarians. Even with regard to the said barbarian eye, when instance upon instance, he has presumed on force and power, what difficulty would there be in my meeting him with military terrors! But I cannot bear forcibly to drive him out. The celestial empire cherishes those from afar virtuously. What it values is the subjection of men by reason: it esteems not awing them by force. The said barbarian eye has now again opposed the laws in commanding the ships of war to push forward into the inner river, and in allowing the barbarian forces to fire guns, attacking and wounding our soldiers, and alarming our resident people. This is still more out of the bounds of reason, and renders it still more unintelligible what it is he wishes to do.

The soldiers and horses of the celestial empire, its thundering forces, guns, and weapons assembled on the hills; if it were desired to make great display of conquering, of chastisement, how could the petty little warships afford any protection! Besides, all the merchants trading here, I, the governor, treat most liberally; what need is there of protection? By such ignorant and absurd conduct, entering far into the important territory, he is already within my grasp. Arrangements have been now made to assemble a large force, ranged out both by sea and land. What difficulty will there be in immediately destroying and eradicating; therefore, that I am slow, dilatory, and cannot

bear to do so, is because I consider that such movements are not according to the wishes of the said nation's king, nor are they according to the wishes of the several merchants. I, the governor, looking up, embody the heaven-like benevolence of the great emperor. Only by reforming his errors can he avoid cutting himself off, and obtain reformation. If the said barbarian eye will speedily repent of his errors, withdraw the ships of war, and remain obedient to the old rules, I will yet give him some slight indulgence. If he still adhere to stupidity and do not arouse, maintain his wickedness and do not change, he will be sinning against the great emperor, and I, the governor, will certainly find it difficult again to display endurance and forbearance.* I apprehend that when the celestial troops once come, even precious stones will burn before them. On no account defer repentance till afterwards.

Uniting circumstances I issue this order. When the order reaches the said Hong Merchants, let them immediately act in obedience to it, and make it known to all the English Merchants, with even temper reasoning upon it. If hereafter things come to a rupture, do not say that I, the governor, caused it by my errors. Let them also enjoin the orders on the said barbarian eye; and let them write home to cause it to be known. A special order.

Taou-kwang, 14th year, 8th moon, 9th day.
September 11, 1834.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(From the *Canton Register*, September 23.)

Letter from the Hong Merchants to the British Merchants. September 15, 1834.

A respectful notification.—You, Gentlemen, sent us yesterday a letter from your honorable officer to you. We immediately took the letter, and, having laid it before the Kwang-chow-foo, received his commands, saying, that he had minutely looked over the letter, in which is the expression "endeavours on my part to reason with the Viceroy, &c." As to this reasoning, it is undiscovered what is the subject reasoned about. If what is spoken of approach to reason, the Governor will assuredly report it to the great emperor, and perhaps it may be granted. If not reasonable, an order must also be awaited, commanding its refusal.

* We think this a broad hint on the part of governor Loo for a bribe. He means the converse of what he writes: that the fighting brigade of the Kwang tung division of the celestial army will burn—i. e. melt away—before a storm of precious stones—or devil-faced dollars—discharged at them by hand-fuls.

As to what the affairs are which your honorable nation has sent your honorable officer to Canton to transact, it is necessary and right to explain them fully, that a report thereof may be at the same time made for the information of the great emperor, and his mandate awaited, to be obeyed and put in operation.

As to the ships of war entering the port—it is a thing long prohibited by the laws. All the nations know it. How is it that on this occasion the ships of war have presumed to break into the port, throwing down the forts! let it be examined what is the cause.

At the end of the letter it is said, "I therefore request you to move the proper authorities to order the British cutter up from Whampoa, that I may carry the same into effect." It is not understood what is the meaning of the words "carrying into effect."

We pray you to take the above, and having ascertained each point clearly, immediately to reply, that we may be enabled to report.

Again, in the present letter your honorable officer wishes the cutter to come up to Canton. When, then, will the war ships, which the other day broke in and came up to Whampoa, set sail! We pray you first inform us, that we may report for you to the Kwang-chow-foo, and await his orders as to what is to be done. We pray you to inform your honorable officer of every thing in this letter, and then reply.

This burden we impose, &c. &c.

(Subscribed by eleven merchants.)

To Messrs. Jardine, Dent, Boyd, Whiteman, Framjee, and other gentlemen.

8th moon, 13th day, September 15th, 1834.

Canton, 15th September, 1834.

To W. Spratt Boyd, Esq. Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce.

Sir,—As the Kwang-chow-foo does not understand my letter, I have to request you will afford him the following explanation.

1st. With respect to reasoning with the Viceroy, I showed his Excellency, from many examples that Englishmen of rank have been admitted to private communication with his Excellency, and it would have been but courteous in him to have placed me on a similar footing.

2ndly. In reference to the entry of the ships, it would have been but wise and politic had the authorities provided me with a "copy" of such "prohibitions;" as according to the Governor's own showing "I was quite ignorant of the laws of the celestial empire."

3rdly. As to the departure of the ships. One of them will be despatched immediately to the Admiral in the East Indies, bearing the Governor's reply to this letter, and who will act accordingly; and the other will remain at Whampoa to convey myself and suit to Macao; and—

4thly. As to the nature of my business here, I have already told him that I can only communicate that subject by letter or by person to the Viceroy.

I hope this is plain enough for the comprehension of the Kwang-chow-foo.

Your very obedient servant,

NAPIER,
Chief Superintendent.

Letter from the Hong Merchants to the British Merchants, desiring further information respecting the frigates. September 16th, 1834.

A respectful notification.—You, Gentlemen, have to day sent us a letter from your honorable officer to yourselves. Therein it is said, "as to the departure of the ships, one of them will be despatched immediately to the admiral in the East Indies, bearing the governor's reply to this letter, and who will act accordingly." Why not send the ships of war out to the outer sea immediately, at the same time giving information of the day and time of sailing, to enable us to report to the Governor, that he may issue orders to all the military posts to let them pass? "The other will remain at Whampoa, to convey myself and suite to Macao." Why not first send this ship of war to sea outside the Bogue, and then have the cutter up to take your honorable officer on board the ship to return to Macao?

At the end of the previous letter it was said, "I request you to move the proper authorities to order the British cutter up from Whampoa, that I may carry the same into effect." Do the words "carry into effect" refer to the mode of acting mentioned in the Hoppo's reply, on a former day, to Mr. Whiteman's petition, namely, that your honorable officer should first go to Macao?

In our letter of 13th (September 15th) it was required to examine for what cause the ships of war entered the port and broke down the forts. On this point we have not received an answer. We pray you to inform your honorable officer, and reply again to-day, to enable us to report.

For this we write, &c. &c. (Subscribed by the eleven merchants.)

To Messrs. Jardine, Dent, Boyd, Whiteman, Framjee, and other gentlemen.

8th moon, 14th day, (Sept. 16th, 1834.)

Canton, 16th September, 1834.

To W. Sprott Boyd, Esq. Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce.

Sir,—In further explanation I beg to acquaint you that the ship for India will remain at Whampoa on account of the nearer communication with this place, and will sail as soon as I receive the Viceroy's reply; therefore his Excellency had better give orders to allow her to go out as soon as possible. The other ship will remain at Whampoa to receive me from the cutter, and will not move from thence on any account previous to my arrival.

The words of "carrying into effect" alluded to the Hoppo's reply to the petition of Mr. Whiteman. The frigates came up the river for the purpose of affording greater security to the persons and property of British subjects, after the most barbarous and cruel Edict of the 2d of September, which yet remains in operation. The authorities have to blame themselves for having acted in that base manner towards the representative of his Britannic Majesty, and if the prohibitions did actually exist, they ought to have been communicated to the superintendents officially beforehand.

The frigates did not fire upon the forts until they were obliged to do so in self-defence.

Your very obedient servant,

NAPIER, Chief Superintendent.

Letter from the Hong Merchants to Mr. Boyd. September 17th, 1834.

A respectful notification.—We yesterday received a letter, wherein it is said: "The ship for India will remain at Whampoa on account of the nearer communication with this place, and will sail as soon as I receive the Viceroy's reply.—The other ship will remain at Whampoa to receive me from the cutter." It may thus be seen that the two vessels are both willing to go out of port; but that they sail at different times. But for ships of war to sail into the inner territory has long been a subject of prohibition.

Now the letter says that both are willing to go out of the port. If these two ships immediately set sail and go to the outer sea at Lintin, then afterwards we can report to the great officers that they may order the cutter up to Canton, to take your honorable officer back to Macao. This method will be safe and right. As to the manner of the ships of war going out, spoken of in yesterday's letter, it is indeed difficult to request the great officers to grant it.

For this purpose we reply, praying you to communicate this to your honorable officer, and reply to us to day. For this we hope.

With compliments, &c. (Subscribed by the eleven merchants).

To Mr. Boyd, and other gentlemen.

8th moon, 14th day (Sept 17th, 1834.)

Canton, 18th September, 1834.

To W. Sprott Boyd, Esq. Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce.

Sir,—Lord Napier's continued indisposition rendering it desirable that his Lordship should not be harassed by a continuance of the negotiation now going on with the Chinese authorities, and that his departure from Canton should not be delayed, I beg to inform you that I have undertaken, with his Lordship's concurrence, to make the requisite arrangements with the Hong Merchants, in reference to the communication which you yesterday received from them.

Your's obediently,

T. R. COLLEDGE,

Surgeon to H. M.'s Superintendents.

Reply of the British Chamber of Commerce of Canton to Lord Napier's Letter, dated the 15th of September.

To the Right Honorable Lord Napier, Chief Superintendent, &c. &c. &c. Canton.

My Lord,—We beg to acknowledge the honor of your Lordship's letters of the 15th instant, addressed to the British Merchants of Canton, informing us that, "you cannot any longer consider it expedient to persist in a course by which we are made to suffer; and that you have therefore addressed Mr. Boyd, that the authorities might provide your Lordship the means of doing that which all parties must anxiously desire, namely, to retire and admit the opening of the trade."

While very sensible of the sacrifice of feeling which your Lordship has thus made, it appears due to ourselves, and to the principle which has actuated us, to observe that considering the honor of our nation as suitably placed in the hands of his Majesty's Superintendent, and being convinced that the well-being of the trade is indissolubly bound up with that honor, we have studiously refrained from weakening the effect of your Lordship's measures by any ill-timed interference in giving way to expressions of fear or discontent, or offering advice, unasked, respecting a negotiation of which the full bearings were not before us.

That unanimity, so desirable in such discussions, (more particularly in this country, where our only power is reason and moral influence) should not have existed on the present occasion is to us a source of deep regret.

We feel most grateful to your Lordship for your persevering efforts and zeal in asserting our country's cause under privations of a most unusual nature, terminating at length in the sacrifice of your Lordship's health.

We return our thanks for your Lordship's good wishes for the prosperity of the trade.

With sentiments of high respect and ardent wishes for your speedy recovery, we remain, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient and humble servants,

(Signed) JARDINE, MATHESON and Co.; R. TURNER and Co.; J. Mc A. GLADSTONE; JAMES INNES; ARTHUR SAUNDERS KEATING; NICHOLAS CROOKE, for DOUGLAS, MACKENZIE and Co.; WM. SPROTT BOYD; JOHN SLADE; JOHN TEMPLETON and Co., *Agents for Lloyds*.

British Chamber of Commerce, Canton, September 29, 1834.

STATEMENT OF FACTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CANTON REGISTER.

Dear Sir,—If you consider the under *statement of facts* likely to throw any new light on Chinese *nerve*, you are at liberty to publish the petition to the Viceroy and the answer! I am *not* allowed to fill in the English name, but I give you, in a private note, the key by which to establish the veracity of the story told.

A CONSTANT READER.

While our recent troubles were at their height here, a supply of the necessaries of life was, by an English merchant, handed in to Lord Napier, the low Chinese soldier ruffians, stationed outside, on this imprisoned, this merchant's household, consisting of five Chinese. This merchant directly in person applied to Howqua, Tinqu, and Mowqua, and distinctly told his intention "to go to the city-gate, if his servants were not replaced in his house by 6 P. M." it then being 4 P. M. and concluded his address to Howqua by saying, "Howqua, you know me, I keep my word." At 6 every servant was restored to this gentleman's family.

Two days after, persisting in supplying Lord Napier, (as he told *Howqua* he would do) he again found his head servant threatened, when availing himself of a rough draft in Chinese of his former *intended petition* he left it with Howqua who, without his authority and without his *signature*, sent it to the Viceroy, and the rough draft and answer by Loo are as under. I refrain from any other

remarks than to say the Hong go-betweens make us British believe the high officers are much worse than they really are.

THE WRITER OF THE PETITION

To His Excellency Viceroy Loo, of Canton.

The respectful petition of a British Merchant, resident in Canton.

That last night he, with his own hand, gave into the hand of a servant of Lord Napier six fowls; that this morning the soldiers in front of his factory, on the pretence of this act, have taken away his comprador, two coolies, a cook, and his personal servant. That inside a treasury, of which he has one key and his comprador has another, is an unsettled balance of dollars with his comprador of several thousand dollars; and that his personal servant has custody of all furniture and clothes.

He, therefore, entreats your Excellency to consider if he buys provisions with his own money he may bestow them on whom he pleases; and yet they punish for this his five innocent servants; and unjustly hurt his property for a deed he was justified in doing.

He ventures to assure your Excellency that he will, either at sea or on shore, get redress through his nation's chief for this offence; or he will himself take it from the first property of your nation he can seize on. † † † †

Canton, 12th September, 1834.

From the Hong Merchants.

A respectful notification.—The petition which you, Sir, gave to us to present to the governor, we immediately transmitted. Having now received a proclamation in reply, we copy and send it, praying you, Sir, to examine and act accordingly. This burden we impose, &c.

To † † † †.

(Subscribed by the eleven Merchants.)
8th moon, 14th day. (September 16th, 1834.)

From the Governor.

Loo, secondary guardian of the heir-apparent, having the insignia of the highest rank, president of the tribunal of war, governor of the provinces Qwang-tung and Qwang-se, having the titular rank of *King chay-too-wei* of the first class, &c. &c. &c.

In reply to the English Merchant † † † †'s petition.

Let the Qwang-chow-foo examine clearly for what cause the said comprador and others were seized. If it were for what the said private merchant used, it was nothing illegal; let them be immediately released and sent back.

Taou-kwang, 14th year, 8th moon, 13th day.
(September 15th, 1834.)

RE-OPENING OF THE TRADE.

(From the Canton Register, September 30.)

Letter from the Hong Merchants, addressed to Mr. Franjee and other gentlemen, communicating the opening of the trade.

A respectful communication.—Some days since, you, Gentlemen, entrusted us to solicit the opening of the ship's holds. We have made a particular and explicit report and now have received this order from the Governor.

"As is petitioned, it is granted that the ships' holds be opened, and that trade be conducted as usual. Any (persons or vessels) entering or going out of the sea port must, according to law, request and receive the Hoppo's red permit, and undergo examination accordingly. Small sampans (boats), without coverings, from Whampoa, are also permitted to go and come as formerly.

"The said private merchants have passed over sea, several times ten thousand miles to come here. Their important object is trade. It is absolutely requisite that they should eternally, and with implicit obedience keep the laws. Then assuredly they may receive the bedewing favor of the great emperor, and excited thereby with gratitude may attain joy and get gain. Should any among them sow disturbance and work up trouble, then with conjoint strength unite in order and expel him. Do not cause that all should be involved. This is what I, the governor, sincerely hope for."

We also hope, Gentlemen, that you will act in obedience to the tenor of this order. This we most earnestly implore of you. For this special purpose we write. With compliments, &c.

(Subscribed by the eleven Merchants)
To Mr. Framjee and other gentlemen.

8th moon, 25th day (September 27th.)

DEATH OF LORD NAPIER.

(From the Canton Register Extra, October 13.)

Died at Macao, at half past ten o'clock, on the night of Saturday, the 11th of October, the Right Honorable William John Lord Napier of Merchiston, a Baronet of Nova Scotia, Captain R. N. and His Britannic Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China. His Lordship expired of a lingering illness brought on by the arduous performance of his duties at Canton, aggravated by the treatment received from the Chinese Government when on his passage, in a sick state, to Macao.

His Lordship was born on the 13th of October, 1786, and would this day have completed his 48th year.

SUBSTANCE OF AN EDICT.

(From the Canton Register, October 14.)

Substance of an Edict from the Kwang-chow-foo to the Hong Merchants against the stay in China of H. M. ships Imogene and Andromache, dated 30th September, 1834, received 4th October.

Pwan, acting Chief Magistrate of Kwang-chow-foo, &c.

To the Hong Merchants requiring their full acquaintance herewith.

On the 9th day of the 8th moon in the 14th year of Taou-kwang (11th September,) I received the following official document from the Poo-ching-sze Keith.

"On the 29th day of the 7th moon in the 14th year of Taoukwang (August 23d) the following official reply was received from Ke, the Foo-yuen of Canton Government.

"Kaou, the Tsan-tseang (an officer third in rank under an admiral) of the naval commander-in-chief's central division, has reported that the English barbarian war ship got under weigh and sailed off from Macao roads on the 7th day of the 7th moon (August 11th). To this, reply has been made as follows: 'On examination it appears, by another report from the said Tsan-tseang that two barbarian war ships of the said nation returned, on the 10th to the Sha-kok anchorage, (Chunpee) and cast anchor—directions having been already sent to the Poo-ching-sze's department, to transmit instructions for the precautionary guard, and to command the Hong Merchants to enjoin orders on the said nation's barbarian eye, that he commanded them to set sail. This is on record. Let the Pooching-sze, in conjunction with the Anchaza examine, and in accordance with this reply to the further report of the said Tsan-tseang, transmit instructions for acting.—Let them also await the reply of the Governor and the naval commander-in-chief and their report the receipt thereof, copy and issue the same.'"

On the same day was also received this reply.

"Kaou the Tsan-tseang of the naval commander in chief's central division has reported that the English Chads' cruizer and Blackwoods' cruizer, both vessels came on the 10th (August 14th) and anchored off Chunpee.—To this the following reply is made. 'The report being authenticated that the Chads' cruizer and Blackwood's cruizer came, on the 10th, and anchored off Chunpee, I have examined and find that the barbarians' natural dispositions treacherous and deceitful; it is exceedingly requisite to take precautionary measures and guard them closely. Let the Poo-ching-sze, in conjunction with the An-

cha-ze *forward instructions to the local civil and military (or naval) officers, in obedience hereto, to take the lead of the officers and men in the care of the passes, and of the cruising boats and vessels, and to maintain faithfully a diligent preventive guard. Also strictly to prohibit fishing and tanka boats from approaching to afford supplies. Let the said Poo-ching-sze order, likewise, the Hong Merchants, to enjoin orders on the said barbarian *eye*, to command the said cruisers to get under weigh immediately, and return to their country. They are not permitted to linger about, creating disturbance by which they will involve themselves in criminality. Wait also for the replies of the governor and commander in chief; then report thereof, and copy and issue the same."

On the same day were received replies to the naval and civil officers of the Heang-shan station and district, in almost precisely the same terms. And on the following day similar replies were given to another report of the Heang-shan civil magistrate, and to his assistant the acting Tsotang of Macao, all of which are here detailed in nearly the same words as above.

"Having received all the above, and also reports from the Heang-shan magistrate and the others, I, the Poo-ching-sze, have, on the receipt of them examined and find;—that in this case on the arrival and anchorage of the English Chads' cruiser and Blackwood's cruiser, I sent directions for a preventive guard, according to the replies made to the reports of the civil and naval officers. This is on record. Now, having received the above, I forthwith issue these commands. They are issued to the Kwang-chow-foo, requiring him immediately to examine and act according to the tenor of the replies and instructions, from the first till now. Let him speedily send directions to the local civil and military (or naval) officers, &c. [repeating the words of the Fooyuen.] Hasten! hasten! !

Having received this, I the Kwang-chow-foo forthwith issue this order. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately enjoin orders on the barbarian *eye*, that he command the said cruisers immediately to get under weigh and return to their country. They are not permitted to linger about, to create disturbances, whereby they will involve themselves in criminality. Hasten! hasten! These are the orders.

Taou-kwang, 14th year, 8th moon, 28th day, (September 30, 1834.)

* These are the words repeated by the Kwang-chow-foo.

Edict from the Hoppo respecting a boat entering the Bogue. October 6th, 1834.

Pang, by imperial appointment, commissioner of customs at the port of Canton.

To the senior Merchants, requiring them to be fully acquainted herewith.

The domestic officers on duty at the Bogue pass have reported: "that on the second day of the present moon (October 4th) a barbarian's *sampan* entered the port. We went, followed by sailors, to the vessel. To our astonishment, the barbarian boatmen would not submit to examination and interrogation; but set sail and proceeded straight on. There was language used which we did not understand, which made it difficult to investigate. As is right we report clearly, for thorough investigation to be made."

This coming before me the Hoppo, I forthwith issue an order to examine what nation's barbarian were on board the said barbarian boat. Why she came to Canton without having obediently requested a permit? whether or not she has had on board contraband goods? When the order reaches the said senior Merchants, let them in obedience hereto immediately examine, and report in answer according to truth. Let there not be the least glossing over or a moment's delay, incurring thereby what will be very inexpedient. Hasten! hasten! A special order.

Taou-kwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 4th day. (October 6th.)

THE LATE LORD NAPIER.

(From the Canton Register, October 21.)

EXTRACTS FROM DR. COLLEDGE'S PRIVATE NOTES RESPECTING LORD NAPIER'S VOYAGE FROM CANTON TO MACAO.

On Sunday the 21st instant, above 6 P. M., Howqua and Mowqua waited upon me for the purpose of delivering the "Chop" (or usual pass for foreigners) to proceed to Macao, and I in conformity with the arrangement which had been acceded to by myself on the part of the Right Honorable Lord Napier, was prepared with an order from his Lordship for H. M.'s ships *Imogene* and *Andromache* to leave Whampoa; which order I promised to deliver to Howqua and Mowqua on their procuring Lord Napier and suite a proper conveyance to Macao by the Heang-shang passage: stipulating that the conveyance should in every respect be suited to the rank and dignity of his Lordship's high office, as the representative of our most gracious monarch William IV.

This compact was made by myself on the part of Lord Napier, and by Howqua and

Mowqua on the part of his Excellency the Viceroy of Canton, at the Consou-house, on the 19th instant, in the presence of my friend William Jardine, Esq., in nearly the following words.

"I, T. R. Colledge, engage on the part of the Chief Superintendent of British Commerce in China, the Right Honorable Lord Napier, that his Lordship does grant an order for H. M.'s ships now at Whampoa to sail for Lintin on my receiving a Chop from the Viceroy for his Lordship and suit to proceed to Macao. Lord Napier's ill state of health not permitting him to correspond with your authorities longer on this subject. One condition I deem it expedient to impose, which is, that H. M.'s ships do not submit to any ostentatious display on the part of your (the Chinese) Government." Howqua replied "Mr. Colledge, your proposition is of a most serious nature, and from my knowledge of your character I doubt not the honesty of it; shake hands with me and Mowqua, and let Mr. Jardine do so likewise." We all joined hands. Howqua and Mowqua then left us to go to the Viceroy, and in the evening returned with an answer that all was arranged according to my proposition, and that no mark of insult would be shewn to the ships in passing the Bogue Forts; the following morning Howqua and Mowqua sent to say that we could not leave Canton that day, as they (the Merchants) were engaged in a further discussion with the Viceroy relative to our departure, which lasted until 10½ p. m. when I again saw Mowqua who told me all was finally settled, and that we might go next day. The foregoing is the substance of the agreement, and both Mr. Jardine and myself expected that Lord Napier and suite would be permitted to go to Macao in the usual manner foreigners do, viz. stopping only at the Heang-shan chop house. However to my great mortification we had not left Canton two hours, before I discovered we were under a convoy of armed boats, and that we should not be allowed to pass beyond a few miles from Canton that night, —the boats having anchored at the Pagoda fort, in sight of a part of Canton.

Monday 22d.—We again got under weigh and proceeded *slowly and tediously* under a convoy of eight armed boats, two transports carrying military, and another boat with a civil mandarin, in charge of the whole squadron.

Although the wind was generally favorable, we did not reach Heang-shan till about midnight of the 23d; and it is now that I have to describe a scene of treachery practised upon his Lordship, which was not only annoying, but so greatly injurious, as to exasperate the symptoms of his complaint and cause a relapse

of such as he had nearly recovered from previously to his leaving Canton. We were detained here from the time of anchoring the boats on the 23d until 1 p. m. of the 25th, amidst a noise and confusion, beating of gongs, &c. that his Lordship could barely support. This was by me repeatedly complained of. At day break of the 25th I sent a message to the civil mandarin through a linguist informing him that I could no longer hold myself responsible for the safety of his Lordship if such an unwarrantable course of oppression was persisted in, that I had no medicine with me applicable to the change that had taken place in his Lordship's complaint, &c. The linguist was received by the mandarin, but could elicit nothing satisfactory as to the probable time we should proceed to Macao. Provoked at length, beyond all endurance, by this cruel display of power, I requested the linguist to accompany me to the mandarin's boat, which he did without any kind of reluctance, and on his, the linguist's sending up my name, an interview was immediately afforded me. Through him I explained most fully Lord Napier's sufferings, and the danger of delay under such circumstances. The mandarin replied that he must consult with the Heang-shan authorities before he could promise to release us, but that he would lose no time in representing my statement. No further communication took place until 1 p. m. when this said mandarin, accompanied by two others of an inferior rank to himself, came to us, and handed to me the Heang-shan pass. I consider that Lord Napier's illness was much aggravated by this unjustifiable, and (as far as I can learn) unprecedented detention.

(Signed) THOMAS R. COLLEDGE,

Surgeon to H. B. M. Superintendents.

Macao, 28th September, 1834.

PARTICULARS OF LORD NAPIER'S LATTER DAYS.

Lord Napier's illness commenced about the 11th of September, at a period of extreme heat, when his public duties were of the most laborious nature; requiring his unremitting application, without excepting even those hours of the evening which it is generally desirable to devote to relaxation; during which, however, his Lordship was commonly to be seen at his desk in the office.

Before Sunday the 14th September, when he announced to the Chinese his desire to retire from Canton, he was confined to a sick bed. His Lordship's physician had urged, that for the sake of his health, he should give up the labours of business, but such was his ardour in the public service that no persuasions could prevail till increased debility, on the 18th, induced his medical adviser peremp-

torily to advise discontinuance of business. It was hoped his removal from his own very close apartments (formerly occupied by the Chief of the Factory) to the airier residence of Mr. Innes would produce some benefit, and so far good was got, sleep, before not attainable, was arrived at, and a lessened pulse, but great debility continued, and as we before remarked, it was with difficulty, and not without support, that on Sunday the 21st he walked the short distance from the Factory to the boat in which he embarked for Macao. The last time he put pen to paper was in signing an order for the frigates to proceed to Lintin, which was now given to the Hong Merchants. During the passage to Macao on the 23rd he had an access of fever which excited the physician's alarm; the more so, as having no previous suspicion of the treacherous detention to which they were subjected, he was unprovided with medicines suited to the new symptoms that appeared. Not all the skill of the medical art, the soothing attentions of his family, nor the pure air of Macao sufficed to arrest the fatal progress of his Lordship's indisposition. His only relief from suffering was in devotional exercises, in which he was assisted by the Revd. Mr. Bridgman, whom he had learnt to esteem as a preacher when attending his public worship at Canton. On Wednesday the 8th instant, though very feeble and drawing near to his end, he was aroused by the Portuguese forts saluting a direct arrival from Lisbon; some question took place as to the vessel's flag in his Lordship's hearing, when he distinctly said, "If it is the Portuguese arms between White and Blue it is Donna Maria's new flag." During his Lordship's illness he had been disturbed by the frequency of the Macao church bells, which the religious communities at his request most considerably discontinued. Two days before his Lordship's death he instructed his private secretary to return his thanks for this mark of attention.

His Lordship died easily without the slightest struggle, and desired that his grave should be adjoining to the late Dr. Morrison's. His Lordship had expressed a wish to be attended to the grave by six Navy Captains, and to show how closely his slightest desire was attended to, we annex a sketch of his funeral procession, to attend which the following gentlemen proceeded from Canton, Messieurs Jardine, Dent, (arrived too late) Matheson, Innes, Leslie (arrived too late) P. F. Robertson, Keating, Croke, Watson, Goddard, Brightman and Captains Crawford, Tonks and Griffiths. Minute guns were fired from H. M. S. *Andromache* and three volleys over the grave by the Portuguese troops. The constituted authorities of Macao, the

troops, and a long line of British and Portuguese gentlemen made the funeral an imposing ceremony, and the whole population of Macao turned out to see the spectacle. Minute guns were also fired by the British shipping at Whampoa; and the counting houses of the principal British Merchants of Canton were closed on the day of the funeral as well as that preceding it.

Funeral service was most impressively read by H. M. Chaplain the Reverend G. Vachell.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

For the funeral of the Right Honorable

WILLIAM JOHN LORD NAPIER.

The Guard of Honor composed of Portuguese Troops.

The Judges and Procurador of Macao.

The Clergyman and Physician to His Majesty's Superintendents

The British Colours borne by two British Seamen.

Capt. Blackwood.
H. B. M. R. N.

Capt. C. Elliott.
H. B. M. R. N.

Capt. Jonge.
H. B. M. R. N.

THE CORPSE.

His Excellency the
Governor of Macao.

Capt. Chade, C. B.
H. B. M. R. N.

Capt. Loureiro.
H. F. M. R. N.

Relations of the Deceased.

His Majesty's Superintendents.

The Revd. R. C. Bridgeman. William Jardine, Esq.
Secretary to His Majesty's Superintendents.

Officers of His Majesty's Navy.

Officers of Her Faithful Majesty's Navy.

Do. Do. Do. Do. Army.
Mr. Innes. Mr. Matheson.

Followed by numerous British and Portuguese Gentlemen.

The Governor of Macao.

Sor Benard Joze d' Souza Soares d' Andree,
Captain, Portuguese Navy.

On the 16th instant most of the British Merchants who proceeded from Canton to Lord Napier's funeral, waited on the Governor of Macao, accompanied by Sir George B. Robinson, Baronet, and through Mr. Jardine, as spokesman, expressed to his Excellency their thanks and gratitude for his kind and liberal conduct to British subjects at Macao, commencing with his complimentary reception of the representative of the British nation on the 15th of July; but more especially exemplified in the effectual protection afforded to British ladies and families at Macao, when harassed by the Chinese authorities during the discussions at Canton; and finally for the honor shewn to Lord Napier's remains, in attending his funeral, accompanied by the civil and military honors suitable to his Lordship's rank.

Mr. Barretto acted as interpreter, and through him the Governor returned thanks for the handsome and delicate manner in which the British gentlemen had expressed their sentiments; observing, however, that,

considering the ancient relations of alliance and friendship between Great Britain and Portugal, he had done no more than his duty on the occasions alluded to. He most sincerely regretted the result of the proceedings attended by the death of the noble Lord; deeply sympathized with his amiable family, and wished that the good offices which it was in his power to offer had been on a less melancholy occasion.

Continuing the conversation the Governor remarked; that the days of "mystery" were over, and that the old system of always yielding to the Chinese was not the best calculated to succeed; that means were in progress for giving an impulse to the trade at Macao, which he hoped and thought would be successful; that it was his wish to see foreigners availing of the place for the purposes of trade and that he would at all times be ready to exert his power in behalf of the interests of all merchants resorting to the place.

His Excellency alluded to the establishment of a *dépot* system at Macao on liberal terms which will no doubt restore to Macao much of her former trade.

BRIEF NOTICE OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE RIGHT
HONORABLE WM. JOHN LORD NAPIER.

When the melancholy intelligence of Lord Napier's decease reached Canton, the last number of the *Register* was already in the printer's hands; and neither the time nor the feelings of the temporary Editor would allow of any other notice being given than a bare announcement of the afflicting event. If we omitted to recount the virtues of the character of the deceased, or dwell in detail on the deep sorrow of the British community, sympathized with, in no measured degree, by all foreigners in China, let it not be supposed that the lamented nobleman died unwept, or that we were wanting in appreciation of estimable qualities which both in a public and private view had so strongly won the general regard, and now aggravate a sense of the public and private loss. In truth the whole subject with its attendant circumstances is too deeply painful and tragical in its nature to be dilated on with that composure which should befit the occasion, and we shall therefore pass on to a narration of some of the events of his Lordship's active life (for which we are indebted to a friend) which however meagre, cannot fail to be perused with affecting interest.

Descended from a family celebrated for talent, and of a name at this day affording in our navy and army instances of courage, enterprise, and success, in various parts of the world, second to none; yet should these

fail in gaining it celebrity, certain it is that the name of Napier and Logarithms must go down together to the latest posterity.

The late Lord Napier selected the Navy as his profession at the age of 16, and served as midshipman in the *Imperieuse* with Lord Cochrane; was in Basque Roads, and got some of the favors generally attending Lord Cochrane's officers, being severely wounded whilst cutting out ships from shore. Lord Napier shared in the battle of Trafalgar on board the *Defence*, Sir Geo. Hope, in the *Sparrowhawk*, Captain Rogers, and with Sir John Warren in the *Fourdroyant*, and was for a long period of years engaged in serving his country, some notion of the constancy and severity of which may be formed when the fact is known that in the twelve following years he was able to spare only six weeks to pass with his family in Scotland. On the peace in 1815, Lord Napier retired from active service, but before settling on his family estates, though then 29 years old, he spent his first winter in a course of study at Edinburgh University, and then began a series of agricultural pursuits with quite as much energy and success as he followed his profession. Joining the difficult objects of improvement of his estate with the comfort and happiness of the peasantry, he succeeded in making himself beloved by his father's tenants and esteemed and respected by the whole neighbourhood. His Lordship wrote a treatise on the system of agriculture adapted to the pastoral district where he resided in, which treatise is favorably noticed in the *Edinburgh Review*, and the benevolent success of his other plans is recorded in the *Spectator*, newspapers. Literary rewards from such "honest chroniclers" being above what royalty can bestow, because they never attend except on merit.

His Lordship succeeded to his father in 1823, was re-called to his profession in 1824 when he commissioned the *Diamond* of 50 guns, and was with her on the South American station for two years and half.

On his return he was chosen one of the sixteen Scotch Peers and took his place in the House of Lords during three Parliaments. His votes on the Catholic question and the Reform bill, though with the present spirit of the age, being contrary to the conservative feeling of the Scotch nobility, he lost his election for last Parliament. Lord Napier was appointed one of the Lords of the Bed Chamber almost immediately after the succession of his present Majesty.

In religion Lord Napier followed the Presbyterian faith, which had been very early adopted by his ancestors, and his Lordship's father presided as his Majesty's commissioner for many years in the General Assembly of

the Church of Scotland; the late Lord though a strict follower of the faith of his fathers was most liberal to all; though liberal also in politics he was never violent, and abhorred all party spirit.

His pure and straightforward love of justice and patient attention in weighing the value of conflicting arguments, eminently qualified him for the judicial functions with which he was invested here.

Much of his Lordship's spare time was bestowed on Astronomy and the higher branches of Mathematics, stimulated thereto by the fame of his illustrious ancestor. Whatever he gave his mind to he did it ardently. Much energy and perseverance in all pursuits were the prevailing features of his character, with a placidity of temper and benevolence that were singularly engaging.

His Lordship married his present lady in March 1816, and leaves a family of two sons and six daughters; the present nobleman is now 15 years old.

His Lordship was of a vigorous constitution, a spare frame; and his turn for pursuits in the open air, simple tastes, and abstemious habits, gave his family a right to expect a good old age, and the end of a useful and honourable career in his native land.—His Lordship died on the 11th October, at the comparatively early age of 48, in this distant country, of an illness (so far as limited mortal intellect can judge) brought on by his arduous duties in a burning climate; and his fate hastened by unusual delay, harsh and irritating treatment during his passage from Canton to Macao.

THE LATE LORD NAPIER.

(From the Canton Register, October 28.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CANTON REGISTER.

Sir,—Considering it due to the memory of the late Right Honorable Lord Napier, and to the feelings of an anxious and kind public, we are desirous to convey our opinion with regard to the cause of his illness through the medium of your paper, and to state that we conceive the origin of his complaint is to be wholly attributed to the severe labour and anxiety which devolved upon him while at Canton.

His Lordship's health began to fail about the beginning of September, and an attack of fever supervened on the 9th, a period replete with events of a most harassing description, and under circumstances the most disadvantageous to the nature of such an affection. Feeling compelled from a high sense of obligation to his country to persevere in the execution of his duties, he refused to leave

Canton until the 18th, on which day Mr. Colledge prevailed on his Lordship to relinquish the toils of office, and proceed to Macao for the more complete recovery of his health. At this time the violent symptoms of the fever subsided, and a change alone was looked upon as necessary for its re-establishment. The 21st his Lordship embarked for Macao, accompanied by Mr. Colledge, and passed the following day comfortably, though much annoyed from occurrences already detailed. On the 23d, during the cruel, needless and vexatious detention experienced amongst the noise of songs, crackers, and firing of salutes which our mandarins kept up by the boats in attendance, in spite of repeated remonstrances, his Lordship suffered a relapse of fever and landed at Macao on the morning of the 26th, more exhausted, and altogether in a worse state than he had ever been from the commencement of his illness; and from this time, notwithstanding the comforts that surrounded him, and the unremitting attention of his affectionate family, he continued to decline until the day of his death.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

T. R. COLLEDGE,

ALEXR. ANDERSON,

Surgeons to H. M.'s Superintendents.
Macao, October 20, 1834.

To Howqua and Mowqua.

Gentlemen,—I have this day perused the translation of a memorial from his Excellency the Viceroy of Canton to his August Majesty the Emperor of China, and regret to find from the statement of his Excellency therein contained, that my words used to you on the subject of the departure of the Right Honorable Lord Napier from Canton have been totally falsified; but the matter of that communication having been already submitted to the consideration of His Majesty, my most gracious sovereign William IV. I have now only to draw your attention to the personal insult offered to myself in this same document. It would appear, gentlemen, that you have had the audacity to represent me to his Excellency as a "private merchant," and have withheld from him the reasons I gave, as his Lordship's medical attendant, for entering into a negotiation with you; thus distorting and misrepresenting the whole of the intercourse between us as well as the real cause of my interference; and grossly deceiving your own authorities, and through them, your sovereign. Moreover you, gentlemen, having known me both personally and professionally for many years, and being perfectly aware that I am not in any manner engaged in trade, I do greatly marvel at your pre-

sumption in having dared to utter such a falsehood as the above-mentioned statement would imply. Your long continued intercourse with Europeans has taught you to distinguish between professional men and merchants, and none are more familiar with the fact of the existence of this distinction than yourselves. Knowing, as I do, that you have not erred through ignorance, I herewith demand of you an explanation.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

(Signed) T. R. COLLEDGE,

Surgeon to H. M.'s Superintendents.

Macao, October 21, 1834.

DOCUMENT REFERRED TO BY DOCTOR
COLLEDGE.

Memorial to the Emperor respecting the departure from Canton, and from Whampoa, of Lord Napier, and of H. M.'s ships Imogene and Andromache.—Without date.

A reverent memorial forwarded by post conveyance, wherein your Majesty's servants Ha, general-commandant of Canton city garrison; Loo, governor of the two provinces Kwang-tung and Kwang-se; and Le, lieutenant-governor of Kwang-tung, kneel and report. That the English ships of war and the barbarian *eye* have all been driven out of the port, and that the naval and military forces have been returned to their stations, on which report they, looking upward, inreat that a second glance may be cast.

An English barbarian *eye*, Lord Napier, having presumed, without previously obtaining permits to enter the river of Canton: having also irregularly presented a letter; and having in disobedience to repeated orders plainly given, continued obstinate and perverse, I your Majesty's minister Loo, closed according to law, the holds of the said nation's merchant ships. The said barbarian *eye* having further ordered two ships of war to push in suddenly through the maritime entrance, up to Whampoa, in the inner river, I, your Majesty's minister, Loo, stationed guards of civil and military officers and soldiers, and wrote for the appointment of a number of naval vessels, from the Tartar force and from those under the admiral's command, as well as of river cruisers from Sin-hwuy and other districts, to spread themselves along the passage before the frigates, even to the *Leetih* fort (Howqua's), near the city, and the *Ta-hwang-haou* reach of the river; also in narrow and important passages, preventive forces were stationed on either shore, under the direction of the commander in chief of the land forces, your Majesty's minister Tsang-shing. These circumstances and the measures taken have been already reported for your Majesty's hearing, in a re-

verent memorial, wherein, also, the conduct of the naval *Tsan-tseang* of the admiral's own division, for his neglect of guarding the passage inward, was severely animadverted on, according to the facts, and on the conduct of myself, Loo, investigation and censure was requested. This is on record.

The commander-in-chief, your Majesty's minister Tsang, marched up his forces, spread them out, and placed them in their stations in perfect secrecy and good order. The people of the said barbarian ships of war saw, on the passage before them, spars ranged out across and all around, with guns and muskets as it were a forest, large and small naval vessels ranged along for several miles, and soldiers stationed and encamped in every place on shore, their force compactly joined, their military array imposing and alarming, and the ships of war being anchored at Whampoa, among the merchant vessels, plainly perceived boats full of firewood and straw, and fearing nothing less than an attack by fire, remained subdued among the vessels. *They did not dare to advance one step, nor did one person dare to ascend the shore.* Among them also were some persons who came from Macao, wishing to go to Canton to see the barbarian *eye*, and they too were turned back by our men. The barbarian *eye*, when he found that the passage by water was intercepted, became timid and fearful, and told the said nation's private merchants to say for him to the Hong Merchants, *Woo-tun-yuen* and the others,* "that the ships of war were to protect the trading barbarian ships"; in order thus to shew that he had no other purpose.

When our soldiers accumulated daily, the said barbarian *eye*, seeing the internal and external communication cut off, and no way open to come in or go out, became still more alarmed and fearful, and again wrote to the private merchants to speak for him to the Hong Merchants, to beg that a *sampan* boat might be given him to leave Canton. We, your Majesty's ministers, considered that the said barbarian *eye* had presumed to come up to Canton, without having obtained a permit, and that the ships of war also had sailed into the inner river, which acts, *although in no way heavy offences against the laws*, were yet committed in wilful opposition to the prohibitory regulations, shewing an extreme degree of daring contempt; and we thought, if he were immediately to leave Canton, thus coming and going at his own convenience, how could it be possible to display a warning example, or to shew forth his fear-stricken sub-

* In the Chinese copy it is,—'that the said nation's private merchants' ships of war,' &c. which seems to be an error of the copyist.

mission. We therefore again commanded the Hong Merchants to question him with authoritative sternness as to what he wished to do in presumptuously coming to Canton without having obtained a permit, and in suddenly bringing the ships of war into the inner river; and we required that he should make plain and distinct answers, in which case he should be permitted to leave Canton; but if otherwise, we threatened that exterminating power should assuredly be brought into operation, and that there decidedly should be no alleviation or indulgence.

Thereafter, on the 16th day of the 8th moon, (September 18th), the Hong Merchants *Woo-tun-yeun* and the others, reported that the said nation's *private merchants*, Colledge and others, had stated to them, that Lord Napier acknowledged that, because it was his first entrance into the inner land, he was ignorant of the prohibitions, and therefore he had come at once to Canton, without having obtained a permit; that the ships of war were really for the purpose of protecting goods, and had entered the Bocca Tigris by mistake; that now he was himself aware of his error, and begged to be graciously permitted to go down to Macao, and that the ships should immediately go out, and he therefore begged permission for them to leave the port. We, your Majesty's ministers again considered, that although the said barbarian *eye* repented of his fault, yet it had been repeatedly inquired on what account he came to Canton, and what was written in the letter originally presented, but from first to last he had not told plainly; that as to the statement 'that the sudden entrance of the ships of war into the port was an offence committed through mistake,' that was but a glossing pretence; and that when the soldiers opened from their guns a thundering fire upon them, they had the daring presumption to discharge their guns at them in return, causing rafters and tile within the forts to be thereby shaken and injured: * how came they to be thus bold and audacious! On these points we further commanded the Hong Merchants to inquire with stern severity.

This being done, the said barbarian merchant Colledge, on the 18th day (September 20th), again stated to *Woo-tun-yeun* and the others, 'that Lord Napier has really come to Canton for the purpose of directing commercial affairs,—and therefore considering himself an officer, is called superintendent; that what was written in the letter formerly presented was, that he, being an officer of the

barbarians, was not the same as a *taepan* (Supracargo), and wished therefore to have official correspondence to and fro with the civil and military offices of the celestial empire, which is what courtesy entitles to,—nothing else whatever was said in the letter; that as to the ships of war entering the port, it was really because the merchant ships having their holds closed, apprehensions were entertained, that owing to the long continuance of the goods herein, evils of remissness might arise, and therefore they entered the port for the purpose of protecting; that the soldiers of the maritime pass having opened on them a thundering fire, the barbarian force also fired off its guns in self-defence, whereby the forts received injury; and that the error is deeply repented of, and the damage done shall be immediately repaired; but that he (Lord Napier) begs to be graciously permitted to have a passport to go down to Macao.

A prepared report, as above, having come before us, we, your Majesty's ministers, with *Sze* and *Taou* officers (the heads of the territorial and financial, judicial, gabel, and commissariat departments), have maturely consulted together. Lord Napier has repeatedly resisted, and adhered to his own opinion, that he being an official *eye* among the barbarians, there is no distinction of honorable and low rank between him and the officers of the inner land: and he has thought to contend respecting ceremonies. But the dignity of the nation sets up a wide barrier; and we, your Majesty's ministers, would not suffer the progress of encroachment. The ships of war, having entered the port, nominally for the purpose of protecting goods, immediately felt *themselves* to be closely restricted. At this time the naval and land forces were ranged out in order, arrayed as on a chess-board; the fire vessels also were ready made: were advantage taken of this occasion while they (the ships) *still found it impossible either to advance or recede*, and an attack made on them on all sides, there would be no difficulty in instantly having their lives within our power; *but our august sovereign cherishes those from far virtuously, and soothingly treats outside barbarians, exercising to the utmost limit both benevolence and justice. If any be contumacious, they are corrected; if submissive they are pardoned; but never are extreme measures adopted towards them. Although Lord Napier has entertained absurd visionary fancies he yet has shown no real disregard of the laws: it would not be well precipitately to visit him with exterminating measures. Besides the private merchants of the said nation, several thousands in number—all consider the barbarian eye's disobedience of the laws to be*

* This is a remarkable acknowledgment. When Sir Murray Maxwell battered the same forts, the fact was concealed and represented as a mere exchange of salutes.—EDISON.

wrong.* There is not one who unites and accords with him.† Still more, therefore, would it be improper to make no distinction between common and precious stones. Now, Lord Napier having acknowledged his error, and solicited favor, and all ‡ the separate merchants having reiterately made humble supplications, there certainly should some slight indulgence be shown; and he should be driven out of the port; to the end that, while the foreign barbarians are made to tremble with terror, they may also be rendered grateful by the favor of the celestial empire shown in its benevolence, kindness, and great indulgence.

We having all consulted together, the views of every one were accordant, whereupon permission was given that he should be let go. And it is authenticated, that the said Hong Merchants went to the Canton custom-house to request and receive a red passport; while I, your Majesty's minister Loo, deputed trusty civil and military officers, who on the 19th (September 21st) took Lord Napier, and under their escort (or guard) he was driven out of the port. At the same time orders were given to wait reverently until the imperial mandate has been received, that it may be obeyed and acted on. The said two barbarian ships of war got under weigh, also, on the same day, and dragging over shallows the whole way, were on the 22d driven out of the Bocca Tigris. All the government forces, naval and military, which had been appointed to guard places were ordered back again, and returned severally to their regiments or to their cruising grounds.

With regard to Macao, Lantao, and other places, I, your Majesty's minister Loo, ordered the *Foot-seang* in command on the *Hsangshan* station—Tsin-yu-chang and the *Tsan-tseang* of the *Typoong* station, Tan-scuen-ming—severally to cruise about, guarding those places. Afterward I also appointed, in addition, the *Too-sze* commanding at *Woo-chow*, Wang-kin-sew, to proceed with a body of 300 soldiers to Macao, to join the garrison in guard of the place: and I appointed also a naval force of vessels from *Yangkeang* to cruise about, with real activity, in the anchorages near to Macao. The said barbarian ships of war having now gone out of the port, it is still more requisite and necessary to keep up a strict and close preventive guard. While we again inculcate directions to cruise about with fixed purpose of maintaining guard; and also bring to trial

the careless and negligent naval officers, that they may suffer the punishment of their stupidity; we will prepare likewise a distinct memorial respecting regulations of the forts. Besides which, we now respectfully take the circumstances of having driven out, under guard, the barbarian eye and the ships of war, and in conjunction with the garrison lieutenant generals, your Majesty's minister Lun of the imperial kindred, and your Majesty's minister Tso, as well as with the commander-in-chief of the land forces, your Majesty's minister Tsang, we unite in forming this reverent memorial, to be forwarded by the post conveyance, whereon, we prostrate, beg our august sovereign to cast a sacred glance and to grant instructions. Respectfully reported.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(From the Canton Register, November 4.)

The following correspondence, relative to the demise of the late Chief Superintendent, did not reach us in time for our last number. We now insert it, as showing in some degree the tone of the Chinese, studying, even on so melancholy an occasion, to avoid every mark of respect towards a nobleman and functionary of a barbarian country, between which and China they would set up a "wide boundary" wall of separation.

To Howqua and Mowqua.

Gentlemen,—It is my painful duty to announce to you the demise of His Majesty's Chief Superintendent of British Commerce, the Right Honorable Lord Napier, this day, at 10.20 p. m. and to request that you will cause this sad event to be made known to his Excellency the Viceroy of Canton.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,
(Signed) T. R. COLLEDGE,

Surgeon to His Majesty's Superintendents
Macao, 11th October, 1834.

Answer from the Senior Hong Merchants to Mr. Colledge's letter, announcing the demise of Lord Napier.

A respectful reply.—We have received your honorable letter, stating that the officer of your honorable nation expired* in consequence of illness, on the 19th day of the 8th moon; and entrusting us to announce it to his Excellency the Governor. We have reported it on your behalf.

* Here we see the clamor of the British and Indo British merchants of Canton brought to the Emperor's notice by the local authorities as one of the reasons for their treatment of the late Lord Napier, on the false ground of all British merchants having disapproved his Lordship's measures; whereas only some of them did so.—ED.

† This is false; many accorded with his Lordship.—ED.

‡ Again false, only a few (and very far from all) the separate merchants made supplications as here stated.—ED.

* The Chinese express the decease of individuals by different terms, appropriate to their respective ranks. The word appropriate for speaking of the demise of a nobleman, which was used in the translation of Mr. Colledge's letter, is here exchanged for a term that denotes the death of any one—of the lowest degree of rank, or of no rank at all.

For this purpose we reply, and present our compliments.

(Signed) *Woo-Shaou-yuny (Howqua.)*
Loo-Wan-kin (Mowqua.)

To Mr. Colledge. 9th moon, 18th day, (20th October.)

Second Answer from the Senior Hong Merchants to Mr. Colledge.

A respectful communication.—We the other day received your letter, informing us of your honorable officer Napier having expired. We have reported it on your behalf to the Governor, and have before sent an answer to you. We have now received an edict from the Governor in reply; which, as is right, we copy and send for your perusal, praying you to examine it accordingly. This is the task we impose, and for this purpose we write; and presenting compliments, &c.

(Signed) *Woo-shaou-yung.*
Loo-wan-kin.

To Mr. Colledge. 9th moon, 21st day, (23d October.)

Governor's Edict.

Loo, Governor of the provinces Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, &c. &c. in reply.

The report being authenticated, its contents are fully known. Await also a proclamation in answer from the Hoppo.

(Taou-kwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 18th day (October 20th, 1831.)

ELECTION OF A CHIEF.

(From the Canton Register, November 4.)

Letter from the Hong Merchants, with two documents from the Governor, 23d Oct., 1834.

A respectful communication.—We have received from the Governor an order, requiring us to make to you, gentlemen, the following communication.

Hitherto ships of your honorable nation that have come to Canton, when they have happened to have had any official business, have always had it transacted by means of orders sent to the Company's *taepan* (or chief supracargo) for him to deliberate and act. This method has been obediently adhered to for a long time past. Now the Company's trade to Canton has been dissolved, and the ships of your honorable nation which come to Canton to trade are separate and dispersed, without a head. Should, some day, any business arise, with whom shall mature consultation be entered into? It is requisite and necessary that your honorable nation should appoint a man acquainted with affairs to perform the special duties of a leader. Therefore an order has been sent, requiring us to transmit orders to you, gentlemen, that you should send a letter

to your country, calling for the appointment of a trading *taepan*, acquainted with affairs, to come to Canton to have the general direction. It is unnecessary to appoint a barbarian eye to come to Canton,—hereby causing impediments and difficulty in acting. And previous to the arrival at Canton of a *taepan* acquainted with affairs, we pray you, gentlemen, publicly to bring forward some one, with whom we may consult together on all public affairs, and to give us information thereof, to enable us to report in answer to his Excellency the Governor.

We now take an order from the Governor, and an official reply made by the Governor to a report, and copying both, send them for your perusal, praying you to send both home to your country. This is what we earnestly solicit, and for the purpose we write,—presenting at the same time our compliments, &c.

(Subscribed by the eleven Merchants.)

To + + + + and other gentlemen of his honorable nation (one copy was sent to each principal commercial house.)

9th moon, 21st day (October 23d.)

Edict from the Governor above referred to, October 19th, 1834.

Loo, Governor of the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, &c. &c. To the Hong Merchants, requiring their full acquaintance with the contents hereof.

In the trade of the English barbarians at Canton, the responsibility of transacting all public affairs has hitherto rested on the said nation's *taepan*. This year the Company has been terminated and dispersed, and without any other appointment having been made of *taepan*, a barbarian eye, Lord Napier, came to Canton, saying that he came for the purpose of examining into the affairs of trade. I, the governor, commanded the merchants to inquire and investigate. The said barbarian eye did not obey the old regulations, but was throughout perversely obstinate. Now, the assistant Foo, magistrate at Macao, has reported that Lord Napier has, at Macao, expired in consequence of illness. For all affairs of trade it is requisite and necessary to choose a person as head and director, that there may be some one to sustain the responsibility. The merchants have already been before commanded to examine and deliberate, but have not yet made any report in answer. Uniting the circumstances this order is issued. When the order reaches the said Hong Merchants, let them immediately obey, and act accordingly; and instantly make known to all the separate merchants of the said nation, that they are in a general body to examine and deliberate what person ought to be made the head for directing the said

nation's trade, and forthwith to report in answer. Thereafter the responsibility of conducting public affairs shall rest on the barbarian merchant who becomes head and director.

At the same time cause the said barbarian merchants immediately to send a letter home to their country, calling for another *taepan* to come to Canton, to direct and manage. In the celestial empire, responsibility in the management of commercial affairs, &c. is laid upon the Hong Merchants. It is requisite that the said nation should also select a commercial man acquainted with affairs to come hither. It is unnecessary again to appoint a barbarian *eye* or superintendent, thereby causing hindrances and impediments.

Let the said merchants take also the circumstances of their enjoining these orders, and report in answer, for thorough investigation to be made. Oppose not. These are the orders.

Taou-kwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 17th day (October 19th.)

Reply from the Governor to a report made by the Hong Merchants, above referred to. October 20th, 1834.

Loo, Governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse provinces, &c. &c. in reply.

On examination, it appears that, with regard to the trade of the English barbarians at Canton, in all public affairs, I, the governor, with the superintendent of customs at Canton, have always made the said senior merchants responsible for enjoining orders on the *taepan*, for him to act. Now the Company has terminated and is dissolved, and the said nation's barbarian merchants come hither to trade, each for himself. If some other *taepan* be not appointed, all affairs will become scattered, out of order, and without arrangement. Just as is the case with the barbarian ships now anchored in the offing of *Motaou (Tungkoo)** which neither come up to Whampoa to trade nor yet get under weigh. And the said nation's sampan vessels presume of themselves to sail in and out, not submitting examination, and, when ordered to inquire and investigate, the Hong Merchants make excuses of ignorance. What state of things is this!

With respect to the barbarian merchants, whether they have or they have not a direct head is in itself a point that needs no great inquiry into. But we of the central flowery (or civilized) nation, in all matters of the outside barbarians that relate to public affairs, always make the said senior merchants alone responsible. If the said merchants have any

matter of a public nature, on what person, then, shall they enjoin orders to act? Or shall they go to the extent of quietly leaving the matter disregarded.

When, I, the governor commanded to decide respecting a person to be a directing head, it was with consideration for the said senior merchants' transaction of public affairs; it was not at all in regard to the barbarians buying and selling. What the said merchants have reported is wholly with respect to the bartering of goods. There is no regard shown as to public affairs. This is indeed a great misunderstanding. Let them again consult and deliberate with their whole minds, and report in answer; and at the same time let them act in obedience to the other order, and make known to the said nation's separate merchants, that they are immediately with haste to send a letter home to their country, calling for the renewed appointment of a commercial man, acquainted with affairs, to come to Canton and sustain the duties of *taepan*, to direct buying and selling, and to restrain and control all the merchants. Especially do not again cause a barbarian *eye* to come hither to control affairs, thereby occasioning, as Lord Napier did, the creation of disturbances, in vain. All nations trading at Canton do so in consequence of the good favor of the celestial empire towards men from afar. It is altogether necessary that they should obey and act according to the old rules, then may there be mutual tranquillity.

Taou-kwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 18th day.

CHINA TRADE.

Office of Committee of Privy Council for Trade, Whitehall, December 24, 1833.

Sir,—The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade having reason to believe from applications addressed to this Board, that doubts are entertained by some of the merchants in this country, as to the precise extent of the limits of the port of Canton, their Lordships have thought it right to obtain the necessary information on this subject, and their Lordships find that the Commissioners for the affairs of India consider that the Bocca Tigris marks the limits of the port of Canton, in which opinion the Lords of this Committee concur.

"I am commanded to communicate to you the above statement, for the information of the merchants and others who may engage in the trade to China.

I am, &c.

THOMAS LACK.

To the Chairman of Lloyd's.

* The stay of the ships at Tungkoo was owing entirely to the wanton delay of the Chinese official underlings.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH MR. CURNIN'S
PLAN OF A MILITARY RETIRING FUND.

LIEUTENANT MACGREGOR'S MINUTE.

The only part in the above report to which I object, is to the statement of a fixed sum to be demanded from the Honourable Court in increase of their present Retired Pension List. To fix any sum may, perhaps, seem presumptuous. To fix such a sum as neither asks from the Court too much, nor for us too little, is difficult. If we exceed the fair value of our claims, the demand will, most probably, be refused, if we underrate them we sacrifice our own interests.

The Honourable Court however has already made an offer which may in some degree guide the Army as to what its demand should be. In March, 1832, they sanctioned the Establishment of a Fund to purchase out Senior Officers, the leading conditions of which were that, in the three Presidencies, the number of annuities to be granted should not exceed 24, nor their aggregate amount £7750 per annum. Such retirements would, in all probability, have been from the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, in which alone could they have accelerated the promotion of the Army generally. The juniors of that rank were the most likely to retire, as to them the Annuity or Bonus to be offered by the Army would have been more valuable, as the value of their claims was less, than if they had been nearer to their Colonels. The average age of the junior Lieutenant-Colonels is 49, their (Indian) expectation of life is 14.5 years: to which if only 2.5 years be added for the improvement of life, consequent on removal to a better climate, &c., the European expectation would be 17 years; in which time therefore the maximum of the increase which the Court has sanctioned, would have been obtained.

The marginal calculation shows the progressive increase until attainment of the future maximum at the end of the 17th year, the amount of that maximum, the total of payments in that period, and the average annual payment, the difference between which and the proposed annual payment of £61800, shows that we ask, for the first 17 years, a sum averaging £7950, less than has already been offered, while between the future maximum and the proposed payment, after the 18th year, the difference of loss will be no less than £69900 per annum.

Years.	£
1	7750
2	15500
3	23250
4	31000
5	38750
6	46500
7	54250
8	62000
9	69750
10	77500
11	85250
12	93000
13	100750
14	108500
15	116250
16	124000
Maximum Payment 17	131750

Total Payments.....	1185750
Average Payment...	69750
Proposed Payment....	61800

Difference between the proposed payment and average payment until the maximum is attained.	7950
Difference between the proposed payment and future maximum of sanctioned increase.		69950

I think, therefore, that it should be left to the Honorable Court to declare to what extent it will support this scheme for a Retiring Fund: and I have little doubt that, in doing so, they will have reference to the extent of increase to the Retired Pension already sanctioned by them. I refer particularly in this Minute to paragraph 5, of Colonel Swiney's remarks.

ROBERT MACGREGOR, *Lieutenant.*

MR. CURNIN IN EXPLANATION.

Having learnt that a doubt has been entertained as to the statement that with the agency of the fund—

An Ensign would be promoted in..... 3 years
 A Lieutenant..... 7 „
 A Captain..... 8 „
 A Major..... 3 „ I beg to offer
 the following, as a justification of that opinion.

If 206 Cadets come upon the Establishment annually, there will be, according to my Law of Mortality, on the Establishment at the same time, the following Members of the different ages :

Of the age of	18	206	Of the age of	26	160	Of the age of	34	119
	19	200		27	154		35	115
	20	194		28	149		36	110
	21	188		29	144		37	106
	22	182		30	139		38	101
	23	176		31	134		39	97
	24	171		32	129		40	93
	25	165		33	124		41	89
							42	85

and of those who have served 25 years there will be 81 upon the Establishment.

Years standing	Of which	81	I suppose that	8	Retire, and	3	Die; leaving of
25	70	.....	7	.....	3	.....
26	60	.....	6	.....	3	.....
27	51	.....	5	.....	2	.....
28	44	.....	4	.....	2	.....
29	38	.....	4	.....	2	.....
30	32	.....	4	.....	2	.....
31	26	.....	4	.....	2	.....
32	20	.....	5	.....	1	.....
33	17	.....	6	.....	1	.....
34	7	.....	6	.....	1	.....
35

443 total on the Establishment of 25 years and upwards add 16—
 sixth part of those who have been more than 30 years upon the Establishment, and we have on the Establishment, of 25 years and upwards, 459 who must at one and the same time be all Field Officers.

The grades therefore in which those Officers will stand, at one and the same instant of time, will be as under;—

As	Col-nels and Lieut. Colonels.	Majors.	Capt ns.	Lieut nants.	Ensigns, &c
Establishment.....	412	206	1030	164	693
Standing of date dit o	(25 yrs. & up) = 412	25 = 47 - 2 24 = 85 - 4 23 = 74 - 3	23 15 - 1 (14 - 22) 994 - 40 13 21 -	13 113 - 4 (4 12) 1440 - 48 3 95 - 3	3 - 93 - 3 (2 - 0) 600 - 18
Establishment & death Retirement Annually	412 - 20 59	206 9 0	1030 - 42 0	1648 - 55 0	693 - 2 0
Annual Promotion....		79	88	130	185
Time to serve in each grade.....	about	3 years	9½ years	9½ years	3½ years.

without taking into the account the casualties from resignations, dismissals or premature death, &c. which I should think must go some way towards proving my assertion to be nearly if not absolutely correct.

JOHN CURNIN.

COLONEL SWINEY'S NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

The 59 resignations, above specified, being for the three Presidencies, 28 would be about the proportion for Bengal, which is only 2 more than I have estimated it in the concluding paragraph of my Minute.

The process I have followed is this: if we assume any average casualty to occur annually in a Regiment, and wish thereby to ascertain the time required for the youngest Ensign to become Colonel, we are, in the first instance to consider that as he advances towards the head of the corps, the annual casualty, will be as likely to happen *below* his standing as *above* it. He can calculate, therefore, only upon half that casualty for a continuance. And this, if the number of Officers, less *one*, be divided by half the annual casualty, the quotient will show the number of years required to attain the Colonelcy: if, for example, the annual average casualty throughout the whole corps or battalion of 20 Officers be 2 then $\frac{19}{2} = 9\frac{1}{2}$ years will be the time required.

From this it is plain that by following the reverse process we can find out the number of casualties required to produce any given promotion in a given time—that is, if we divide, the number of Officers less one, by the given time the quotient will be half the number of casualties annually required. Thus Mr. Curnin says the Colonelcy will be obtained, by his plan, in 26 years, that is $\frac{19}{26} = .73$ which being doubled gives 1.46 or nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ casualties yearly for each battalion.

But the casualties of the 76 Regiments of Bengal Infantry in years of peace, ending in 1831 were, even reckoning some resignations of Field Officers, only 69.8 per annum or .92 for each corps. If we subtract the last number, therefore, from 1.46 the remainder .54, or something more than half a step to each corps, will be the fraction required, and this for 99 Regiments or Battalions will make 53 the whole number of resignations required for the Bengal Army. Mr. Curnin's plan, however, gives, as we have seen, only 28, or allowing for the advantage derived from their being entirely from the two senior grades, 30 at most—instead therefore of making the promotion to Colonel 26, it will at furthest, make it $31\frac{1}{2}$ years. I have, however, adhered to $32\frac{1}{2}$ according to my own calculation.

G. SWINEY.

EGYPT IN 1834.

* * * * *

From the minuteness of my details hitherto, it is true, grand and beautiful; they are the you will, no doubt expect a full description of monuments of a people far advanced in the the various wonders I have witnessed during scale of civilization, and such as we would my sojourn in the land of Egypt: in this I expect of the Pharaohs of old: but, dare the must in some measure disappoint you; the truth be spoken, they fall infinitely short of the harvest of information has, in fact been the vivid conceptions of those who come from already gathered, and the traveller, as he far to admire them. Shades of Hamilton flits across the gigantic relics of the past, can and Denon forgive a simple traveller for this only snatch here and there a straggling assertion! My heart, indeed, throbbd with flower which has escaped the prying eyes of delight as I approached the object of my those who have gone before him. But if I journey, and my fervid imagination presented do not send you a string of hieroglyphics, to me scenes rivalling in grandeur and in by which you may acquire a taste for anti-beauty all that we read of in Babylon and antiquities, or the corpse of a king or warrior the proudest cities of the past: but, after tanned for centuries in the chalk hills; if I threading a labyrinth of ruins, after visiting cannot add my mite to the already acquired the gaudy painted sepulchres, and bestowing information, I shall, at least, endeavour to my qualified meed of praise on its sculptured express the feelings of my bosom in witnessing ornaments, I could not avoid inwardly ex- scenes portrayed in such pleasing colours claiming "Is this the place a gazing world by all modern travellers. admires: that is preferred to the classic beauties of Greece and Rome: to exalt which

These relics of temples and of palaces are,

all modern art and industry must be depreciated?"

It is not my intention to enter into a minute description of these antiquities: in them there is much to admire, much to condemn, *nothing* for the wise man to wonder at: they have in fact beauties peculiar to themselves: they are adapted to the climates; their close and massive column crowned with roofs of great solidity, yield a delightful coolness to the desert wanderer, while the minuteness, the variety, and finish of their ornaments, deprive Time of his wings in gazing upon them, and yield as much delight to the lover of antiquity as they, no doubt, did to the heathen who formerly worshipped in these now desecrated temples: but in gazing upon these beauties travellers have blinded themselves to the many imperfections, and have been led by them to sacrifice truth at the shrine of admiration: we are always led to expect more than there really is, and that degree of perfection in sculpture not attained in the present day. The stones of which the temples and palaces are built are not surprisingly large so as to create any difficulty in raising them: the figures likewise are in general of a size *smaller* than life, and instead of the graceful attitudes as described, they are, with *few exceptions*, represented in a *distorted and unnatural posture*. The smiling countenance peculiar to the Egyptians even at the present day, is accurately portrayed, as is likewise the outlines of costume of various nations, but the higher branches of the art, *DRAPERY, FLOWERS*, and more particularly the *PASSIONS*, they do not even attempt to delineate, confessing thereby the infancy of the art. In their large statues every attempt at the full figure is a complete failure: it is ever clumsy and out of proportion: the leg is invariably far too large, and the body is in the same degree too small, in fact, most of the statues may be said to be bodiless: this is to be observed more particularly in the one Belzoni calls the true Memnon, the head and shoulders of which would have fitted a body twice the size.

I am inclined to think the true Memnon to be the left hand statue on the plain with the numerous Greek inscriptions on its feet: its position is far more favorable than that of Belzoni's statue, which latter was in a measure built in, and was thereby incapacitated from receiving sound from any natural causes: besides, it is not probable that so many people who have engraved their names on the statue on the plain would have taken so much trouble to perpetuate a lie, attended with no advantage whatever: that a sound did issue from this statue I firmly believe,

and I see no great difficulty in accounting for it. It is plainly to be observed that there are passages leading through the head, these, when the statue was perfect, communicated with the orifice in each ear; through these the breeze found entrance, reverberating through the hard and metallic granite, and producing a soft and pleasing sound: the position of the figure strengthens this conjecture being favorable to the two prevailing winds of Egypt. The statue being defaced, these passages are laid open, and consequently the sound has ceased. Was the sound emitted from any other part of it, I see no reason for its discontinuance.

The granite obelisks deserve all the praise they have received, they are indeed faultless and exquisitely finished: the conveyance of one of these to France is a sufficient answer to the many wonderings as to how they were raised: manual strength supplied the place of mechanical powers in the early periods of the world. It does not appear that our Government have yet determined upon removing the one given to them; offers have been made to convey it to England for £10,000: in my opinion it might be done for much less, the principal cost being the building a flat-bottomed vessel to receive it.

In the engravings in alto and basso relievo the Egyptians attained great proficiency, numerous figures here betray the hand of a master, are perfectly beautiful, and the care and attention bestowed upon the minutest parts deserves our unqualified admiration. Yet even in this they appear to have limited themselves to the display of so very few objects, that it would be hard indeed did they not excel. A man who passes his life in engraving Scarabæus, Ibis, Owls and Geese, cannot fail to excel, unless indeed he claims affinity with the latter.

Of the tombs the engravings of two or three at Gorneon pleased me most: although sadly dilapidated, they are still in point of sculpture superior to the better preserved tombs of Babel Melouck. The one discovered by Belzoni at the latter place, much to the regret of all who visit it, is falling rapidly to pieces: it appears in the first instance, to have been prepared in great haste, and to have been left at last unfinished—the walls, in many places, are painted over a coating of plaster resembling plaster of Paris. The beautiful winged globe at the entrance of this and other tombs, as likewise at the entrance of the temples, appears to be an appropriate symbol of eternity.

Among the many who have visited Babel Melouck, not one has thought it worth his

while to take notice of the composition and appearance of the valley itself, which abounds with every description of sea-shell in the various stages of putrefaction or crystalization: many of these shells, more particularly the oyster, retain their form beautifully. When will man turn from the work of his fellows to behold the mightier works of his Creator? when will Geologists bestir themselves, as we cannot, by looking upon a needle, describe the various process by which it is made? so neither can man describe the first and earliest growth of nature by looking upon her after she has attained perfection. He may give names to, and describe the various properties of stones, in the desert he may behold the growth of them.

The catacombs are interesting only from their numbers, they are in fact the work of successive generations; confined as the Egyptians were within very narrow limits, the land, when occupied by a numerous people, was much too valuable to waste over burial grounds: it is not therefore to be wondered at that they should look to the mountains for depositories of their dead; while from the calcareous nature of the rock, still softer at that early period, little trouble attended the excavating them. In these retired spots, far removed from the habitations of man, the sad relics of mortality might rest for ages undisturbed: they indeed did so, until modern cupidity, until Christians—Englishmen—violated their sanctuaries to plunder them of a few worthless baubles, and exhibit the fleshless remains of their fellow men for the gratification of the curious. I am happy to say these mummy scavengers have been disturbed in their revolting employment—Mohammed Ali, whose motives are equally avaricious, has been awakened to attention by tales of gems and wealth having been found: he has, therefore, ordered that all antiques which may be found by his people be brought to himself, and that no person shall excavate unless with his especial permission. Mummies are still to be procured, but without his permission it will be impossible to convey them out of the country. Thebes is at present deserted of permanent residents, receiving only the flying visits of travellers who are indeed pretty numerous. The Cave Temple bears no comparison to those in India.

In passing down the river I visited Dendara; as is said by many travellers its sculptured ornaments are inferior to those at Thebes, its pillars are much too crowded, and their heavy capitals detract from the height, and otherwise noble appearance, of the building. Roman coins and copt Inscriptions are still found at this place in great

abundance: I purchased a few at the price of old copper.

From Dendara to Cairo almost every vestige of ancient building has been moved to furnish stone for building materials in this and other places: much has been taken from Dendara, which temple, in a very short time, will exist only in the page of history. Thebes will naturally follow as population and civilization increase. I confess I am barbarian enough as to wish this may soon take place, a flourishing country and a happy people being to me far more beautiful than piles of precious rubbish or gaudy paintings. It is an error to suppose that the ancient Egyptians made a very common use of stone; it is evident this material was used only for their palaces and temples: the dwellings of the people were of unburnt bricks: this may be proved by examining every mound where an ancient town or village existed, the latter strata of rubbish will be found to be ever of this material: burnt brick appears to be of a later date.

From its antiquities I now turn to the country itself. Egypt, in its climate and scenery, possesses no doubt many charms in the estimation of those who have never beheld an Eastern country: but to the Indian traveller, to those who have passed the finer parts of that enchanting country, it possesses few objects besides its antiquities to attract the eye and win the heart. In passing down the Nile you look in vain for the magnificent expanse of waters for which the Ganges is so celebrated: you look in vain for the spreading banian, nature's proud temple to the Deity: the inviting mango tope, the refreshing shade of the tamarind, the delicately twisting bamboo, the scarlet blossom of the cotton tree, the ever blooming acacia, and a hundred other trees of beauteous foliage and growth: you look in vain for the boundless fields of flowering shrubs; for the birds of beauty and of song; for the fire-fly's mellow light, the variety of the insect tribe; you look in vain for the busy hum of men whose cleanly appearance and gentleness of demeanor go hand in hand and are proverbial. Egypt, narrow and confined by mountains of forbidding appearance, presents a monotonous scenery, in *no one part* of it can it be called classically beautiful. The land, it is true, is parcelled out with grain of different kinds and growth, the yellow flower of the dwarf cotton is relieved by the blue lupine, by the pale faced poppy, by various shades of ripening corn, and beds of the greenest herbage: but Nature, or the waste of man, has denied the country trees of the nobler growth: the date and the palmyra stand alone in solitary

groups, resembling drooping plumes waving over the relics of departed greatness; those and the acacia, which does not blossom so beautiful as in India, constitute, with few exceptions, the sum total of trees in Upper Egypt, varied in the lower provinces by the cypress, the mulberry, and dwarfs of different kinds, with here and there a tree of larger growth, standing as if in reproof of the idleness of the inhabitants of the land in not attending to the propagation of its species. Its birds are few, none of them beautiful, the song of the ground lark is to be heard; the Ibis is now but rarely seen, game is far from being abundant, and of little variety: even the insect tribe are confined to bees, sea rabci and vermin: the latter alas! for the comfort of the traveller affords a most abundant harvest. Serpents and scorpions are numerous and venomous. Lizards abound but are not of beautiful colours. Crocodiles are still seen in great numbers basking in the sun on the banks of the river between Thebes and Mambalout, seldom appearing lower than the latter place: they are in no wise dangerous, slinking into the water at the least alarm; they do not, as is stated, "plunge with surprizing majesty into the waves."

The Cows in Egypt are much the same as our second rates at home: they have a sleek pretty appearance, their milk is rich but of an exceeding caustic quality, causing an unpleasant heat throughout the body when taken in any quantity: the draught bullocks are large and handsome, but the buffalo is inferior to that of India, and is not, as with you, used as a beast of burthen, the numerous camels supplying its place; the sheep are long-tailed like the Abyssinian, they yield a fine wool, but are indifferent eating; fowls are plentiful, cheap, and good, there are three places in Egypt where they hatch chickens by artificial heat and sell them by measure, Ghezen, Cairo and Foula. Turkeys, ducks, and geese, are rarely to be met with between Cairo and Sion, which latter is their native place. Geese between this latter place and Alexandria are in general sold at three piastres each, or the 6th part of a dollar. Large flocks of pigeons are seen throughout the country, they are sold in every town and village at a very cheap rate. It is the custom of the villagers to build places for them, which sometimes rise in the form of a cone consisting of unsaleable earthen pots: in these curious walls they insert sticks for the birds to perch upon and to attract strange ones to dwell there likewise: they seldom kill the old birds, but take the young as the price of protection: from this custom arises a sort of proprietor-

ship, and this accounts for Mrs. Lushington's port holes and branches of trees inserted in the walls: her assertions of a particular value being attached to them, and of an Englishman having been maltreated by the villagers for shooting at them have no foundations in fact. The idea of pigeons being preserved for the manure they produce refutes itself by its absurdity. Good horses are dear, from 300 to 3000 dollars. A good camel may be purchased for 30 dollars. Every thing is cheaper 100 per cent in Upper Egypt than below Cairo.

The climate of Egypt is in general pleasant, and in winter extremely exhilarating, and if we except the occasional visits from the plague and the late attack of the cholera, it may be considered healthy, and the loss of life among Europeans are not more in proportion than in the finest parts of Europe. The attack of the cholera was dreadful, 30,000 people perished in Cairo alone, and 5,000 in Alexandria, the extent of mortality in the provinces was said to be 100,000 people. The climate was said to be inimical to the growth of European children, but was the truth fairly spoken this would be found to originate too often in the laziness and depravity of mothers themselves. Ophthalmia is the terror and scourge of the country: whenever exposed to the air, the hot sands of the desert borne upon the blast, enter the eyes, and cause a most intolerable smarting, and by rubbing them ever so little, inflammatory ophthalmia ensues: this no sooner takes place than myriads of flies torment the wretched sufferer to a most unsupportable degree: the eyes, and the eyes alone, are the objects of attack: in vain he endeavours to drive them away, one swarm destroyed, another succeeds, until his patience exhausted he suffers them to feed at leisure: the loss of one or both the eyes is too often the consequence: blindness is in fact prevalent throughout the land, and many a fair peasant girl has to mourn the eclipse of her beauties in the loss of an eye. Other diseases are not so prevalent among the Egyptians as they are with the Bedouins. There are several scorbutic diseases arising from filth and bad feeding and diseases arising from debaucheries. Leprosy is rarely seen: the stale jest of the Arab washing only once in his life when the duties of his religion required it is without foundation. I have seen all classes frequently in the water, the women and children especially, they swim far, but in a very clumsy manner.

The population of this country, including Syria, Arabia and the possessions on the Abyssinian Coast, cannot be estimated at more than six millions of souls. Upper Egypt,

literally speaking, is without population, the wars of Mohammed Ali have so depopulated this rich and fertile country, a country capable of supporting 30 millions of human beings. Syria, my heart bleeds to hear the tale of its miseries. Oppression stalks through the land, with locust appetite carrying in its train famine, pestilence, and death.

Of the manufactures there are many of Sugar, Rum, Saltpetre, Indigo, Opium, &c. in the whole of which there has been a great falling off this year. At Boular there is a very fine Iron foundry in full operation and conducted by Englishmen, under the superintendence of Mr. Galloway. In the citadel is a foundry for cannon, and a manufactory for small arms: there is likewise a mint, but like the Pasha's coin it is a very base concern. Foreigners have availed themselves of the depreciation of the currency, and having inundated the country with counterfeits, which are known only by being a trifle more valuable than his own: his gold is 75 per cent. alloy.

The whole of the public works are like one vast machine driven upon a small pivot, that is the bayonet. This, in Egypt is every thing; with this men plough and sow and reap, with this they manufacture their goods, with this they dispose of them when manufactured: this gentle instrument is a good to them by day, a stimulant to their industry, a security for their good behaviour, a companion to their sleeping hours: this instrument, more precious than the philosopher's stone, coins blood into gold, converts wastes into gardens of pleasure, huts into palaces: happy, indeed, will its owner be if it turn not and pierce his own bosom, if the recording angel demands his presence to answer the accusing spirit of perished thousands of victims to his tyranny. He has intrusted it into the hands of those who have little to thank him for, into the hands of men ignorant and brutal, and torn by violence from their families—he is held in hatred by all parties, spoken well of by none but cringing slaves and greedy foreigners who fatten on his spoils: he has, in fact, many enemies; poison may disarm a single adversary, but not a host.

What is Egypt now—its towns are drained of an industrious population, its lands are lying waste, while infants and grey beards are compelled to labour beyond their years. My heart has throbbed with anguish as I beheld the whip coil around the half naked form of the timid female, or the sickly child: when I beheld the burdens bow their bodies to the earth, the mortar tempered with their tears: when I heard the mournful compul-

satory song of cruelties refinement to conceal their sufferings. The Fellah, they say is bad—what makes him so? Reason and Experience answers, Oppression—Want!! He is not learned that he may discriminate between the mere distinctions of good and evil: but he feels as a man possessed of the social passions, he loves his family and hates those who half starve and ill use them: Is he a thief, he pleads the force of example, and answers as the robber before Alexander. And is not Mohammed Ali a thief also? Does he not rob us of all we possess? Does he not compel us to sacrifice health, nay life, to satisfy his craving passion, of ambition and avarice? Are not his minions all thieves, who, when their master has robbed us of the harvest, themselves seize upon the gleanings? Look at my wife and my children; want makes them go naked in the world, want deadens them to every feeling of shame, corrupts their morals, and debases their understanding: want compels them to be slaves to every village despot, to become victims to his cruelty or lust. And is the Fellah bad? Are not his Oppressors more to be condemned?—To questions like these, put in the simplest and most artless way, the English traveller, who is considered as the soul of liberality, has nothing to reply; in fact, with the feelings of a man, he must bow to their truth. The Fellah is placed much in the situation of the muzzled Ox, he sows but cannot eat the fruits of his labour? Nature is bounteous, but not to him does she extend her blessings, the iron hand bows him to the earth, seizes the fruits of his industry, and leaves barely sufficient to propagate a race of slaves. From his troubles he finds no alleviation, he has no doctor, no public hospital to fly to in his hours of sickness, he has no place where he can find shelter and support in old age or infirmity. Is Egypt then a happy country? Alas, no! Its houses are tumbling to the dust, its streets are deserted and untrodden, and war, plague and pestilence, appear to have marched through the land in triumph.

It is said those evils are about to be remedied: that the suggestions of philanthropic individuals, strangers to the land, have had the desired effect. It was stated to Mahomed Ali that, previous to his oppressive regulations, almost every man, woman and child had two changes of raiment: that every child, as soon as it was able to run about was taught to spin the thread of which their coarse dresses were made, and every woman, where other business did not interfere, did the same, and that every village possessed its loom. At present few of the peasantry have one perfect dress, one half indeed may

be said to be naked, private looms are rarely to be met with, the women are seldom found spinning, the children never. The peasant too when unrestricted in the sale of corn took delight in its cultivation, but when he found by oppressive exactions a bare existence was all his labour afforded him, he became careless and inattentive, and let every thing run to waste. The Pasha listened to these suggestions and proposed to his Council certain measures of relief, which, after some debate, were agreed to.—After their decision was made known to the Pasha, he is said to have expressed himself satisfied, and to have delivered himself thus: “That since the Almighty had granted so much success to his arms, and peace was established upon a firm basis, he should now have leisure to attend to the wants of his people, and to study their happiness.” In this he may be sincere, but many doubt it, and say, that his measures are all artificial full of sound, but not of substance: his monopolies are indeed so extensive, that the very dung in the streets is collected and sold on his account, and the peasant, not having the seal of Mohammed Ali on his garment, is liable to be seized and punished.

The Pasha has some magnificent projects in contemplation, too extensive to be carried into effect speedily. The first of these a “Rail Road from Suez to Cairo is said to be determined on, not (as is ridiculously thought by our people) for the accommodation of Europeans to and from India, but from the hope that in doing so he will be able to monopolize the whole trade of the Red Sea, to keep the Bedouin Arabs in order, and carry into effect his long projected conquest of Abyssinia. Whether it is our policy to assist him in his views, let England and the Honorable Company determine. Abyssinia is a fine country, has many and rich productions, and prodigious capabilities of improvement.—Its vicinity to Bombay offers great facilities for trade, which the people themselves from hatred to the Turks, would be happy to have the alliance of England.—He intends to build and keep a Fleet on the Red Sea.—Another noble project is a Bridge across the Nile below Cairo. He likewise intends to employ 32,000 men to deepen the canal of Alexandria from Atfe—may the results be less fatal than those of Mahomudia.* He likewise intends to have Syria surveyed and to rebuild Antioch; from a French gentleman just arrived from

this country I hear their sufferings exceed those of Egypt: this I had thought impossible.

On of the most singular things for a despot to determine upon is the abolition of the *punishment of death*; yet such is said to be the intention of Mahammed Ali commuting to *labor* in the *galleys*. In Egypt the punishment of death is indeed unnecessary, the mild disposition of the Egyptians seldom provoking them to the crime of murder; and for theft alone death is too severe. I have since heard that the above is mere report.

It is pleasing to observe the rapid change which had taken place in the bearing of the natives of this once impassable country towards foreigners, and more especially Englishmen. We walk the villages and plains, or traverse the mountains alone* with as much safety as in our own country: respect and attention await upon our footsteps, and if the poor peasantry are a little clamorous it is for *buxees* we must recollect they are deplorably poor, and this their poverty arises not from idleness, but the bad policy of their rulers; while, from the profuse folly of many of our countrymen, they are led to entertain the most extravagant ideas of our boundless wealth. I was at first disposed to quarrel with them for this, and to set them down as a greedy, selfish people as the Bedouin Arabs generally are! but subsequent observation induces me to transfer my resentment from them to the fashionable tourist, who walks the earth delicately, and travels from country to country not to expand his ideas, not to gain more intimate knowledge of the manners and habits of other people, but simply to make parade of his own importance, to visit the great man, to receive his flatteries, to be fooled and cheated by his people, and to return pluming himself upon his superior discrimination of character, and giving the world a perfumed lie.—These people do an infinite deal of mischief to the traveller of more limited means who cheerfully submits to toils and privations, that he may, if possible, benefit the world by his discoveries, or the fruits of his personal observations—to walk in the wake of the former is to pay double for every thing you require, to find every source of information sealed, opened only by a silver key, and to find impediments purposely thrown in your way in order to enhance the value of imaginary services: thus it is throughout the land of Egypt, the most extravagant prices are asked and obtained for every piece of worthless rubbish; and the

* 350,000 Men were employed in constructing the canal of Mahomudia. Of these 30,000 are said to have perished from exposure to the damps and from hunger. God of Mercy! and this is the man so bespattered with praise by English travellers.

This facility of travelling in Egypt was exemplified in the case of Lady Franklin, who visited the canals attended by a female servant only, without meeting the least interruption or annoyance.

cupidity of European knaves is excited to inundate the country with false gem and intaglio's, eagerly purchased as genuine by the simple-minded, who thus spend their wealth in collecting memorials of their own folly. Even the Arabs, blockheads as they are, have found a way to make mummies, and the corpse of a few weeks old dried in the hot sands passes current as a genuine Egyptian of three thousands years standing.*

To revert to Mohammed Ali, whatever may be his secret inclinations, it is certain that his interests demand a cordial co-operation with foreigners, and they are so intimately mixed with his present system, that to take them away, would be to derange the whole, and probably put his own safety in jeopardy: from this cause alone they are ever sure to meet with respect and protection. He is a man of great talent, and wonderfully versed in the intrigues of life, who can follow all the turnings and windings of the human heart; seize hold of its weakest part, and turn wisdom into folly by his duplicity: upon the principles of self interest, which actuate each secret motion of his own heart, he governs those round him, and by an affected display of liberty, blinds the eyes of those who visit him—the traveller thinking it a breach of hospitality to speak ill of one whose liberality and kindness to themselves has been beyond dispute. Thus it is the true character of "this" prince, who is so little known in England: his greatness of mind is ever overruled by avarice and ambition, and his policy is shortsighted, as he verifies the fable of killing the goose for the sake of her golden egg. Still it cannot be denied that he has done much good in the establishment of manufactories and of schools, although his wish to educate his people is counteracted by the gross stupidity of those who are employed as teachers. Under his fostering eye Cairo has wonderfully improved of late years, many new buildings have been erected,—heaps of rubbish, which formerly intercepted the fresh current of air to the city, have been removed, and gardens supply their place, while trees have been planted in every direction promising some future day a safe and pleasant shelter from the sun and dust. The lynx-eyed vigilance he uses to protect the revenue has its advantages in securing the peace of the city, which is as peaceable as any capital in Europe. Ibrahim Pasha likewise has contributed his quota in this respect to beautify the place and

his gardens on the isle of Khoda, under the superintendence of Mr. Trail and another person, give a fair promise of future excellence.

The house of the late Achmet Bey Dufdar is at present uninhabited, the general opinion of every body is, that he was poisoned by his father-in-law: be this as it may, his death was a benefit to the people, he being a cruel and remorseless villain: he had always a set of desperadoes in his employ who waylaid and murdered all who were suspected of being possessed of riches—like a fiend he delighted in human blood, and many tales are related of his shocking barbarity; one of which is the following:—

He was riding out one morning, and heard a woman scolding and making great lamentations, upon inquiring into it, he was told that one of his attendants had purchased some milk of the woman, but after drinking it up he had refused to pay for it. The Dufdar Bey ordered the man before him who denied the charge; the woman persisting in it, he ordered the man's head to be cut off, and afterward, his body to be ripped open, and the milk to be taken out and given to the woman; this barbarous order was immediately put in execution, and the milk being found, the Bey turning towards the woman, told her it was well the milk was found, otherwise she should have suffered the same punishment, at the same time ordering her 5 paras, the price of the milk.

Riding one morning he found his horse was lamed, upon examining his feet it was discovered that the beast had been pricked in shoeing, sending for his groom he asked him how long he had been in his service, "15 years," replied the man. "And you have been 15 years in my service, and do not know how to shoe a horse, I must teach you;" so saying he sent for a smith and ordered him to shoe the groom, and this barbarous command was actually carried into execution.

This monster died of the cholic and although rumour says he was poisoned, it does not appear to have any foundation. At his death Mohammed Ali seized upon his riches, which were immense, so great indeed as to preclude the counting of them; the spoil loaded 44 camels, and the total value in gold, silver, jewellery, shawls, silk, &c. is said to have amounted to 8,000,000 dollars; since his death the citizens of Cairo have dwelt in comparative security.

Among those whom it was my fortune to have introduced to me was a Mohammedan teacher, who was the primary cause of the massacre of the Mamelukes. His account of the

* In illustration of this a person living at Alexandria went up the country, and purchased a mummy of an Arab for 10 dollars, bringing it down with him, and exulting in his bargain, he exposed it to the view of his friends, one of whom recognized it by its head as an Italian who had died some short time before: the body was claimed by his relatives and the disappointed Antiquarian to add to his mortification was compelled to pay 5 dollars more to have the corpse interred anew.

affair was as follows. At the time in question he was a writer in one of the Government departments; an accident had made him acquainted with circumstances which led him to believe that a conspiracy existed between the Mamelukes of Syria and of Egypt to destroy Mohammed Ali and to place another Bey in the seat of the Viceroy. In the warmth of his friendship he imparted all he knew to a person connected with a foreign consulate, who being then out of favor with the Pasha received the intelligence with joy, thinking thereby not only to effect a reconciliation but to be handsomely rewarded. Demanding a private audience of the Pasha, which was granted, he proceeded to lay before him all that the writer had told him: the Pasha listened in silence until he had finished, and then in a stern manner asked him how he dare repeat such foul and wicked charges; "you are my friend," said he, "and one who has had my confidence; had it not been so, your head should have answered for thus traducing my friends, the Mamelukes, who have ever been faithful to me, and would willingly lay down their lives to preserve mine: begone instantly, and bring the man who gave you the information: the diplomatic retired in astonishment at a reception so contrary to his expectations, and meeting his informant, told him, in a few words all that had transpired and carried him fearing and trembling into the presence of the Pasha.—Again all were ordered to retire, except the the Physician Giovanni Bozari who was in his confidence.—The Pasha then sternly demanded of the man what he knew, this he told as well as his fears would permit him, giving several circumstantial proofs, and the name of a camel driver who was the bearer of the correspondence between the parties: when he had finished the Pasha put on a face of great anger, called him a lying knave and ordered him to the galleys for endeavouring to injure his friends in his esteem, bidding the diplomatic look to his own safety, this he did by embarking on board a vessel immediately for Italy; from thence he departed to his own country, and there died shortly after. When these men were dismissed, the Pasha turning to his confidant and relaxing his countenance, said "these short-sighted fools are speaking the truth, it is time for us to be acting, find out the camel driver, and bring him to me—he was found without difficulty, and the Pasha thus addressed him. "I am aware that there is a conspiracy between the Mamelukes of Syria and Egypt, and that you are the bearer of letters between the parties. It is in my power to take away your life, and that too with the greatest tortures: but I will rather make you my friend and trust to

your fidelity in bringing me every letter before it reaches the hands intended: to secure you my friend I make you a present of 1000 dollars for every letter you bring to me." The poor fellow filled with consternation at finding his secret discovered, and himself in the power of the Pasha, fell at his feet and vowed implicit obedience to his commands. He kept his word: and from the letters which the man faithfully brought, Mahomed Ali obtained a perfect knowledge of the conspirators, after which the letter was sealed as before and delivered to the owners. The plot matured so fast, that in the last letter the Pasha found he had only eight days to live, some of the Syrian troops having already commenced their journey towards Egypt—he then took his measures accordingly, dispatched a body of troops into Syria, and destroyed the Mamelukes at Cairo, the details of which have often been laid before the public. The camel driver received 18,000 dollars as the price of his treachery, but when the Pasha had destroyed his enemies, he ordered him to be strangled, and the money to be taken from him.

It is said by Europeans who are about the person of the Pasha, that he has a great aversion to proselytism, and to those who thinking to better themselves embrace the Mahomedan religion: in this he does not believe them sincere, and rightly supposes, that those who forsake their God and the religion of their forefathers for temporal advantages, will be as ready, on the first favorable opportunity, to betray their prince: he is said to have dismissed several of these people lately. "Our own countrymen, I am happy to say, in this respect have kept themselves untainted, with the solitary exception of Osman Effendi, who, in truth, may be said to embrace no religion at all. In the Pasha's service are many of the St. Simonians, some of them men of great talent, they do well to reside among Turks, with them their loose ideas of life are congenial, and should they possess handsome wives they may employ them to advantage as instruments of converting the rest of their own countrymen, and the heaps of beggarly Italians, who swarm in every part of the Pasha's dominions.

The Pasha was very fond of his Physician Giovanni Bozarri who attended him through his early career and was his confidant and companion. At the taking of Mecca, Giovanni was riding by the side of the Pasha to enter the gates, "Stop, said the Pasha, you cannot enter the Holy City, Giovanni;" but I must though; wherever your Highness goes, I go. "No; retire and wait outside, why should you endanger your life, not being a Mahom-

medan." Giovanni was determined upon entering; replied, then, if I cannot enter without being a Mohomedan, I will immediately become one, and he immediately began to bawl out the Mohomedan confession. "Stop! stop!" cried the Pasha, as you are, I respect you and give you my friendship: but if you forsake the religion of your father and turn Mohomedan, I should despise you; come along with me." So saying he pushed into the gate with his friend.—A parallel may be drawn between Buonaparte and the Pasha in this respect, both careless of religion, or using it only in a political view.

In the above critical observations, I have no wish to depreciate in the estimation of the world, the soil and climate of Egypt, or the noble relics of antiquity with which it abounds, or to arrogate to myself superior penetration to those travellers who have hitherto written on the subject: but as an experienced traveller, unfettered by Romance, I wish to caution those less experienced, in order that they may avoid disappointment not to expect *too much*, nor to give way to the false and enthusiastic descriptions of those trading tourists who examine every thing with perfumed fingers, study to write poetically, and prefer *effect to truth* the brighter ornament of composition. Tourists, in fact, like painters love high coloring: but when they profess to cater for the public they should remember that too many sweets pall upon the appetite, while an occasional admixture of bitters yields an agreeable relief. For my own part I am well content to be condemned for want of taste, rather than run the risk of being thought an enthusiast.

Two thirds of those who have hitherto visited Thebes have gone with no intention than to praise, or with the ambition of little minds, to have it to say, for the remainder of their lives, that they have visited Thebes and climbed the Pyramids. While those who attempt to write upon the subject have recourse to the grossest hyperbole of language, and would convince the world of the truth of their delineations by depreciating the talent and industry of every other nation extinct or existing: thus Denon observes, "that no people, either ancient or modern, ever conceived the art of architecture on so sublime and grand a scale as the ancient Egyptians." Such an assertion has no ground but in his own poetical brains, and can be easily contradicted by every school-boy who chooses to read ancient history: the same may be said of the suppressed passage in Dr. Clarke's travels respecting the pyramids—"Ideas of duration almost boundless, of power inconceivable, of majesty supreme, of soli-

tude most awful, of grandeur, of desolation, and of repose." This is beautiful writing, but with due respect to this learned and generally accurate traveller, it is not the truth, and was therefore wisely suppressed. Divested of Romance, to the thinking mind the Pyramids appear no other than monuments of folly, ambition, and despotism, and I cannot look at them but I behold in imagination the blood and tears of thousands by which the stones of these mighty edifices were cemented. Had they appeared in the midst of a city, the astonishing might have been as depicted; but seated in the midst of mountains, they appear as mole hills to palaces, and a satire upon human greatness and durability. To loosen the reins of imagination, many beautiful scenes may be depicted in the land of Egypt. It is pleasing, undoubtedly, to sail down the river when all is calm and clear and beautiful: when the wind is hushed, and the fiery tempest is laid low: when the rays of an Eastern sun cease to beat upon the head of the panting traveller, and the boundless waste of desert is hid by the verdure of the trees. It is pleasing to behold at a distance the high and walled town with its delicate minarets peeping from beneath the trees, the stream gliding gently before it, reflecting the glories of a setting sun: the dome with the solitary acacia bending over it; the ruinous pile; the mountain scenery behind: it is pleasing to wander through the cypress grove, to listen to its pleasing melancholy music, to pluck the orange from its verdant shade, to listen to the song of birds and gaze upon the sun burnt villager bearing the product of his rich and ripened harvest home. Scenes like these are beautiful: they are such as Titian would delight to paint, the soul of taste and of romance would love to gaze upon. At these times, and with these scenes Egypt is a place of beauty: but, too often like the deceitful foliage, approach, and the delusion vanishes. The village is changed into a mass of shapeless ruins; the scene around is desolation, and the brow of the simple peasant is marked with care and bitter anguish.

Few Europeans indeed would love to live in Egypt: it is a land of corn but not that of wheat and oil: its fruits are few and inferior; it presents no verdant meads, no pleasant rides or walks, nor is such as by its variety and beauty to counterbalance its evils. As it requires time and study to acquire a taste for its antiquities, so it acquires habit and long residence to accustom the stranger to the soil.

Many reports are afloat in Alexandria of war between Russia and England, it appears that our Government are tired of negotiating,

and intend to do what they ought long to have done before, compel the Autocrat either to relax his hold of his prey, or fight for it. Our ships from the Mediterranean are drawing towards Constantinople, and it is currently reported that two steam Frigates, with other sail of the line, are hastening to join them. Our brave seamen long to have a touch at the northern bear who are so puffed up with conceit of themselves. The papers accompanying this will afford further particulars.

Steam Navigation from India to Egypt is all the talk here; the idea is very favorably received, all parties promising themselves some advantage in its success: our countrymen seldom come empty handed but scatter their dollars with profuse liberality through the land: the man in office and out of office, the peasant and the shop-keeper, feel alike the benefit of this liberality. Gold occasions strange revolutions in this country, like the sceptre of a monarch its touch brings obedience: the insolent Turk is converted into a thing meanly submissive, and the peasant, sullen from want and ill usage, relaxes his sun burnt visage into smiles as he pockets the *buzees* of the passing traveller: we certainly have purchased security and respect from all parties.

With regard to Mohammed Ali, it is difficult to define his real feelings upon the subject of steam. He enters willingly into the scheme of a Rail Road, because he sees his interest in it; he conjectures that it will bring him an immense revenue, independent of any expectations from us; in his calculations he does not look to the transit of goods alone, but likewise to the immense number of pilgrims and passengers who pass by this route: he likewise sees the facility with which troops and stores can be conveyed to the Red Sea, as likewise timber for the ships of war, which he has in contemplation to build. Far from befriending us by this measure it will be undertaken solely with a view of benefiting himself by a monopoly of the produce of Arabia and the Red Sea, and for securing his conquests, extending them to every port of that sea, by means of which he can at any time close the ports against us, or compel us to purchase pearl and pearl shell, tortoiseshell, Mocha coffee, &c., at his own price. He has fears likewise that, in giving a passage through his dominions, great injury will accrue to his own trade, as many of our Indian commodities capable of being sent by this route are produced in his own dominions: we may therefore undersell and destroy his market: to prevent which he is desirous of placing a duty of 9 per cent.

upon all goods sent by this route: this high duty cannot, of course, be acceded to, it amounting in many articles to a prohibition: nothing has yet been said about store houses at Suez, or boats in the river, or the right of Mohammed Ali's officers to search; all of which things must be placed on a proper footing before a merchant will venture his goods, more especially the latter, which would be a source of endless disputes from the bungling manner in which this department is conducted.

To what extent this trade can be carried on we have yet to learn; if by regular merchant vessels it will never pay; as should they escape the perils of navigation, they have still to encounter duties, expences of lading and re-lading, rail road charges, bad river boats (not at all times procurable) and re-shipments, and, after all, the Americans will undersell us in the Mediterranean markets. If confined to steam vessels; with passages and letters only it will never pay the expence. Mr. Greenlaw may calculate upon the number of letters passing through the Post Office, but he must not suppose that men of business will reserve their packets for three months at a time the interval of the steam boat's departure and return.

It is questioned by many whether the Pasha is really sincere in his rail road plan: many of those who know him will say it is only a trick of diplomacy on his part to quiet us: it is certain that the two plans of the Rail Road and a Bridge were both brought forward at a time when the English and French Consuls were too pressing upon certain points: it being understood the French were to have the building of the bridge: for this great quantities of timber are required which timber may be used for other purposes, so the Sultan thought when he refused to send him any. It is necessary to state, that French influence predominates at this court: this is owing to the superior activity of the Consuls of that nation; from our own we can expect nothing. The Consul General is a money making personage, whose only study is to save all and live quiet; with him the Pasha is a kind of demi-god and all that he does is sacred; he wants in fact the dignity and independence necessary for that station. The Vice Consul at Cairo to whom he delegates every thing is a Frenchman unacquainted with English manners and customs and absorbed in trade, little therefore can be expected of him, his interests being with his own countrymen and the Pasha, the latter having the monopoly of trade. Mr. Thurborn, the Consul of Alexandria, is a man of gentlemanly deportment and receives every

English traveller with kindness and hospitality, he alone preserves a name to the establishment. He, however, from pressure of business and other causes has long given up his duties of Consulate, and has unfortunately given us a bad substitute in the Vice Consul, who bears a very different character, and is somewhat stolid for the situation which he holds. A change throughout would be essential for the interests of India.

The trade of Egypt is monopolized by three or four houses, whose policy it is to keep the Pasha in arrears with them, and to receive payment in goods. A great falling off has been experienced of late years owing to the want of hands to cultivate the lands. There is no room for speculation. Europe shop-

keepers abound, but every thing is very dear, and few of the luxuries we get in the Presidencies of India are to be procured here. Cotton is still in demand, and the Pasha flatters himself that his Indigo will soon beat that of all nations in fineness and quality—Opium is not properly attended to—Saltpetre might be manufactured to any amount, the land throughout being impregnated with it to such a degree as to present the appearance of hoar frost in the mornings.—Sugar is decidedly inferior to the Bengal—Rum much of the same quality—these two articles are manufactured in barely sufficient quantities for their own consumption. In the hands of Europeans I would back Egypt against the world. The produce of grain in the Upper Provinces is truly wonderful.—*Bombay Gazette.*

HALLAM'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

No. V.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

Sir,—According to Mr. Hallam, the English subject in Elizabeth's reign prided himself on exemption from taxation without consent of Parliament. (1) No very good authority is given for this assertion. Surely the story from Strype, respecting the imposition by the Cheshire and Lancashire magistrates, and the letter from the Privy Council directing the charge to be taken off does not prove it. (2) But admitting the historian's assertion to be true, what good will it do to his theory, unless he can shew, 1st, that the Queen dared not to tax by the exercise of her prerogative alone; and 2dly, that her Majesty was constrained in using Parliament as an instrument for getting money, to employ it, as Burleigh recommended the use of the rack, "as charitably as such a thing must be?" That this instrument was not "charitably" used Mr. Hallam himself admits, for he says heavy taxation was one of the causes of the Queen's loss of popularity: (3) and that the royal prerogative stretched abundantly far, even in money matters, the same author gives ample evidence of. Forced loans, he tells us, were common, though better repaid than usual with royalty. (4) There is "a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Council, informing them that he had committed to prison some citizens for refusing to pay the money

demanded of them." (5) The letter from Burleigh's papers quoted by Hume, appears to warrant, Mr. Hallam admits, that the Treasurer had revolved in his mind a project of raising money by loan without purpose of repayment. (6) The historian infers from the fact that this project was not carried into effect, that it was impracticable. It might have been inconvenient, perhaps, to execute such a project; but when a Minister *could* revolve such a plan in his breast, and when we know how far Elizabeth's power reached in matters not connected with taxation, a reflecting man ought to be slow to believe that the project was abandoned, either from a sense of its illegality, or from a fear of inability to carry it into effect, had the carrying of it into effect been the fixed bent of the royal mind. Lord Burleigh's letters, we are told, exhibit "collectively a curious view of the manner in which England was managed, as if it had been the household and estate of a nobleman under a strict and prying steward. (7) I would ask whether any stronger proof than is furnished by this admission, can be required to show the existence of fiscal despotism? Having dwelt even to tediousness, I am afraid, on this branch of my subject, I beg to enumerate facts of a different nature, but equally conclusive as to the almost boundless power of the English Government. Most of us have

(1) Hal. vol. 1st p. 261, 2, or 3.

(2) Hal. vol. 1st p. 262.

(3) Hal. vol. 1st p. 318.

(4) Hal. vol. 1st p. 263.

(5) Hal. vol. 1st p. 265.

(6) Hal. vol. 1st p. 264.

(7) Hal. vol. 1st p. 265.

heard of the Act (11th H. 7th c. 3) by which justices of assize and of the peace could determine all offences except treason and felony without a jury, and against any statute in force, on information in the King's name. Could any Parliament, which was not the willing tool, or the cold and indifferent spectator, or the timid slave of tyranny, concede so much power to Henry the 7th? More phlegmatic and cautious, less bloody and cruel than his son, he was to the full as deeply impressed with exalted notions of the royal prerogative, was more cunning and treacherous, and, being equally unscrupulous (except in matters of blood) either as to the end to be gained, or the mode of gaining that end, he was a most unsafe depository of nearly boundless discretionary power. Passing to the reign of Henry the 8th, what are we to think of the impeachment of Wolsey, on frivolous grounds? That minister had done enough, God knows, to offend an independent Parliament, or rather had there been a single vestige of real freedom in the "Great Council" of the nation, such a man as Wolsey never could have ruled at all. But his manifold political sins and wickednesses, were not the crimes that were brought up against him: he had lost his popularity with Henry, and therefore he fell! In 1534, an Act was passed, imposing an oath to maintain the succession in the heirs of Henry's second marriage to the exclusion of Mary; and it was declared high treason to deny the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown, a doctrine two years before altogether unknown. (8) Would the Parliament, had it exercised its own free will, have passed either of these Acts? Certainly not, but Henry decreed it, and what was to be done? Under the statute respecting the King's ecclesiastical supremacy, Fisher and Sir Thomas More, undeniably the most honest men of their age, lost their lives! (9) Henry made a second, raising the pretext for putting to death (and letting loose Military law on their followers,) several who had been engaged in a former insurrection, and who had laid down their arms on an unconditional promise of amnesty, and who had no concern with the second out-breaking. (10) The historian admits, that the Countess of Salisbury, the Abbots of Reading and Glastonbury, and others, were put to death from revenge or rapacity. (11) Cromwell's question to the Judges, whether an attainder in Parliament, the accused not being heard in his defence, could be reversed by the

decision of a Court of Law, together with the Judge's answer, furnishes a fearful proof of the extent of the royal power. The Judges at first answered, that it was a dangerous question, and that Parliament should rather set an example to inferior Courts for proceeding according to justice: but, being pressed by the King, they said, "that an attainder in Parliament, whether the party had been heard or not in his defence, could never be reverted in a Court of Law. (12.) The question itself was brutal; yet such was the power of royalty, that the Judges dared not to adhere to an opinion, founded on the simplest principles of universal justice! We can scarcely regret that Cromwell became the victim of his own unscrupulous recommendation; but what stronger evidence of the existence of an awfully tyrannical power can we desire, than his attainder without defence, and Cranmer's voting for the death of his friend? The example in Cromwell's case was followed soon after, in that of Dr. Barnes, who was burnt for heresy. (13.) Surry, was put to death for quartering the royal arms in his escutcheon. (14.) Anne Boleyn was not only condemned, though innocent, but her marriage was annulled by an ecclesiastical sentence, before her death. (15.) (16.) An Act was passed, bastardizing Mary. (17.) An Act was passed, enabling the King on failure of issue by Jane Seymour, or other lawful wife, to bequeath the kingdom to any person at his pleasure, (28, H. 8th, c. 7.) By the 28th, H. 8th, c. 17, it was enacted, that a King, after he should attain the age of 24 years, might repeal any statutes made since his accession. (18.) What do the advocates for the existence of effectual restraints upon the royal power, say to facts like these, taken as they are, almost at random from the history of the times? Nor were the instances of an outrageous prerogative confined to the reign of Henry the 8th. Seymour, the brother of Somerset, was attained without being heard in his defence, (19) Somerset in his turn was sacrificed by Northumberland. (20.) Edward no doubt had less power over

(12.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 31, 32.

(13.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 32.

(14.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 33.

(15.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 31, 35.

(16.) Collet justly remarks on this abominable transaction, either that the Queen's confession of a pre-contract with Percy, was true or false. If true, then she was not Queen, and could not be guilty of treason, even if unfaithful to Henry. If false, Henry added insult to cruelty.—*His. Refor.**

(17.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 36.

(18.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 37.

(19.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 43.

(20.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 43.

* There is an excuse set up for Cranmer, in the zeal he showed to get Anne's marriage annulled, viz. that as the annulling of the marriage lessened the brutality of the punishment Cranmer's exertions proceeded from humanity. Would not his humanity have been better directed in getting the punishment altered without offering the insult to Anne?

(8) Hal. vol. 1st p. 30.

(9) Hal. vol. 1st p. 30.

(10) Hal. vol. 1st p. 30, 31.

(11) Hal. vol. 1st p. 31.

Parliament than his father. In Edward's reign there were several instances of the rejection of bills by the Commons—the substitution of a more moderate treason bill—the rejection of a bill attaining Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, for misprision of treason—and the long opposition to a subsidy. (21.) But when we consider that Edward the 6th was a minor, and that the country in his reign was convulsed by factions, we need not be surprised at such *seeming* independence, nor should we look upon it as a proof of a prerogative at all reasonably limited. Mary, too, seems not to have been wholly supreme over Parliament. She dissolved her two first Parliaments for their want of pliancy, (22.) The third rejected several of her favorite bills. (23.) And we are told, on the authority of Noailles the French Ambassador, that Mary would have settled the crown on her husband, and probably sent her sister to the scaffold, could she have obtained the consent of Parliament. (24.) But we ought to recollect the weakness of Mary's judgment, the divisions and jealousies amongst her Counsellors, and the peculiarity of some of the measures opposed. (25.) These were the reasons why Mary was not wholly absolute. After all, however, how vast was her power! We have seen, that she could undo in an instant nearly all that had been done in the preceding reign on the subject of religion, and though she did not wait for the instrumentality of Parliament, it was ready to give implicit obedience to her commands. (26.) Loans were extorted, and a duty was imposed on foreign cloth, without consent of Parliament. (27.) The torture is more frequently mentioned in her reign, than in all preceding ones. (28 and 29,) and, (not to enumerate more examples than may be necessary) was not Mary's short reign remarkable for its list of religious martyrdoms? The frequent use of torture, and the inflicting of death for differences of religious opinions are unquestionable proofs of the mightiness of the royal power. With regard to torture, "the Common law of England," says Mr. Hallam, "neither admits of it to extort confession, nor of any penal infliction not warranted by

a judicial sentence." (30.) Then torture was illegal. With regard to martyrdoms, the same author asserts, that Mary's system of faith was unpopular on account of its cruelty; (31.) and the proof of this truth he thinks is furnished by "the acquiescence of the great body of the people in the re-establishment of protestantism by Elizabeth, when compared with the seditious and discontent on that account under Edward." (32.) Then the people thought martyrdoms cruel. And surely, if torture could be used contrary to law, and capital penalties inflicted on religious martyrs against the feelings of the people, the sovereign must have been absolute, and the subjects must have been moral slaves. The proofs of the omnipotence of royalty in the reign of Elizabeth are so numerous, and so various, that the only difficulty is how to select them, and where to stop in enumerating them. There is nothing which better shows unbounded power in a sovereign, than excessive severity exercised for light offences, and abject submissiveness exhibited by the victims of severity. Can any one read an account of Elizabeth's treatment of Lady Katherine Grey, and the abject humility of that lady in return, and doubt but that in those days high and low were slaves? Lady Katherine had committed the *crime* of marrying the Earl of Hertford without the Queen's consent. Both husband and wife were sent to the Tower. When under imprisonment, they contrived to meet from time to time, and the result was the birth of another child. Enraged beyond all bounds, the Queen, by means of the Star Chamber, fined Hertford £15,000: (33) viz., £5,000 for *deflowering* a virgin of the blood royal in the queen's house; £5,000 for breaking his prison and £5,000 for repeating his intercourse with the object of his attachment. When the plague broke out in 1563, they were removed from the Tower, but still kept prisoners, and carefully separated from each other. In vain were supplications made both by Lady Katherine and her relatives for forgiveness, and for leave to live with her husband. Elizabeth suffered her to die separated and in custody. (34) Yet mark how the Lady Katherine writes to Sir William Cecil — "beseeching your farther friendship for the obtaining of the Queen's Majesties most gracious pardon and favor towards me, wylch wyth upstretched hands and downebente knees, from the bottom of my hart most humbly I crave."

(21.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 47.

(22.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 47.

(23.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 47.

(24.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 48.

(25.) The settling of the crown for example on her husband meant nothing less in the minds of most men than the subjugation of England to Spain.

(26.) *Bengal Hurkaru*, 4th Dec. 1834.

(27.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 45.

(28.) At first sight, an inference might be drawn from the existence of freedom in former times, "The inference would not be a safe one. Opposition to the national creed either in doctrine or in rites and discipline was, till recently comparatively unknown. With opposition to power, grew the anger and vengeance of power.

(29.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 45.

(30.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 150.

(31.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 114.

(32.) Hal. vol. 1st, p. 115.

(33.) The reader should always bear in mind the very high value of money in Elizabeth's time.

(34.) *Westminster Review*, vol. 8th, pp. 154 155. From Ellis's Original Letters.

(35) Again Lord John Grey, Lady Catherine's uncle, writes to Cecil — "If I saie unto her," 'Goode Madam, eate somewhat to comfort your selfe,' "she findes a wepinge and goethe upp to her chamber; if I aske her wath the cause is she usethe her self in that sorte, she answers me, 'alas Unckell what a life is this, to me, thus to live in the Queen's displeasure; but for my lorde and my childrene, I wolde to God I were buried.'" (36) Is not this a case of Turkish callousness and malignity in the sovereign, and of Turkish abjectness in the subject? Great God! could such things be, and yet can writers be found to talk of checks on the royal power? Two sectarians, Barrow and Greenwood, were indicted on the 23d of the Queen, (a most arbitrary statute) respecting the spreading of seditious news, and were executed. They died full of expressions of loyalty. (37) If any thing more was wanting to show the boundless power which all men imputed to royalty in those days, it would be this instance of loyalty in men cruelly butchered by this savage woman! One, Stubbs, for writing a pamphlet called "Gaping Gulph in which England will be swallowed up by the French marriage" had his right hand lopped off. The pamphlet was full of unfeigned loyalty and affection towards the Queen. (38) When the hand was cut off, Stubbs, with the other took off his hat exclaiming 'long live Queen Elizabeth!!' (39) Is not this a proof of the royal omnipotence, not only in the punishment, but in the manner it was borne? Norfolks' "submission to the Queen," says Mr. Hallam, "is expressed in a style which would now be thought most pusillanimous in a man of much lower station, yet he died with great intrepidity. But such was the tone of those times; an exaggerated hypocrisy prevailed over every thing." (40 & 41) What evidence is there of hypocrisy in this case? And admitting the submissiveness to have sprung from hypocrisy, what better mark could be given of the prevalence of despotism? If the reader should require any more proofs of Elizabeth's absolute power, I would beg him to look to her treatment of the Puritan party. There can be no doubt, that the House of Commons in that reign was zealously attached to the Protestant interest, (42) and though at first

this zeal may have been connected with the church lands, it gradually grew into a sincere love of that stricter form of Protestant Christianity, which went under the name of Puritanism. (43) Mr. Hallam, on the authority of Parsons the Jesuit, and from much other reading on the subject, says that the party attached to the Anglican Church, setting aside neutrals, were the least numerous. In the House of Commons the Puritans predominated. (44) Many leading men in Church and State were Puritans. Amongst churchmen, Gindal and Sandys, Parkhurst and Pilkington; amongst statesmen, Bedford, Huntingdon, Warwick, the Earl of Leicester, Lord Keeper Bacon, Walsingham, Sadler, Knollys, and perhaps Cecil, were of this way of thinking. (45) Yet was Archbishop Parker able to treat them with the utmost severity, to suppress their books, to silence their ministers, to drag private citizens before the high commission, and to imprison them on their refusing to conform. (46 and 47) Not only so: but a Puritan Parliament passed the Act of 35 Eliz. c. 1. which gave the power of imprisonment against those who were absent from church for a month. If submission, and conformity to the conditions of the act were refused, the recusant was made to abjure the realm, and if he returned without the queen's licence, he was condemned to suffer death as a felon. (48) It is impossible the Puritans could have approved of so much intolerance of their favorite opinions touching the modes of worship. How came they then to be parties to laws which crushed themselves? The answer is at hand. Elizabeth was herself the great support of the high church party. (49) In other words she was omnipotent. The great importance of the subject will, I hope, justify me in still farther shewing how powerless was the Parliament, and how powerful was the queen. There was no point on which Parliament felt more anxiety than it did on that of the queen's marriage and the succession to the crown. Good sense told it, of the confusion and broils that so often spring out of a disputed right to sovereignty; and religious zeal roused its fears for the fate of Protestantism. Reason suggests, that had Parliament been any thing but a cipher, the

(43) The word Puritan is said to have been first used by Parsons the Jesuit. *West. Rev.* No. 27, p. 87. *Art. Webster's American Dictionary.*

(44) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 204.

(45) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 196.

(46) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 208.

(47) Parker writes thus to Burleigh, June 1573. "He knew them (Puritans) to be cowards, and if they of the Privy Council gave over, they would hinder her Majesty's government more than they were aware, and much abate the estimation of their own authorities." *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 208. A curious, but very characteristic specimen this, of a bigot's zeal and unscrupulousness in enforcing his own opinions!

(48) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 220.

(49) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 214.

(35) *West. Rev.* vol. 8th, p. 185.

(36) *West. Rev.* vol. 8th, p. 153.

(37) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 230.

(38) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 230.

(39) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 230.

(40) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 143.

(41) By the way, witnesses were not called in this case, though the calling of witnesses was required by the 5 and 6 of Ed. 6th. c. 11. s. 12. Is not this a convincing proof that statutes were waste paper?

(42) *Hal.* vol. 1st, p. 181.

questions of the queen's marriage and the succession to the crown were subjects on which their sacred duty called upon them not merely to give advice, but to *dictate* to Elizabeth. Yet how was it? The House of Commons no doubt, in 1563, implored the queen to settle the succession; (50) and in 1566 both Houses united with a boldness not known for a hundred years Mr. Hallam tells us. (51.) But though Parliament was roused by a great national question to speak out, and though Elizabeth on this occasion yielded more than she was wont to do, the two Houses could not then, and could not at any other time, before or after, prevail upon her majesty to comply with their most reasonable wishes and the queen's subsequent answer to the speaker's customary request for liberty of speech in the Commons, shews, how out of place was considered the interference to have been. "Her Majesty having experienced of late some disorder and certain offences, which though they were not punished, yet were they offences still, and so must be accounted, they would therefore do well to meddle with no matters of state, but such as should be propounded unto them." (52) Is it possible that royalty could have dared thus to speak to an *independent* branch of the legislature? Peter Wentworth, for petitioning the Lord Keeper, to get the Lords to join with the Commons, in imploring her Majesty to entail the succession of the crown, for which a bill was already prepared, was with another member, summoned before the Council, and they were committed to different prisons. (53) When the Commons sent up a bill attainting Mary Queen of Scots for treason, Elizabeth *affecting* more humanity, got rid of it by a prorogation. (54) Right or wrong, the Commons, had they been free, would not have suffered the queen so to treat them. It was upon the occasion that Cecil said that the queen was made her own enemy by being persuaded by some of those about her, not to commence these proceedings in Parliament. (55) Then it depended on Elizabeth whether the Parliament could do anything or nothing. A bill that was brought in to take away the power of granting licences and dispensations from the Archbishop of Canterbury, was stopped by the interference of the queen. (56) The 13th of Eliz. c. 12, sanctioned only those articles of the English Church, that related to the confession of faith, and the doctrine

of the sacraments, about which no difference then existed. (57) This might seem to contradict the theory of the queen's omnipotence, but it is not. She did not probably care about this, and Mr. Hallam expressly admits, "it proved of little practical importance, the bishops having always exacted a subscription to the whole 39 articles" (58) In 1575, the queen sent a message to the Commons, forbidding them to meddle with religious concerns. (59) Morice, attorney of the Court of words, for bringing in a bill to take away the oath *ex-officio*, was sent to prison. (60) In the matter of Elizabeth's desired marriage with the Duke of Anjou in 1579, though several of the Council were against the match, yet in the end they agreed "conceiving her earnest disposition for this her marriage." (61) The House before proceeding with a bill for reformation of Common Prayer, petitioned the queen for leave to proceed in it. (62) Strickland for proposing the bill was sent for by the queen and detained by the Council; and though he was permitted to return to the House, we are told, she took the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses out of their hands, sending word that she would have some articles for that purpose executed by the bishops under her royal supremacy, and not dealt in by Parliament." (63.) The speaker told the Commons by message from the queen, "to spend little time in motions, and make no long speeches." Bell came into the house, "with such an amazed countenance that it daunted all the rest, who for many days durst not enter on any matter of importance." And at the close of the season, the Lord Keeper severely reprimanded those audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous members who had called her majesty's grants and prerogatives in question, meddling with matters neither pertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understanding. (64) The queen signified her pleasure through the speaker, that no bills should be received, unless approved by the clergy, and required a sight of certain bills on rites and ceremonies. "The bills were accordingly ordered to be delivered to her, with a humble prayer that, if she should dislike them, she would not conceive an ill opinion of the house or of the parties by whom they were preferred. (65) Lord Keeper Pickering's answer to the speaker's request for liberty of speech is anno-

(50) Hal. vol. 1st p. 183.

(51) Hal. vol. 1st p. 269.

(52) Hal. vol. 1st pp. 271-272.

(53) Hal. vol. 1st p. 280.

(54) Hal. vol. 1st p. 149.

(55) Hal. vol. 1st p. 149.

(56) Hal. vol. 1st p. 206.

(57) Hal. vol. 1st p. 206.

(58) Hal. vol. 1st p. 207.

(59) Hal. vol. 1st p. 225.

(60) Hal. vol. 1st p. 287.

(61) Hal. vol. 1st p. 249.

(62) Hal. vol. 1st p. 272.

(63) Hal. vol. 1st p. 272.

(64) Hal. vol. 1st p. 274.

(65) Hal. vol. 1st pp. 274-275.

ther proof of the total absence of freedom—it was granted, “but not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh into his brain to utter; their privilege was aye or no.” (66) “Divers gentlemen,” writes Antony Bacon to his mother, “who were of the Parliament, and thought to have returned into the country after the end thereof, were stayed by her Majesty’s commandment, for being privy as it is thought, and consenting to Mr. Wentworth’s motion.” (67) I might fill a volume with *fresh* facts demonstrative of the unbounded power of the sovereign in the times of which I write. In particular I might shock the reader not familiar with English history, with an account of the intolerable abuses that existed with regard to the granting of monopolies, and the cruel restrictions that were put on the expression of opinion through the press. But I have already fatigued my readers, and shall only beg them to attend to the few following facts relating to the administration of justice. “The Sheriff returned a pannel either according to express directions, or to what he judged himself of the crown’s intention and interest.” (68) Lords Hudson and Walsingham write to the Sheriff of Sussex not to molest John Ashburnham through his creditors, “till such time as our determination touching the premises shall be known.” (69.) From the complaint made by the Judges said to have been delivered in 1592, it is obvious, that men had been arbitrarily imprisoned by the command of noblemen and counsellors—many for suing actions at the common law—others had been committed and detained in prison contrary to law—others legally discharged after imprisonment, had been re-committed and sent to secret prisons—sergeants and other law officers had been imprisoned for lawfully discharging their professional duties—many sent for from a distance, and forcibly imprisoned in order to give up

claims. (70) In the document containing these facts, the doctrine is laid down, that commitments by her Majesty’s special commandment—by order from the council board—or for treason touching her Majesty’s person, are a “good cause for courts to leave the person committed in custody.” Must not that sovereign have been absolute whose judges could deliver such an opinion? Not to be tedious, in 1595, a commission to execute Martial Law in London and its neighbourhood was issued to Sir Thomas Wilford. Carte, on the authority of Stowe says no tumults of any political character or serious nature had taken place, only some riotous apprentices having committed a few disorders. (71) Could such a commission, under such circumstances, have been issued in a country where the monarch was not absolute? Mr. Hallam, from comparing the facilities of the modern executive Government to suppress tumults, with the want of such facilities in Elizabeth’s time, is inclined to ascribe her inquisitorial watchfulness and harsh measures of prevention, to the weakness of her Government. To me it is manifest, that the length Elizabeth’s Government could go, considering the exceedingly small physical force it had at its command, is an undeniable proof of its moral strength. Why did men submit to have their lives taken away at pleasure? Plainly not from the fear of being overwhelmed by the military, for military there was none strictly speaking. The simple truth is, that resistance in ordinary cases, never entered their thoughts! Several reflections arising out of the facts I have enumerated, I should wish to communicate to those who do me the honor to read what I write; but having already encroached too much on your space, Mr. Editor, I must reserve what I have to say for another letter.

I am, &c.

A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

(66) Hal. vol. 1st p. 279.

(67) Hal. vol. 1st p. 281. From Birch’s memoirs of Elizabeth.

(68) Hal. vol. 1st p. 281.

(69) Hal. vol. 1st p. 281.

(70) Hal. vol. 1st pp. 252, 258. From Anderson’s reports &c.

(71) Hal. vol. 1st pp. 260, 261.

REMINISCENCES OF CAPTAIN DIDDLEY WAYWARD,

Of the Honorable Company's Pension Establishment.

No, no, Mr Scratch, the wickedness which your sanctimonious friends turn up their eyes at, is not in me, but in their own hearts. "To describe immoral and libertine practices with levity, is to treat modest readers with disrespect." Indeed, my dear Stenographer, the gentleman who tells you so is mistaken. Whatever is in my descriptions true to nature or fact, can be disrespectful to nobody. I must lament, in my turn, that so many of your acquaintances should carry magazines of sin in their breasts ready to explode when the least spark touches them. I seriously recommend a story to their attention which was originally told to reform the reprobate Irish. An irreclaimable drinker of Whisky getting at last saturated with the inflammable spirit, on blowing out the candle one night took fire and blazed like a tar barrel. How very full of the spirit of libertinism and immorality must those readers be, who are inflamed by the rushlight of Wayward's Reminiscences!

But what is the title page of our next discourse?

LUCKNOW IN THE LATE KING'S REIGN.—I know Lucknow only as a bird of passage. I was attracted to the court by the numerous prizes which were awarded and awarding some 18 years ago to persons of merit. Of this commodity, so universally valued in all parts of India, I had acquired a good deal in single combat with a terrible Goorkha, though, between the public and me, (as I told you last year) he happened to be dead before I encountered him. The severe wound, received in my hand while unwarily seizing the sword of the vanquished as a trophy, had shone in the *Government Gazette*, and I was then a hero among peaceful folks. Commander of Escorts, Aides-de-camp, Masters of the horse, and of other animals, had been appointed by His Majesty of Oude. Fame announced that a grand Falconer was in requisition, and panting for the honor of the office, with 3,000 rupees a month, I grew very sick of Regimental duty, and presently took Lucknow on my way to try a sea voyage for my recovery. Wherever a Resident is found, he holds the first place in the estimation of courtiers. Your Editor, though fierce enough in his advocacy of interference and ridicule of non-interference, does not seem to know the sphere of either in practical politics. Non-interference, rarely, if ever deviated from, permits a Native Sove-

reign to exercise his undoubted prerogative in serving himself as heir to the property of his subjects, whether dead or living, and in executing laws which he makes, alters, and revokes, according to circumstances, of which His Highness is sole judge. But the Resident or Political Agent's prerogative, officially called duty, which he seldom allows to be infringed, consists in shewing the Prince how to expend this branch of revenue and other monies, in suitable rewards to deserving persons, on festivities, and useful or agreeable things in general. The representatives of our Government in Foreign States, like their Honorable masters at home, are appointed to administer patronage, not to govern nations according to the pedantry of philosophers. Interference is therefore a dream of vain speculators. Indeed, it has hitherto been impossible in the sense understood by the worthy conductor of the *Delhi Gazette*. To interfere, as he would have them, gentlemen in the political line must have endowments and attainments for performing the functions of statesmen, which it is well known their acquaintances, three fourths of them have not possessed in the memory of man. The Governor General, in past and present times, has with few exceptions chosen men to represent him, who, not, having capacity to improve native rule, had no motive to meddle with it, while their proficiency in oriental languages made it evident to the people among whom they resided, that British officials were not intended by their own Government, any more than nature, for higher undertakings than the intrigues of a court.

Colonel Yeaandnay had at this time been Resident for a year or so at Lucknow. Though very anxious to learn something of his character, no one could tell me more about him than that he was a d——d clever fellow. The only evidence of his talents, again, appeared to be the Governor General's praise of him before a large company at Futtehghur, and the manner in which he was raised to political employ. His predecessor in the first Assistantship, a Medical Officer who had been a person of infinite merit while his brother reigned over Oude, was summarily dismissed afterwards by virtue of the standing order excluding *military* men from political and civil duties, and Yeaandnay a field officer, doubtless less *martial* than the Doctor, appointed in his stead. This marked preference, according to my informants, shewed the high

opinion which Government entertained of the Colonel.

I found him on my arrival embowered in a grove of silver sticks, receiving the bows of a crowd of Europeans and Natives who had come to breakfast. The Resident was playing the great man with all his might, which did not exclude much awkwardness. Having no conversation for his guests, he relieved his embarrassment by affecting to talk on business to the badged attendants who kept whispering in his ear, going and coming, with messages during the whole of the repast. He continued, when the meal was over, in close communication with his hookah alone, as long as I remained at my first visit. Perceiving that I could get nothing out of him beyond a scrape of the foot and a smile, I broke through rules before breakfast, and crossing the room where the whites were drawn up in exclusive array, and seating myself beside one who seemed chief of the blacks, made a most fortunate acquaintance. The Nawab was a man of rank, in rising favour with his Majesty, and just the person I wanted to talk with.

At his request the Resident allowed the King to give me the use of one of his furnished English houses: I was cordially received at my new friend's own residence, and subsequently took an excursion to teach him the art and mystery of shooting partridges flying. Falconry was not forgotten, but I soon discovered that the post of Grand Falconer, having been intended only for a certain *Seer Ool Yam*, at his own particular request, was ultimately refused for some reason and would not now be revived. The Nawab, I observed, had uniformly avoided with looks of alarm, to speak of the Resident when I mentioned him until we got fairly into the fields. Walls have ears, said he, and not a word is uttered to a European by any person about the Court which the Colonel does not hear. His spies are innumerable, and though his people have all been taken into our pay, I believe they betray us notwithstanding. We were now on such confidential terms that I could ask any thing. I inquired whether there was any real duty attached to the office of this high functionary. He does none, said my friend. At least he has just that connection with the business done here, that his hookah snake has with the tobacco smoke. When the King consults him about writing a friendly letter to another chief, farming a district, or even appointing a servant at his own court, this Resident has to *suck* the answer all the way from Calcutta, and then he *puffs* it out to His Majesty, after all his subjects have been

laughing at the delay. This makes the King feel ridiculous and every person dissatisfied. Colonel Baillie was a tyrant, and very insolent to men of rank, but we could get his orders in half an hour, and issue them in the name of the King without letting the people know who was master. But the new Colonel taking measures to learn even the most trifling and domestic occurrences through his emissaries, deters us from doing a single act, and will authorize nothing until we have waited twenty days for the Lord Governor's commands. On contemplating this extraordinary position of a Sovereign Prince and a whole nation, it struck me that I might serve both, and myself too.

When I suggested the possibility of getting the Resident removed and a more agreeable person appointed, the Nawab was filled with delight. When I mentioned the probability of my having a private interview with the Governor General at an early date, he said I was the sole hope of Oude. When I frankly offered under such pressing circumstances to carry a royal message to His Lordship's private ear, the faithful courtier seemed commissioned to give me one half of the kingdom if I would obtain for his sovereign a decent share in the management of the remainder. To repay this gentleman for his magnificent reward to be, I was not parsimonious in my predictions of success to the secret mission. An audience and some confidential conversation with the King, before receiving my credentials, where what I next suggested as indispensable. To this demand the Nawab demurred with a dispairing shake of the head. How dare His Majesty speak to you, said he, without first telling the Resident what he will say? It is impossible!

Here I began to suspect my excellent friend of having a design on me in his own behalf, and of naturally desiring to keep the negotiation in his own hands. But this was partly a mistake. On casting about to find some hole or crevice by which I might creep through the line of circumvallation, that the astute representative of the British Government had drawn round the poor King; I learnt that each had a spy over it. There is positively no admittance for you, the Nawab continued, but the Colonel still respects the zenana and if you have a wife she may get to the presence of the Shah Begum, and that Princess will communicate with His Majesty. Ha! replied I, you will insure free admission to a European lady? certainly, was the rejoinder. And suppose the King in the asylum of purity, this fair visitor might see him I presume. No doubt, quoth the Nawab smiling, if the lady do not object. Well, rejoined I, thou

light of the state, between ourselves, I having no wife, will personate one dressed in the most perfect costume, and His Majesty, if he enter into the plot, can easily clear a corner room of the female apartments where we may hold a conference without disturbing the regular inmates. On perceiving the drift of this proposal, he embraced my knees and then uttered fifty interjections of admiration: "such wisdom! such wisdom! Hindostanees are nought to this man!"

Arranging with the Nawab to prepare his master for this interview, I set off on a visit to a friend in the cantonment, who was a zealous performer of female characters on the Amateur stage, and bespoke the dress of Miss Lucretia McTab for the part which I was going to act. Next day all was ready for the rise of the curtain, and the commencement of my new Drama. Repairing to the Nawab's house in my regimentals, I put on Miss Lucretia's clothes and muffled myself up in a shawl. My worthy coadjutor had not only removed all human eyes from my toilet, but caused a set of bearers to put down a lady's palankeen in a solitary court with orders to depart, and when summoned again to carry it to the zenana of the King's palace. This being the way in which his own female relatives paid visits, it precluded all suspicion. Meanwhile the Nawab set off to prepare for my reception with proper respect at the destined place, and I stole forth to the vehicle. I started back on finding it occupied by an old, fat, yet wrinkled beldam, whose eyes retaining much of their youth turned upon me with strange looks of waggery, as she demanded tauntingly if I were afraid of a woman. "No, mistress, not particularly, but where is my conveyance?" "Conveyance! is not this it?" "Indeed, am I to be boxed up there, in such dangerous company?" "Wah! wah! come behind me, there is plenty of room for you, and without I sit before here, who is to answer the sentinels and eunuchs when they ask questions?" In I went in rear of the old woman, who closed the doors, called the bearers, and we were off in a second. The Hag's voice proved a very necessary pass-port; and shut up from seeing one intervening object, I soon found myself landed in a corridor where the Nawab was waiting.

I knew the King from having seen him do penance frequently at dinner in the Residency and his own house. He was now sitting on a carpet provided with cushions smoking a calceon. It would be idle, and perhaps cruel, to pourtray the feebleness and vacuity of mind which characterised that poor Prince. Corrupt associates and early mis-

usage had obliterated the instinct of right and wrong in his nature, so, that brought up in the grossest ignorance, he really possessed no faculty to guide him. My grotesque and absurd dress exciting neither surprise nor interest, he desired us to sit down beside him, and motioned my companion to enter on business. The King assented to every thing proposed, and then began to drivel at great length on his wrongs.

He had imagined that in making him a Padshah the Governor General meant to give him all the absolute power associated with the title. Instead of that, said he, in a fretful rage, he degrades me in his address, he has made the other Princes mock me, and I am ashamed to look my own people in the face, and they jest at me because I am called King and cannot reward my friends and punish my enemies without asking leave of the Resident. Here the King of Oude began to cry and blubber, declaring that his only hopes of justice rested on Heaven and Diddler Wayward.

I tried in vain to persuade him that our nobles did not take bribes in hard cash which it was proposed to remit through the resident Vakeel, but he finally yielded to my scruples, and as the Governor General had presented him with a crown on his elevation, he might, I intimated now, that His Lordship had lately been raised a grade in nobility, beg his acceptance of a new coronet which I described. For the making of this emblem of the peerage, I was allowed 50,000 rupees. My salary as secret ambassador was fixed at 5,000 a month, with unlimited wealth in prospect if I succeeded. Honxies were, at my particular request, written on the spot, one for 3 months allowance in advance was payable in Calcutta at sight, but the Nawab, by treachery to me, made the one for the coronet payable 51 days after date.

My visit to the Palace in Lucretia McTab's attire was well timed. The Resident then surveyed the cantonment almost daily to enjoy, among other pleasures, the music of thirteen guns which were duly fired to proclaim his entrance and exit. All the chuprassies being summoned to attend him, those who were wont to wait at my door and to precede me wheresoever I went, in testimony of their master's vigilance over the welfare of his guest, had disappeared with the Colonel from the Residency, before I set out, and the second salute warned me to escape from the royal presence in order to get home ere the great man returned. When he entered, I was sitting like one who had been kicking his heels for an hour to have the

honour of an audience. I thanked him with all possible gravity for his "polite attention," and taking leave started by dāk for Calcutta. The best way of travelling in that part of the country is not to trouble Post-masters, but to jingle three rupees or less at each stage, and trust to providence for bearers.

About the latitude of Patna I met a traveller from the Presidency, who suggested that we should take some refreshment under a Burgot or Banian tree, near an excellent well. This was an elderly officer with strong claims on Government on account of services. After running the gauntlet, as he said, of all the offices, he had been dismissed without the appointment which he had expected. I know you to be a distinguished young officer, observed he, and you naturally hope for some reward, so I will just tell you what kind of persons you have to deal with, in soliciting the Governor General for justice or favour. Not one in the A. G.'s department has the least influence, though, they are ashamed to acknowledge their insignificance. Three or four intriguing secretaries disposed off every thing. Each of these, striving to be paramount, jealous of the rest, and unless you can conciliate all, which is next to impossible, the strongest claims will avail you nothing. That is discouraging, said I, applying myself to a *Goorgooree* or portable Hookah. Do you know the *Minister at War*? rejoined my intelligencer. We have drank wine together. Well, propitiate him, for he will certainly keep an eye on you. He looks on all military men as his subjects, and strains every nerve to bring condign punishment on the disloyal. He somehow reckons your two generals who beat the Goorkhas, among the disaffected to his authority, so beware of praising them. Of course he has nothing to do with the Political line, said I, how are affairs managed in that department? Dont trust to that, replied my friend, a subject cannot throw off his allegiance, and the war minister exercises dominion over the military wherever they go. Mr. Secretary Pigville and he are often at loggerheads on that point. Pigville? why he is a subordinate. No matter, he is the intriguing patron of his office, and being also chief of the Persian department, he considers all Native Courts under him, and consequently all those residing at them. I see, observed I, that both have a right of property in military men in Political appointments, and boundary disputes naturally occur. Yes, and when you have adjusted them, Don Pomposo, the conscience keeper, who claims the whole patronage of the state, will be sure to upset the hopes of any poor devil who is guilty of approaching the

nominal fountain-head through either of the other two.

Chewing the cud on this traveller's counsel, I digested it while jolting along to the Presidency. My first care, on arriving, was to report myself to the Adjutant General in writing, and to proceed in person to the War-office. The Minister, who unites in his character the attributes of Wellington and Chesterfield, in pretty equal proportions, received me with remarkable courtesy. He hoped that my wound had not caused the journey I was taking in quest of health. This inquiry enabled me to enter on business sooner, than could have been excepted. Your campaigns have made a great noise in the world you see, Mr. Wayward, added he, in a familiar tone. Yes, replied I, as if assenting out of complaisance, and I rejoice at anything which raises the army in public estimation: but, I shall not affect, in the presence of one who is capable of scrutinizing their merits, to think that the *Generals* deserve the praise they have got. Indeed! cried he, repressing some exultation, I fear Mr. Wayward, you differ in opinion with your commanders? That may be my misfortune, Sir, but though I did my best to obey orders, I was not convinced that the best were always given. We now commenced a critical analysis of the campaigns in which I had served, and I flatter myself, made the heroes of Malown and Camoan look very small. We summed up separately. To compare petty skirmishes among crags and bushes, I ejaculated, to such splendid actions as the battle of Dieg, (where the name of *Absorption* acquired its first lustre,) is a burlesque on war, and a real injustice to men who have had a part in achieving great services. Between ourselves, concluded the minister, I might agree with you out of office, though Government has found it necessary for the present to make MOUNTAINS OF MOLE HILLS. The peroration of his remarks was an invitation to dinner.

Seeing that judicious use of the traveller's advice had obtained a place for me in the minister's affections, I begged to be allowed the liberty of consulting him about the propriety of executing a delicate commission with which I had been entrusted by a Native Prince. The servants were bundled out of the rooms, and the door of the outer office was shut close in a twinkling.

I gave my attentive auditor a luminous view of the state of politics at Lucknow and the King's wishes. After leading him on to see things precisely as I did, I remarked that surely a person who gave so little satisfaction as Yeaandnay, though he belonged to

the army, could not have been recommended by *your excellency* (I said by mistake) I mean its virtual head. You do me no more than justice, bare justice, replied the minister. I expressed my surprize that Government should ever select military men for political duties without the approbation of the only functionary who had a right to judge of their qualifications. To this he answered very kindly, that some men of higher station had not my good sense.

I then learnt from the minister how much his proud spirit scorned indirect measures and jealousy of others, but as certain officials were very unlike him, I must conciliate them if I expected to discharge the obligation imposed on me by the unhappy King, whose sole dependence was on Heaven and me. He accordingly counselled that I should in the first place, wait on Don Pomposo the conscience-keeper, and without mentioning my conference at the War-office, beg him to ascertain whether the Governor General would approve of my delivering a private message to His Lordship from the King of Oude. Carefully avoiding the unpoliteness of leading a man of Pomposo's influence to imagine that he was not my original and sole guide, after putting the business in train through him, I was to pay Mr Secretary Pigville a similar compliment, by humbly asking his commands whether to keep or break my word to an unfortunate and distressed Prince. In return for so much urbanity, my patron anticipated nothing less than ready compliance with the petition I had to prefer. But whatever might occur, I got a hint to come back with the answers of both Secretaries, in order to receive further counsel. The light of Chesterfield now began to shine upon me through the lessons of his disciple.

Here was I, fresh from the Mofussul Jungles, about to serve myself and effect a revolution in Oude, by permitting two rulers of the land, in the very city of Palaces, to indulge their own self-love: and I confided the more in my new preceptor's advice from having by instinct, before it was given, won him over by practising the same accomplishments on himself that he recommended for the mollification of his rivals.

Perceiving from this example, that simplicity of character is inseparable from true greatness, I did not despair of making each of the other functionaries an exclusive and directing patron too, unknown to the rest. Still the interests of the embassy entrusted to me, and other considerations required that I should have no confident among the great about my salary, already paid a quarter in advance, or the coronet, for which I

forbore to draw the handsome allowance lest prying intriguers might discover the secrets of royalty and its representative incognito.

My nerves grew unsteady as I approached the presence of the great Pomposo. I had indeed been on escort duty in the Governor General's Camp, so that the conscience-keeper and I knew each other well enough. But the experienced are aware that the Mahratta Ditch derives its waters from the ancient Lethe, and even a Company's servant cannot pass that mysterious bourne without becoming oblivious of faces once familiar to him in the rest of the country. I did not therefore count on recognition from one of those royal birds of passage who come here like Irish Reapers, to cut down the harvest, and return like poor Paddy, with all they have gleaned on their backs. Besides, I had discovered no anchorage or moorings for me in the man's nature. In common with all gentlemen holding office in the City of Palaces, he was a person of transcendent abilities which, however, had not developed themselves except in the art of singing. He delighted to exhibit a fine person to the public, and had, at various concerts in the Town Hall, made his throat discourse sounds so exquisite, that they overpowered the poetry of the best songs, and put the ladies of Calcutta in raptures. Having a foolish prejudice against this accomplishment, I could never believe that one who made it the glory of his life, had understanding which would be visible to any body a 100 paces from the Black-hole. This error prevented me from learning the technical terms used by "vocalists" which might have proved talismans to Pomposo's favour. In this mood, despising him at a distance yet palpitating with doubt on coming near, I entered the anti-room of the dispenser of patronage.

There, I found several persons of rank and a miscellaneous crowd waiting in humble expectation of an audience of the conscience-keeper. The first who caught my eye was a military Baronet, whose brother long purveyed Royal bounty at Saint James's. He said nothing of his business. Three big looking senior merchants had come to unite in petitioning against "the cruelty and injustice" of removing a brother civilian from the Presidency to a better appointment in the Mofussul. A provincial Doctor was beating up for witnesses to prove to men in power that Kotghur and Camaon were not contiguous, like Fort William and Calcutta. He had got a conditional promise of the charge of some proposed sanatorium on Kotghur, but the Secretary to the Medical Board, as an econo-

mical measure, had recommended that he should hold his appointment in commendum with the medical care of the Camoan Provincial battalion, and the Military Secretary having approved this union of duties, the astounded Doctor was about to make a desperate appeal to Don Pomposo against their deficiency in geographical knowledge. It may be thought that I could have assisted him. But I was too polite to contradict one of the parties accused of ignorance, and had moreover a lively recollection of being once refused a sick certificate by the appellant in this case. So I shook my head, and enjoyed the vexation which he could not conceal at the cause of his disappointment.

After sitting from 11, the hour at which attendance had been commanded, till about one o'clock, I was admitted into the presence chamber.

Behind a small writing table, which elegantly bisected without concealing his person, appeared the handsome countenance and hyperion curls of Don Pomposo. His showy martial dress, thrown open in front, and adorned with masses of bullion streaming their golden rays over both shoulders, harmonised with the ruddy velvet of a writing desk before him. A yellowish looking *morah* of lighter colour than the floor cloth, supported one foot covered with a slipper of yet lighter hue, which blended the whole with the Kersemere inexpressibles and vest. As if to add an oriental attribute to the picture, a superb hookah snake, rearing its glittering coils in the back ground, undulated forward until the head of the python seemed held in the grasp of an Indian Apollo. His hair appeared to have just escaped from paper durance, but I was assured by wiser persons that it owed its ringlets and gloss entirely to Kalydor and Macassar. He had a sort of olive complexion, and the Spanish or oriental eye, which poets and novelists admire so highly.

To this paragon of comeliness and dress, I now presented myself, with lint white locks falling naturally over my ears, and a very good, though short nose, a little turned up at the point, to which the small pox had given a decided character. My grenadier coat, of silver and buff, having been made by Govind Doss of Moradabad, had elbows in the sleeves two inches by computation farther down than the joints of the wearer. The pantaloons which the same artist provided, bagged considerably at the knees where a superfluity of cloth had left some deficiency in longitude, so that, when I was buttoned to the throat, sworded and sashed for exhibition, my linen protruded at times above the waistband. The

scene recalling my instructor in manners, a French *professor of the dance*, I made one of his bows by drawing up the left foot to the right, and then countermarched the right to the left when asked to take a chair. You are from the provinces, Sir, I perceive, said he, bending towards a heap of cards, and adding Major Scamper, I presume? Lieutenant Wayward, Sir, I wear two epaulets as belonging to a flank company. Have I the honour to see you on a visit, Mr. Wayward, or do you come on business? I am desirous only of paying my respects to you at present, Sir, but since you put the question, I may now state my anxiety to consult you at a convenient time on an affair of consequence, though perhaps I am not entitled to intrude it on you as business. 'Tis the same thing to me, he replied, this occasion may answer as well as any other. A Native Prince, Sir, (I began when thus encouraged.) the King of Oude, believing himself much aggrieved, has importuned me to make an appeal for justice in his name, direct to you. The prescribed channel through which His Majesty ought to complain to the Governor-General, is the Resident, I am aware, but it is unhappily with the conduct of that Officer that the King is most dissatisfied. Considering this a private interview, I would beg your commands whether to communicate the whole of the message, or to desist from what may appear to you an irregular proceeding on my part. Here Don Pomposo, changing his attitude from the graceful to the sublime, with excellent effect, observed, that, if the subordinates of the Government wronged or oppressed the princes of the country, it was his duty to hear their representations, and find them redress; so, under rather extraordinary circumstances, thinking I might be excused, he permitted me to state what I had been directed to say to him. The conscience-keeper listened patiently to the afflictions of royalty, and the poor Monarch's wish to be his own master, and to have a more agreeable Resident at his Court. But after pausing he commenced a rather solemn interrogation. Pray, Mr. Wayward, has the King of Oude entrusted you with any letter to me on the subject? Certainly not, Sir, he dare not in his present position commit himself by furnishing a written document. Then fixing his dark capacious eyes full on mine: surely, said Pomposo, he could not employ you to speak to me about his affairs, without sending some token. There was no emphasis on *token*, yet I probably gaped at the sound of the word, and remember well saying inwardly—can this confounded mansinger have got scent of the hoondies and coronet? No, answered I, shak-

ing off my embarrassment, His Majesty has sent none: though he eagerly desired to transmit some acknowledgment of his high consideration for you whom he identifies with the Governor-General. And pray, may I inquire, who prevented him? was the rejoinder. I beg pardon, Sir, for not making myself understood. The King wanted, according to oriental fashion to make certain presents to his Lordship, and doubtless to you, on soliciting a favour, but I, knowing that you would be seriously displeased if I presumed to receive them for you, without first getting orders. *Presents?* said Don Pomposo with deep gravity. Yes, Sir, he cannot throw off native prejudices. When I explained the prohibition against Company's servants taking any thing of value, His Majesty seemed to think that it did not apply to one placed above them in the service of his own Sovereign.

He now smoked for the space of 3 minutes without speaking. Then laying down the hookah and resting his clasped hands on the writing desk, Don Pomposo was pleased to observe that I had conducted myself with much judgment and prudence under very trying circumstances. It is a case of unwarrantable oppression, continued he. The Resident is positively forbidden to interfere with the King of Oude: but though he may observe the letter of his instructions, he violates the spirit of them by keeping His Majesty under *surveillance* and intimidation. In submitting his complaints to me, Mr. Wayward, you have done what you ought, to vindicate the character of your country. But you could not, perhaps, avoid offending the unfortunate Prince in one particular, and may unintentionally have led him to distrust my inclination to listen to his representations. It is considered an incivility, you are aware, to refuse presents from a Native of rank. And as the King seems to understand the scope of the order which prohibits Company's Officers from receiving valuables without permission, I regret that you did not comply with the whole of his wishes and leave it to me, in returning the *Souvenirs* or any trifles in token of friendship from him, to explain my own reasons for declining to accept them. However, I thank you for what you have done. You are further at liberty to communicate my sentiments to His Majesty, telling him that presents are not necessary to secure my good offices in his favour: I take the will for the deed as to what he offered to transmit through you, or, as we say in Hindoo, *Dilse Kabool hy*.

He then spoke *aside*, in the frank tone of a brother soldier, remarking that as I belonged in person to the War Minister, and my

business to Mr. Secretary Pigville, I might shew proper attention to their official station by advertizing my intention to solicit a private interview of the Governor General, though there was no necessity, and as a person of my discretion must perceive, it might be imprudent, to let them know what I had to say.

While I was preparing an eloquent reply, Don Pomposo rising from his seat, extended his hand with the most affable shake, and wished me good morning. He had descended suddenly from the stilts, I would say, the sublimities of office, not to the ridiculous but to the captivating, in gentlemanly courtesy, without the least abruptness of transition. I was really charmed, and I scarcely retained presence of mind to obtain his assurance that he would put the business in train, and recall me soon to learn the result. I went home with a heart singing for joy that my diplomatic talents, besides being so highly praised in the cause of distressed royalty, had got me a second patron greater and better than the first.

The two distinguished patrons whom I had already secured, it will have been observed, were not, as the simple public might suppose, servants whose limited duty it was to receive and obey orders. By no means. In their own opinion they had the initiative in all measures, like his Britannic Majesty's Secretaries of State, and consented merely for form's sake, to act in the name of a nominal superior. Expecting to find in Mr. Secretary Pigville another of the same, I now prepared to profess exclusive submission to his guidance as I had had done so successfully to each of the rest. After thus gaining over the three leading intriguers and dispensers of power, my object it will be remembered, was to neutralize the opposition of a couple of them, and then to make choice of the third as the fittest instrument to obtain "justice" for the King of Oude, and thereby to fill my coffers from the overflowing fountain of His Majesty's gratitude.

From the office which Mr. Pigville held, I had no doubt of his being an accomplished orientalist. In preparing myself for an interview with him, therefore, I got by heart three quotations from Hafiz, ditto from Ferdusi, and several scraps out of Sadi, and the Koran, ready to spout at the shortest notice. None of them proved of any use. When I entered the court before his house, the Secretary was standing at an upper window, or if I recollect in an upper veranda, with a bunch of plantains in his hand, which he threw one by one, making a short speech each time, to a gigantic

Oorang Outang that looked up to him in a very intelligent manner. This gentleman of Borneo was evidently one with whom it behoved suitors to be on friendly terms. So laying aside the Arabic and Persian, and catching the name given to the creature, Salam Maharajah, said I, advancing and shaking hands with it. I was politely received by the monkey, with a grin which extended itself in sympathetic cacklings to the faces of servants and master. How I lamented my want of foreknowledge! Instead of conning oriental nonsense, I might have come charged with choice observations from Linneus' system of nature, and all that Buffon has written on the Simious tribes. I did not omit, however, to examine the fore-paws, fingers, and thumbs, and to measure the facial angle of Maharajah, in the most approved manner. Taking leave of the Monkey, I sent my card upstairs, and was immediately admitted to Mr. Pigville without any parade. He began conversation by observing that I was fond of natural history, and on being duly answered in the affirmative with a comment or two on the rare and interesting specimen at the door, he gave me an account of the capture of his monkey. I trotted him out until I got its complete biography. I then expressed a hope that he would not lose the valuable opportunity enjoyed by him of settling certain doubtful points which philosophers had left undecided, relative to the monkey's place in the scale of being. At this his countenance brightened into a look of anxiety to know what I alluded to. Seeing that I had his Hobby by the bridle, I assumed as certain the regular gradation of living things from a vegetable filament to the highest of the brute creation, and shewed that the link connecting the series with man, still unknown, would be a discovery which must make the author of it immortal—the Newton in fact of animated nature. And do you think, said Mr. Pigville, very eagerly, that Maharajah is the link? He seems a monkey of the first talents, replied I, and there is reason to believe that if he do not possess the whole of the rational faculties, they may at least be developed in his offspring: for I need not mention to you that, both mental and physical qualities are now ascertained to be hereditary and progressive in all animals. Indeed: I was of course aware of these facts before, Mr. Wayward, but I confess you place them in a new light. Have you ever met with any extraordinary instance of sagacity in the inferior monkeys of this country, that you augur so much from this Oorang Outang and his progeny? I recorded various instances of the wisdom of the race, which indicated

memory and imagination, crowning them with the story of the French Ape that cracked walnuts by applying the principle of gravitation. This philosophic quadruped seeing a tile fall from a house and break some bottles placed a walnut, too strong for its teeth, at the foot of a wall and tumbled down a stone on it from the top, so as to crack the shell and get at the kernel. Here all the faculties of the human mind, including judgment, the highest of them were put in requisition by one inferior in pedigree to Maharajah, who besides belonging to a more intelligent class of the tribe, had a facial angle that promised whatever his admirers could wish. In short nothing but such an education, as his owner could so well bestow, appeared wanting to elevate my friend at the door, or at all events his first-born, to equality with an average Bengalee in understanding. This delighted him amazingly. The Secretary entreated me to put my thoughts on monkey education on paper that he might give them the consideration they deserved. I hope, continued he, I shall have the pleasure of conversing with you further on this most interesting and really important subject. What stay do you make at the Presidency? So opportune an occasion to introduce my business was not lost. As in consulting his colleagues, I expressed regret at the mission being imposed on me by a suffering Prince, and simply begged advice whether to comply with the King's wishes or not. I did not like the surprise and scepticism with which Mr. Pigville listened to what took so well with the other great men. He could not conceive the possibility of His Majesty asking a favour, except through his office: and sent for several natives who, with their usual tact, confirmed all his imaginings. I apparently succeeded in reconciling him to my secret embassy by laying indirectly great stress on its being solely to himself, as the constituted adviser of Government, and from a Sovereign placed in circumstances which deterred him from trusting his sentiments to paper lest the Resident should discover it, and treat him more severely than ever. Unlike the other two, he was not above recognising the superiority of the Governor General, and consented to submit the business to his consideration. His Lordship, however, was busy then, and if I could delay my request for a private audience fifteen or twenty days, I might expect a more patient hearing. This was all I wanted, provided the Secretary did not in the mean time enter a caveat against me. The suggestion for delay struck me as being connected with his desire to benefit by my knowledge in educating Maharajah, a subject to which he reverted before I took leave.

I had subsequently conversations with Mr. Secretary Pigville on various other topics, on which he appeared equally at home. That is to say, beyond a vigilant guardianship of the patronage of his office and personal gratifications, he troubled himself about great affairs and things in general as little as any man in Calcutta. He was what is called a brain sucker, a sort of intellectual leech, too indolent to read or think, who drew what information he could from the natives and unconscious visitors, that he might at convenient seasons disgorge it on the council and the Scientific Journals. Thus he got credit for vast knowledge, and prodigious modesty which made him confide it to others for publication, instead of revealing it to the world under his own name. Not satisfied with giving him many new ideas of the interior, and of the many throned powers which he governed, I imprudently corrected his geography and reduced some states from a mighty space, which they held in his imagination, to their actual dimensions. For instance, on hearing of my sojourn at Saugor, he asked how much Salt might be manufactured annually from the waters of the lake. The context of our discourse left no room for a mistake of the word, so I abruptly said he must mean *Sambur* in Rajpootana where salt was deposited naturally from the water of a lake, that of Saugor being fresh. On another occasion the Secretary alluded, in rather a mysterious way, to the negligence of a certain local functionary who had allowed Europeans to enter the service of the Rajah of Alwar and to discipline a formidable army with which the British Forces in the Upper Provinces might be unable to cope in case of a rupture. I happened to know that the two boys, whose father was called the Macherry Rajah in Lord Lake's time, were then under the tutelage of Ahmed Buksh Khan, a Jageerdar of the Company, who had entertained a few discharged drummers and dressed about fifty of the Alwar Najeeds in sepoy's cast-off coats. I doubted if the principality could muster 5,000 tag, rag, and bobtail fit to stand a volley from one battalion of our Native Infantry. Excuse me, said Mr. Pigville confidently, and called in a rascal of a Hindoostanee who, contradicting me flatly, affirmed that the Alwar Rajah was not the Macherry Rajah, and that he had a lakh of drilled horse, foot, and artillery commanded by *Sahib-log*. I saw my error when too late, but as he did not exult over me I got off cheap at the time.

Let me here caution all young friends who visit the City of Palaces, to beware of the fatal ambition of appearing clever. It is there a word of similar omen to one's hopes of an

appointment, as was *Philosophé* at the Tuileries in the reign of the restored Bourbons, and *Radical* in Downing Street while George the Fourth lived. The practice which I had adopted of sharpening my wits for a little exhibition on particular occasions, now gave colour to the calumny, and I afterwards suffered the penalty, though innocent of the crime of cleverness. But as it is an offence against both person and property within the Maharatta Ditch, it will be of service to ignorant Mofussulites to expound the principles of the law that makes it penal.

In those days the Honorable Company having a legal monopoly of trade, salt, opium, and raw silk, their Secretaries of State in Calcutta were with equal justice entitled to that of all the talents East of the Cape, which did not then compromise Dantzig. Hence any person but the monopolists, convicted of having the commodity in his possession, was deservedly *exchequered* and treated like Alderman Waltham, who suffered to the amount of £3000 for illicitly owning a Bandana handkerchief. The necessity for such restrictions is also evident to the unprejudiced. The Court of Directors have often declared their inability to govern India, and so might their Secretaries to hold office, without their respective monopolies. Gentlemen who grow up in one spot performing one round of duties from youth to middle age, with an official importance attached to their situations, being soon able to reduce their functions to formalities which they do not need any abilities to get through, can dispense with those personal acquisitions and exertions of mind from which humbler people gain consequence among the vulgar. But for the same reason that a Captain, however worthy, cannot command a Major, a Secretary, if nature or accident have made him deficient, cannot conveniently rule the rest of his countrymen and the 100,000,000, unless superior talents be conferred on him by law. I do not find any clause in the new charter which deprives our functionaries of any of their rights and privileges. Let me, therefore, solemnly conclude by warning all "clever," "talented," and "able" persons not in office that they are indictable under the black hole act for possessing contraband property.

I now presented myself again at the War-Office, to report progress in the cause of distressed royalty. Having been piously brought up, the respect which I always pay to truth cannot have escaped the notice of my friends. Knowing from my lessons in mathematics, that the whole of any thing, whether a figure of matter or speech, includes all its parts, I could conscientiously take credit with the

minister for obeying his commands, or following his advice as he said in his gentleness, though it may be remembered that I did rather more business than he suggested with the other two guardians of the state. Every simple youth, when addressing a gentleman of exalted station, must feel the want of an English word to express his dignity in the third person. The repetition of *Sir* is awkward; and to say *you*, looks like the presumption of claiming equality. To supply at once a defect in the language and the wisdom of Government, I called my patron *His Excellency*, which, after a disclamation or two, when I committed the mistake at our first interview, he kindly suffered me to use without reproof. I hope not to appear vain, in saying that my proceedings with Messrs Pomposo and Pigville, as detailed in the abridged narrative now submitted to him, obtained the marked approbation of the War minister, who, no doubt, experienced the satisfaction of an able General when he sees his orders well executed. It will be understood that I had not the rudeness to trouble him with an account of the matters irrelevant to his injunctions, which were discussed by his ambitious rivals and me. He thought it might be in his power to lessen the delay which Mr. Pigville deemed proper, but desired me not to be impatient, and if I wanted occupation in the meantime, my services might be useful in the War Office. "In your office!" cried I with delighted surprise, jumping thoughtlessly out of plain English, *sublimi feriam sidera vertice*.

No Persian under me! said the minister, smiling, but in the tone of one used to command.

The first duty assigned to me was the superintendence of a grammar in the G. O. G. and I may safely appeal to all constant readers of the Gazette and orderly book, whether I did not perform it more diligently than my successors have done. Neither did a single bull, solecism, or bit of "half caste English" bring on my patron the disrespectful notice of pedants, while I presided over this department. Indeed, I gave such satisfaction at the time that I was presently honoured with the additional employment of drafting secret dispatches to Colonel Trout of Leadenhall Street, and suggesting "wholesome retrenchments" to the ex-mutineer and delegate of the protesters against reduction. It is totally false, however, that we then recommended the Half Batta order. On the contrary, that foul measure, having been adopted without our leave, deserved the opposition which it met with in the War-office, when opposition was too late, because it did

not originate there. I, like my betters, being an infantry officer, never wished to cut the allowances of my brethren: and who in my place would have drawn a pen to humiliate those with whom *Absorption* himself had served and shone as a comrade? I took care to have more current information of the sentiments of my patron in chief. The letter which I indited grammatically, and copied fair for signature before my sudden resignation, showed merely how a material saving might be effected without exciting a murmur in the "great body of the army," by abolishing the contracts then held by Cavalry Officers for their troops, and by Surgeons for medicines. There was a hint or two also on the overpayment of the clergy. I proved, with good logic as well as grammar, that Doctors and Parsons, being always commanded by the military, were of inferior caste and ought consequently to have less instead of more pay. The grand measure of economy, however, recommended in this document, was one to do away with the appointment of Commander-in-Chief and annex the duties of it to the War Office. But though no increase of salary was proposed for this augmentation of labour, the Minister, through excessive modesty, expunged the suggestion on second thoughts lest envious persons might imagine him solicitous of more power.

Continuing to rise in favour, I got other employments. Among these the confidential situation of reporter on the conduct of Officers on leave at the Presidency, enabled me to oblige friends and bring disagreeable persons to a sense of their errors. The most conspicuous offender proved to be the non-certifying Doctor whom I had seen in Don Pomposo's anti-room. I found on inquiry that so far from waiting frequently on my patron, as became him, this person had not paid his respects at all, and what greatly aggravated such contumacy, he kept company with certain obnoxious functionaries. He appeared further, after being disappointed of a witness to prove the existence of space between Camaon and Kotghur, to have trusted, as required by the written orders of Government, to an application for the recognition of some claims and another appointment, through the principal Private Secretary. My patron dreaded the influence and entertained no liking for the character of that official. It was my duty to bring these accumulating enormities to the notice of the minister, who received the information just in time to find out that the Doctor had carried his point in the Judicial Department, without his leave, at a Council held on Friday. It will give an idea of my

patron's eloquence when I add that, unprepared with a single argument which an ordinary man could make intelligible, he made the same Council on Tuesday reverse the decision which they had gravely passed and allowed to be communicated, four days before. The Doctor having by this time laid his dāk to go fully 1000 miles up the country, and paid, and thus lost a rupee (in those days) for every mile, I participated in this excellent joke at his expense, for it will be remembered, I owed him a grudge. The minister, however, went further than I contemplated. The poor disappointed fellow had held a situation, of Medical Store-keeper (I believe,) for two years, a good while previous to these occurrences. My patron, perceiving a flaw in this old appointment, got an order of government to deprive the disloyal Doctor of four thousand rupees, by a retrospective retrenchment of the remuneration for duties actually performed. I really stood aghast at this signal punishment of disaffection to power *de facto*. The sufferer whether taking fright or pet at the treatment he met with, demanded his passports, and went home to England.

The awkward part of this business occurred afterwards. The Minister had to pay back, which no great man any more than Falstaff likes to do. I do not mean to him whom we meant to mulet and mortify. No; that individual's friends appealed in vain and he never recovered a rupee. But after he had sailed, another medical officer, untainted with contumacy to the War-office and allegiance to civil authority, shewed clearly that the rebel, being otherwise employed, had transferred the charge of the stores and the whole of the salary to him, who would accordingly be the sole sufferer if the Minister continued relentless. But the great man had bowels for a dutiful claimant, and actually made the pliant council give the 4000 rupees to this private deputy unrecognized by any public act, after they had mercilessly taken the money from the only person authorized to draw it, and refused to reconsider his case.

I had now run a brilliant career of five weeks and some days in the City of Palaces. My oldest creditors had ceased to dun, and commenced their offers of new loans. Casting away the Moradabad uniform, I shone in one of the prime Cossitollah cut. Messrs. Tulloh and Co. supplied me with a superb curricule, and a pair of sprightly bay Arabs to sport on the course. Finding that all youths who coveted distinction, exhibited their persons on the stage, I joined the amateurs of "our Chowringhee Drury." As the degree of favour in which I stood with the Great had

not fully transpired, my success was but moderate at first. I took care, however, to advertize my pretensions soon, by holding a long conversation with Don Pomposo in his box during the acting of a play that preceded the farce in which I was to have a part. My subsequent appearance, as Jeremy Diddler, drew forth much flattering commendation, before I had time to speak. It increased apace, but I reserved my powers for the breakfast scene, knowing that as the climate of the fatal ditch denies an appetite to those it surrounds, the ability to eat well is reckoned a high accomplishment among them. Peel after peel of applause rose from boxes, while I sat buttering and masticating rolls. My hunger of creature-comforts and fame was fairly satisfied for the night. But the delighted beauty and fashion of Calcutta next set up a vociferous "*encore!*" "*More breakfast for Diddler!*" "*Encore Jeremy! encore!*" Urged on by this second call to glory, I prolonged the new repast amidst reiterated plaudits, until I felt my midriff cracking and my paunch large enough for Falstaff.

This marked approbation was certainly premature. I had yet no right to it, nor to the appellation of "clever fellow," which now got attached to my name: for, it will be recollected that, I was only officiating, acting, or as Natives say, had but one foot (*ek tung*) in office; and no body ought to have talents of any sort before he is gazetted or regularly installed in a good appointment, within Job Charnock's domain. Hence I, though innocent, suffered for bearing the contraband title. Mr. Pigville's early suspicions were confirmed. He postponed the education of his monkey, and shrunk from me into urbane stolidity. Pomposo resumed his stilts, and fixed his eyes on mine as when he asked for "token" and got none. The Minister at War appeared unchanged, but gave me a piece of disagreeable duty to execute, which I considered out of my line. I was directed to make inquiry into the life and conversation of a Staff Officer, at a distant station, who had been reported, Heaven knows how, or by whom, to live above his income.* As the necessary information could not be obtained publicly, my instructions were to write *private* and *confidential* letters, under my patron's frank, to persons likely to know most on the subject. I knew the man thus suspected of deserving to lose preferment. He had received it for services in the field: and though one "ready to hail the wine cup as the fight," too fond perhaps of hearing the chimes at mid-night; he was not a person to do any thing unbecoming a gentleman. After reflecting on these facts,

I held inward colloquy with myself on the motives of the Minister in confiding such an investigation to me. A gallant and distinguished Officer, high in office, quoth I, cannot seriously mean to make a head spy of his friend and Brother Officer. No, no: he proposes it merely to try my virtue; just to ascertain that I am above such vile doings, and then to give me a place worthy of my merits. Accordingly I got into heroics, on mature calculation, of virtue being for once something more than its own reward, and declined, in the blindest terms imaginable, to undertake the inquisition. The Minister received my excuse with a bow, which had rather more of formality in it than of good omen. He wrote a letter on the subject, with his own hand, to the Commandant of the Staff Officer's station, and though I assuredly gave no notice to the parties of the coming event, I was afterwards held answerable for the irreverent reception of my patron's commands. My confidential office now became a sinecure, and he never honored me with another order.

Seeing, in all these occurrences, a hurricane ahead, I thought it time to tack. The *managing* Secretaries had hitherto kept me from approaching the head of the Government whom I no longer expected ever to see, through their influence. It was true, they would most probably frustrate whatever I might gain at a private interview without their consent: yet there appeared a chance, and that the only one left, of success in a direct appeal to His Lordship. I therefore took immediate steps to solicit an audience, and it was granted.

As the Aide-de-camp introduced me and shut the door, the tall lank figure of the Marquis of Condescension rose erect, and bent in acknowledgment of my bow. I advanced, and he smiling, with a semi-circular sweep of his hand, pointed to a chair, on which I bowed, and my Lord bowed again. Not to be outdone in good manners, I subjected my back to a third inflection, and His Lordship, after returning it sat down, and I followed his example.

The features of this celebrated Peer are familiar to the frequenters of almost every ale house in Britain; and in India there are few bungalows without his picture. I never knew a face which nature had favoured less or art multiplied more. In regard to his manners, though he went through all the evolutions which I have described in a very brief space, they were conducted with too much precision to jostle one another, or to detract from that lofty air of condescension by which he seemed desirous, in pity, of les-

sening the immeasurable distance which fate, he was aware, had thrown between him and Lieutenant Diddler Wayward. The conversation with which he honoured me, was too well bred, passionless, and vague in its applicability, to admit of being illustrated by examples.

He listened patiently to my often-told tale of an oppressed King, and an inert yet vexatious Resident, at Lucknow. The narrative, I could at once perceive, was opposed to the Marquis' prepossessions and information on the subject. After expressing some polite wonder at my statements, he proceeded to discredit them with some singular assumptions, which served to shew by what exclusive channels the mind of this ruler received intelligence. Do you not think it possible, Mr. Wayward, said he, that some designing courtier may have imposed himself on you as the King? Such a state of things, as you mention, it is certain, formerly existed in Oude: but as you have no doubt heard, all grievances complained of by His Majesty and the people have been redressed, and the recurrence of them prevented, by me. The character of Colonel Yeaandnay too, whose appointment is so satisfactory to the whole Army, and to the population of Oude, must appear to you a sufficient guarantee for the fulfilment of my wishes, and the execution of the orders of Government." When I alluded diffidently to the slavish habits of natives, and their dread of appealing from a subordinate to his principal, His Lordship silenced me by saying that the Princes of Lucknow corresponded regularly with Mr. Pigville, a gentleman of the first talents, and deepest knowledge of the oriental character, whose entire confidence the Resident possessed. It was, therefore, impossible for the King to be dissatisfied unknown to the Governor-General, and hence, I might infer, my story had no foundation.

Never did knight in the days of chivalry essay more eagerly to find entrance for his spear through some opening in the panoply of a mailed Baron of old, than I tried to discover a vulnerable point in "the cold shade of aristocracy," which enveloped this modern Lord. I began to think him made of impenetrable stuff, and had nearly retired in despair. By way of winding up, perhaps with a gentle reproof, the Marquis observed that, like most young soldiers, I had probably enjoyed few opportunities of intercourse with the higher classes of Natives, whose principles and habits, he said, were very different from those of our servants and workmen. Without exemplifying the difference by six and half a dozen, I guardedly disclaimed

the excuse of ignorance for any suspected error, by mentioning the intimacy with which I had been honoured by certain members of the Royal families of Delhi and Jeypoor.

My gentle readers of the Gazette, during the last and present year, know how correct I was in this part of my story. It proved a home-thrust to the Noble Lord. One who had kept such excellent company as that of Prince Jehangeer and Maharajah Juggut Singh, appeared now qualified to be a witness concerning the new made monarch of Oude. His Lordship seemed to have a vast veneration for the house of Timur, but some dislike to its present representative at Delhi. I was questioned about many Hindoo and Mussulman Princes, of these two lines, to whom His Lordship ascribed an importance in ludicrous contrast with their real insignificance. Passing from discourse on the descendants of the Sun and the Tartar, we came back to the work of the Marquis's own hands, the Royalty of Lucknow. Allowing that the first King of this race could not possess all the regal excellencies inherent in the blood of the illustrious persons of whom we had been talking, His Lordship considered him "a high-minded Prince of good natural parts," though his education was imperfect. On this opinion of the Sovereign, who has already been gauged by me, his secret ambassador, now trusted for a favourable re-hearing of the case. His Majesty, said I, has at least a noble sense of the debt of gratitude which he owes your Lordship. In proof of it, I may be permitted to mention that, in confiding the message to me, which I imprudently undertook to deliver, the King was desirous of entrusting me with a large sum of money to get a Coronet made to present to your Lordship, in token of his joy at the additional distinction lately conferred on his noble friend. But, independently of orders against receiving presents, I, of course could not presume to accept any thing valuable on account of your Lordship." The King's intentions, and my reasons for declining to aid in executing them, evidently gave the Marquis a very favourable impression of both parties. The receipt of any article of value, he said, was out of the question: even a trifling present would be objectionable, and I had put a very proper construction on the orders of Government. I am always pleased, he added graciously, to meet with a military man, particularly a young one, who can understand the spirit of a public measure. I may be pardoned for stating, said I, that your Lordship has just commended that quality in which the King of Oude thinks the Resident especially defective.

"How so, Mr. Wayward?" Why, my Lord, His Majesty imagines, though it may be a natural prejudice, that a plain gentleman, like Colonel Yeaandnay, cannot enter into your Lordship's elevated views, nor feel that sympathy with greatness which, he fancies, is peculiar to eminent rank and high lineage. Hence, instead of comprehending that the perfect independence of the King, and the friendly advice to be given him, were both acts of grace on the part of your Lordship, the Resident has virtually rendered the advice obligatory, and therefore humiliating on the most trifling domestic affairs: and further, in place of doing immediately what he ought to know your Lordship would do if on the spot, Colonel Yeaandnay is accused of bringing a Sovereign Prince into ridicule and contempt, by often keeping the household business of the Court of Lucknow at a stand for three weeks, until he can get special orders from Calcutta."

The Marquis now put several questions to inform himself fully of the import of my observations. Then with a condescending smile, he continued: you will excuse me, Mr. Wayward, for having had recourse to a little stratagem to discover your general capacity to appreciate the character of Native Princes generally, and of the King of Oude in particular, who I am happy to call my personal friend. Your answers to my inquiries have been extremely satisfactory. From the intimate knowledge you possess of his mind, I can now confide in your representation respecting his wants and wishes. You will not be displeased, therefore, to learn that it is my present intention to employ you in conveying a friendly message to His Majesty in reply. I shall prepare your instructions and communicate them to you in a few days." His Lordship rose and bowed me out, as I had been welcomed into the room.

I beg pardon, my dear Mr. Scratch, for not being at home when you called, for these three last weeks, to give you the sequel of my secret embassy from the Potentate of Oude to the Potentate of Fort William. The fact is, that the absorbing interest of the Delhi Races, the deep bets, and frequent private interviews, which I necessarily had with the Jockeys, left me no time for reminiscences.

But you cannot have yet forgot my reception, and the distinguished manner in which I was treated by the Marquis of Condescension. The conference of two hours, which I had the honor to hold with His Lordship, and the lofty bearing with which I returned for my hat to the Aide-de-camp's room, astonished the gallant satellites of the great planet of the East, and through them all Cal-

cutta. Instead of entering a room and sitting through a tiresome evening unnoticed even by my old acquaintance, every big wig whom I was known to only on the stage, pestered me with recognitions. Besides a suite of clothes from Cossitollah, however, I had now learned the manners of the Black Hole. On arriving in a brilliant party, on one occasion, a coxcomb, in a place, who had been my chum at Agra for five months, though he "really could not recollect where he had seen" me, when I came to the Presidency, laid his hand affably on an empty chair next to himself, and said, with a familiar smile, "come Wayward, my boy, sit down and tell me what you and the Lord were talking about the other day." Rejoicing at an opportunity to return his peculiar compliment, while twenty or more "fashionables" had their eyes on us, I coolly put on the Chowringhee look of unacquaintance, which consists in dropping the under jaw a little and staring as wide as possible: upon my word, Sir, said I, quoting himself, you have the advantage of me: cannot recollect where I have seen you, but I dare say we have met somewhere in the Mofussul." "Oh!" rejoined my old chum, and disguised his chagrin by turning round and talking nonsense to the lady of the house. A still mightier man, who had in former times drunk and nautched with me in Delhi street, received my visit at his house without rising from his chair, or once addressing a syllable to me, though he gossiped abundantly to visitors, then with him, whom he had seen daily for years. Hearing of my wonderful success at Government house, this gentleman immediately sent his card to my lodging, by a chuprassy, who delivered it without pretending that his master had come or was coming with it. I gave orders to cross question the messenger, who told my servant he believed it to be a "*mirbance ka teekit*," which great folks there occasionally sent to little ones. I shortly afterwards, to my delight, found this bestower of *tickets of favor* at a family party of 150 persons, and in the tumult of taking seats, he got jammed between me and an Officer from Barrackpore. Having concerted measures, by whispering, in Calcutta fashion, behind his chair, we kept up a cross fire over his position, without once speaking to him for two hours. Imitating the "fashionable" habits of the Chowringhee grandees, we discussed the affairs of the Upper Provinces across my quondam reveler's plate, or relieved him occasionally by changing our line of communication to the back of his neck. Revenge of this sort is exceedingly sweet to the avenged, and by no means useless to the victim.

But the high pinnacle of honour, on which I now stood within the lethean ditch, exposed me to the fatal arrows of the managing Secretaries. They heard, suspected, and—oh horror of horrors! met to compare notes. I had an account of the meeting from an Eurasian clerk in the service of Don Pomposo. As no such awful conference has taken place since that on the raft at Tilsit, I must record it in the dramatic form.

Pomposo.—Pray, Absorption, may I ask if you desired Mr. Wayward to go direct to His Lordship on business?

Absorption.—I sent him to you.

Pomposo.—Why, I permitted him in the first instance to tell his story to you!

Absorption.—I am infinitely obliged to you, but you are aware that it was contrary to Lieutenant Wayward's duty to speak to you on business without my leave.

Pomposo.—He must have hood-winked you, my dear Sir. He did not consent to superintend the grammar of your office, until he got my permission.

Pigville.—Why, I authorized him to do that too.

Absorption,—(looking furious). Pray, Pomposo, may I ask whether you so kindly permitted Lieutenant Wayward to act in my office before or after you asked him for *tokens*?

Pigville.—Yes, I heard of the *tokens*, too.

Pomposo.—Tokens? oh, you mean his credentials from Lucknow; it was when I first saw him, and I knew the youth to be an imposter, because he could produce none.

Absorption.—I regret that you did not inform me, his superior, of your discovery, instead of suffering him to address you, as what he calls, Viceroy over the Governor-General, and shaking hands, affectionately with him, amidst professions of esteem.

Pomposo.—Hum! he did not style me *Viceroy*, but I saw no objection to his calling you *Excellency*.

Pigville.—Nor I either, though he asked my opinion.

Absorption.—You! did he not inform you that he had my leave to be school-master to your monkey, though I scarcely thought the appointment becoming an officer and gentleman?

Pomposo.—I perceive he has betrayed my confidence.

Pigville.—And mine too.

Absorption.—I have reason to believe he has also betrayed the secrets of my office,

and prevented me from getting information on the misconduct of a staff officer.

Pigville.—Aye, Absorption, pray how has that affair ended?

Absorption.—Is it possible that you know of this likewise? Since it is so, I may tell you that the *Colonel* had the extreme insolence to send back my “private and confidential letter,” saying, that it must be intended for some other person, as he, the *Colonel*, was neither spy nor informer.

Pomposo.—I don't remember your receiving any orders on that subject.

Absorption.—I know my duty, which is to inform and advise Government respecting the army, without your orders.

Pigville.—It is my duty to advise and inform Government too, about Native Courts: so I wrote confidentially to ask the King of Oude concerning Mr. Wayward and his mission. Here is His Majesty's answer, disowning both, and saying he knows no such person—as the young man who has been humbugging us all.

Pomposo.—I knew he was an impostor!

Absorption.—An officer of the Honourable Company's Army “an impostor!” I have the honour to request you will send in charges against Lieutenant Wayward.

Pomposo.—A trial might lead to some laughable disclosures. I have a respect for the War-office.

Pigville.—I am going now to represent Mr. Wayward's conduct to His Lordship.

Absorption.—He being a Military Officer, it is my duty to save you that trouble.

Pigville.—Excuse me; he comes here on pretended business in the Persian department.

Pomposo.—Gentlemen, the affair is already before me, and meddling with it would appear a work of supererogation in either of you, until you receive instructions.

Absorption (rising).—His Lordship shall decide in whose department Lieutenant Wayward is.

Pigville.—I will soon shew you that his pretended mission belongs to mine.

Pomposo.—I have already ascertained that the Marquis and I are of one opinion on the subject.

Absorption (looking Chesterfield and Wel-

lington tonans).—I wish you good morning.

Pigville.—I wish you good morning too.

Here was a complete smash and explosion of all my anxious negotiations. My informant, having been formerly a drummer in our regiment who had drank many tumblers of beer at my quarters, bolting from the nook in which he overheard the foregoing consultations, communicated them to me immediately.

No time was to be lost. I hastened in my own curricie to the banker on whom my hoondies were drawn, resolved to make His Majesty of Oude pay forfeit for disowning his faithful ambassador, and presented the document for 50,000 rupees. What can I do, said the shroff, with an ominous sigh, it is long since I was directed not to honour this bill, and I had scarcely paid you the 15,000 rupees before I got instructions to pay you nothing. I hope your honour will now give me back that money, otherwise your poor slave will eat misfortune. Thinking I had a bellyful of the same fare myself, I expatiated to the banker on the ingratitude of Princes and the unfitness of honest simplicity for so base a world, after which I drove to the domiciles of certain white baboos. These gentlemen had then no recent information of changes in the upper regions of Calcutta. Like the unscientific crowd who think they bask in the sun's rays long after he is set, the monied interest of the City of Palaces fancied me still in favour at Government House, and an official in the war office. I found no difficulty, therefore, in raising a loan for 10,000 rupees. Next obtaining an audience of leave, I succeeded in convincing the noble Marquis that, though artful courtiers might have imposed on my unsuspecting youth, the motives which had influenced me were excellent. His Lordship had personally ascertained my merits, and the intriguing Secretaries, I hope, never altered his opinion of me.

Giving notice to my old friends of the Sheriff's office, that if wanted I might possibly be found about Buj-Buj or Diamond Harbour, I got my fleet under weigh, and ascended the Ganges freighted with enough of the good things of this life to make me more welcome than a Field Marshal at the station which I returned to.—*Delhi Gazette.*

TOWNS OF INDIA.

THANAH BHOWN.—My last gave a short description of the town of Saharunpore, and in further prosecution of the object I stated to have in view, of giving short notices of the principal towns in the Northern Dooab; I intend in this letter to submit an account of the towns of Thanah Bhow, Jalalabad, Loharee, the old fort of Ghonsgurh, the latter, one of the residences of Zabeta Khan and Golam Khadur.

The above places are near each other, and the pursuits and class of inhabitants nearly similar, they are situated in the centre of the Saharunpore district, and are unnoticed in Hamilton's Gazetteer. The town of Thanah Bhow has a population of 7,000, of which 4,000 are Hindoos, and the rest Mussulmans; the inhabitants are poor and peaceable people, principally employed in the manufacture of cloth. At one time in former days this was a famous place for the manufacture of small arms, in which a very few now find employment. The town has been very quiet ever since it came into the British rule—the last brush they had was from a Pathan of Loharee, who commanded some of Juswunt Rao's troops, and who took an opportunity while retreating from before the British Army to show off his prowess before his townsmen to revenge himself on the inhabitants of Thanah Bhow, for some insult. He lost 25 men on the occasion, the Thanah people fought manfully, expecting relief, and drove the Pathan off, but they had 15 men killed on the occasion. There are 25 Suttees at this place—the last occurred about 26 years ago. A person who will take the trouble to make inquiry on the subject of Suttees, must be immediately struck with the ridiculous fuss that was made about them, the British Government have much to answer for in not abolishing them long ago. It is a true saying of a statesman "that the orders the commission of a crime, who does not forbid it when in his power," and there are many other subjects equally important which are shamefully procrastinated on as ridiculous grounds. My Lord William has graced his brows with the laurel of triumph, but it is by no means certain he has a claim to all the honor, for I suspect some former Mahomedan Princes put a stop to the practice as far as their authority extended. I have said that there are 25 Suttees at this place, but it is by no means to be inferred that 25 Suttees have actually occurred; when a girl of a family in which there has been a Suttee marries, she carries away a brick or some small portion of the

old building which marked the spot, to her new home, and erects the usual Suttie building over the relic—her daughters do the same, and hence the number increases without end, all over the country. There are three fairs held here during the year; little merchandise takes place, the occasions being for religious purposes at certain shrines; there is a market on Fridays attended by about 500 people. There are four Mussulman schools, attended by 56 boys, and two Hindoo ones by 29. Thanah Bhow gives the name to the purgunah, which consists of 80 villages, 125 square miles in extent, paying a yearly land revenue to Government of about 60,000 Rupees; about two-thirds of the land is under cultivation, and the population is 37,500.

JALALABAD.—The town of Jalalabad has a population of 5,500 inhabitants, of which 3,300 are Hindoos and the rest Mussulmans—this place being inhabited by many old Pathan families, is not so peaceable as Thanah Bhow, quarrels frequently occur, which are often decided by an appeal to the sword, and affrays are as common as in Donny Brook. "Jalalabad men tulwar chula" is a common saying in the neighbourhood; the town, containing many Mahajuns, has been often robbed by midnight attacks on these occasions: the Police are seldom found to do their duty any where; the bazar is larger, and the Pathans had formerly a right to levy a tax on all goods; this right was purchased by Government for the very liberal sum of 2,650 Rupees yearly, but from the complaints of the people it would appear that impositions were still exacted; the Pathans of this place were generally at variance with Zabeta Khan. There is a fair on the 5th of Ruber, and a market is held on Thursdays and Sundays, which are well attended. There are two Hindoo schools attended by sixty, and four Mussulman schools attended by fifty youths.

LOHAREE.—The town of Loharee contains about 3,000 souls, of which 1000 are Hindoos, and the rest are Mussulmans. There are three Suttie buildings—the last Suttie occurred 160 years ago. There are two schools, Hindoo and Mussulman, attended by about fifteen youths each. Both Jalalabad and Loharee, as well as Thanah Bhow contain many blacksmiths, bow and arrow makers; the price of a good matchlock is five Rupees, the barrels are forged on a mandril, the breech is solid and has a kotee or small cylinder on the principle of the patent breeching of the English gun-

smiths, the advantages of which has been known in Hindoostan ever since the use of fire arms was introduced; a bow costs about 1½ Rupees, and quiver of arrows as much more, and a tulwar or sword can be had for two Rupees. A great number of knives in common use are manufactured in these places, the steel is excellent, and the temper superior: the usual trial allowed a customer is to cut a piece of iron with them without defacing the blade.

FORT OF GHOSGURH.—The old fort of Ghosgurh contains an area of about 280 acres; the walls are constructed of mud, and are of considerable strength, but the want of a ditch made it easy of escalade, a mode of attack, by the bye, not much approved by the natives; the streets appear to have been regularly laid out, but the only buildings remaining are the ruins of some Musjids and houses, all more or less in decay; at one of the Musjids there are the remains of public hot baths, the marble has all been made away with, and the stones and bricks of buildings are disappearing fast; the natives of this country have no idea of preserving places of this kind, and both rich and poor heedlessly look on at the indiscriminate plunder. The little village of Ferozpoor is situated in one of the bastions; it contains 300 inhabitants; they tell curious stories of former times, and make out that Golam Khadur's conduct was a just retribution on Shah Alum for deep injuries in exposing the females of the family when in his power; the building from whence they were exposed is pointed out: they further add, that Golam Khadur had besides personal injuries to revenge; the King having caused him to be made a eunuch while a youth under his protection. There is a large well in the fort about 22 feet in diameter, a piece of water of this extent cannot be defiled according to the laws, and it was customary to make wells of this size in former times. The land within the fort is now mostly cultivated and produces good crops of wheat and jooars.

The Mussulman youths of these towns and neighbouring country are good soldiers, but they dislike the British discipline, and few of them are found in our ranks; many of them take service with Runjeet Sing, and a number of them were with Shah Shuja in his late attempt to regain his throne.

DEOBUND.—Before I proceed further south, I must stop for a moment to take a little notice of the town of Deobund, which is situated nearly half way on the great road from Mozufnuggur to Saharunpore, and

where a comfortable traveller's bungalow has been erected by subscription. The town of Deobund is of great antiquity, but little notice can be found concerning it; it has a population of about 14,000, half of which are Mussulmans, and half are Hindoos; there is a considerable traffic carried on in the produce of the neighbouring country: cotton cloth of all kinds, blankets and shoes are manufactured for exportation. Three stations, belonging to Government, used to be stationed here for the improvement of the breed of horses, which the people of this part of the country take the greatest interest in: almost every respectable farmer has a brood mare, the constant care of all the inmates of the family. The small purgunah of Kutuh is particularly famous for the success the Zumeendars have in their breed of cattle, and a pair of young carriage mares may be had for 300 Rupees, which by proper training and management would, in a twelve month, be valued at 1200 rupees, and no where could a good judge of a horse make a more profitable visit. The present Superintendent of the Stud has lately made the most judicious arrangements for keeping up and extending this beneficial spirit among the people, who are much satisfied, and put the greatest confidence in him. The Hurdwar fair takes place in the beginning of April next, where a great show of horses are always to be seen, but no place being appointed or cleared for the purpose, much inconvenience is felt, and it is to be hoped the hint thrown out last year will not be lost on the authorities of Saharunpore, and that the prisoners will be set to work in forming a clear way of 50 or 60 feet in breadth, for about 100 yards, along the high road a little south of the town near the place where the horse merchants usually put up for the purpose of showing off horses.

Deobund was at one time the most notorious place in the Doab for thieves and robbers who used, when they borrowed or owed money, to say they would pay when they got the money from Deobund. Like the London Flash Notes of the Bank of Elegance, too, they used to give hoondies on nominal houses in Deobund. There are eight fairs or religious meetings during the year at certain sacred places, where considerable gifts are offered. There are three schools for Persian and Arabic, attended by 65 boys, who pay from 2 rupees to 2 annas per month, according to their means. There are four schools for Nagaree and Hindee, attended principally by Brahmun boys, who are taught gratis. There are no less than 130 Suttie buildings here of all classes of Hindoos, five of them

occurred within the last 15 years; no European was present at any of them. There are a great number of mango groves all around the town, which must serve to keep off a free circulation of air; the streets in which the shops are situated are so hot that it would be impossible for a European to exist there in the warm months; the place is however healthy, and the only epidemic which is troublesome, is the small pox, which occasionally commits dreadful havoc. The fruit of the mango in this district is small and stringy, with a strong turpentine flavor; they are not reckoned unwholesome, particularly if milk is drank after partaking of them. Deobund is the principal town of the purgunah of that name, it is about 150 square miles in extent, with a population of about 50,000 inhabitants, and pays a revenue to Government of about one and a half lacks annually. The soil is mostly of a sandy nature, and a good deal of sugarcane is produced without irrigation; indeed, most of the cultivation is without wells, or other artificial supply of water, and the crops are consequently not heavy.

MOZUFURNUGGER.—The little town of Mozufurnugger, in the great road from Meerut to Saharunpore, is the sudder station of a small district under a Collector and Magistrate; it contains a population of 7,000 inhabitants, 4,000 of whom are Hindoos and the rest are Mussulmans: the town and neighbourhood is healthy, although, as at the unhealthy town of Saharunpore, a Nuddee (the West-kalce Nuddee) flows past the town, its banks are however clear of weeds and jungle, and the soil is sandy, which is sufficient to account for the difference. There are three Hindee schools attended by 60 youths, who pay from four to two annas per month each, also two Persian schools attended by 50 youths. There are 24 Sutte buildings; there is a religious fair on the 2d day of *Chey*t, and another on the 2d day of *Bhadoo*, and Saturday is the market day which is well attended; there are a number of mango groves, but the appearance of the country is otherwise bleak and uninteresting; there used to be a Government stallion from the Hauper Stud, and there are about thirty good mares in the town. The purgunah of Mozufurnugger is about 72 square miles in extent, is well cultivated and pays a revenue of about thirty-six thousand rupees.

SHAMLEE.—In the district of Mozufurnugger the town of Shamlee is the principal place of trade, and the merchants are connected, and carry on traffic with the countries westward of the Jumna: the principal

articles are ghee, sugar, salt, wood, bamboos, spices, &c. The carriage is on hackeries and is all done by contract. Sugar can be transported from Shamlee to Bhowanee, a distance of 96 miles, for four annas per maund of 84lbs. 15½oz. and other goods in proportion to bulk and weight: the town of Shamlee contains about 13,000 inhabitants, 7,000 of whom are Hindoos and the rest are Mussulmans. The Hindoos, particularly the merchants, of whom there are upwards of 700 families, are very jealous of their religious feelings, and no bullocks are allowed to be killed in or near the town: about seven years ago the Mussulmans were allowed to kill cattle outside, and to bring the flesh into the town. The Thanadar, who was a Mussulman, took immediate advantage of the order to insult the Hindoos. A bullock was slaughtered outside of the town, and the carcase reeking with blood was brought in with a triumphal procession, and it is said, blood was sprinkled in some of the Hindoo's houses, who immediately shut up their shops and retired to the interior of their residences, and not one was to be seen; complaint was immediately made of the outrage, which was instantly redressed, and the Hindoos returned to their usual avocations, and now pride themselves on possessing an order, as they say, from Government, that the Thanadar shall always be a Hindoo, and that cattle shall not be killed or beef brought within the town. Whether this is true or not, I have no means of ascertaining, but it clearly enough points at what the principal inhabitants of the country consider as immunities beneficial to their ideas and circumstances. I have known a bazar not 100 miles from Delhi erected by Bunyas at considerable expense on an understanding from the Civil officer, that their prejudices would not be interfered with, and particularly that cattle would not be allowed to be killed. Another Magistrate came, who was induced to upset the order of his predecessor, when a Mussulman of course instantly defiled the place, which was deserted, and I saw the buildings afterwards in ruins. I wish the worthy Magistrate had heard the deep curses of the community he had thus driven from their homes. There is a fair at Shamlee on the 15th of *Bhadoo*, called Jogee Doss' Mela, and another on the first Thursday of *Magh*—there is no particular day for market, but the bazar is always crowded. Although Shamlee is such an orthodox Hindoo place, no Sutte has occurred within the last century, and there are only 20 Sutte buildings. About forty years ago George Thomas attacked and plundered the Chou-

dree of the town. In Lord Lake's time the inhabitants refused supplies to a detachment under a Colonel Burne, and favored the troops of Jeswunt Rao, which proved an untoward piece of politics on the part of the Shamlee people; for, his Lordship to make an example, gave up the place to plunder for two days; it is said the Europeans made the best use of their time, and some people recognise extraordinary fair European looking Bunyas in the shops occasionally, at the present day, as the effects of his Lordship's largess on the occasion.

Shamlee is the head town of the Purgunah of that name, containing about 40 square miles, and paying a revenue annually of

about 40,000 Rupees. The purgunah is well cultivated by industrious people, and is famous for the superior crops of sugar cane; formerly Maxwell and Co. had a rum distillery here, which, it is said, was a profitable concern. The streets through the town of Shamlee are in bad order, particularly in hot weather; there are a number of mango groves and the fruit is superior—the best mangoes in the Doonab are procurable at the neighbouring town of Kyrauh, which is famous for its produce of this fruit, the only luxury of this nature in abundance at the command of natives. The Arabs say “dates in the name of the Prophet,” the Mussulman of India says “ba resha am, Bismilla!”—*Delhi Gazette.*

THE CHIEF MAGISTRATE'S CIRCULAR.

TO THE OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS OF PREMISES IN CALCUTTA.

GENTLEMEN,—Having thought it my duty to lay before Government two propositions, viz. one to levy a tax on the inhabitants of the principal thoroughfares for the purpose of defraying the charges of watering them, and another to enable you to elect Commissioners to examine into your municipal accounts, I was naturally desirous that you should not be ignorant of matters so nearly affecting yourselves, and I accordingly applied for, and obtained the sanction of the head of the Government for the publication of the annexed letters.

I am not aware of what may be the decision of Government on the subjects thus submitted, but conclude that it will depend a good deal upon the sentiments that you may see reason to adopt and express in regard to them.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

D. McFARLAN, Chief Magistrate.

Calcutta, Police Office, March 1, 1835.

To W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq.

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir,—It is with some concern that I have to report to Government, that the Conservancy Committees, proposed to be instituted for the better management of that department of the town business in my letter of the 1st December, 1833, have not yet been anywhere nominated, and that I do not at present see any immediate prospect of their being so.

2. In explanation of the steps taken by me on the subject, I have the honor to submit

a few printed copies of letters addressed by me to the inhabitants, which I trust will satisfy Government, that no step that I could properly take has been neglected by me in order to stimulate the people into a little more concern for their own affairs.

3. The causes of this apparent apathy are, no doubt, the absence of any grievous evils connected with the Police, the removal of which could obviously be effected by the means of Committees—the want of idle men of talent for business—the belief that Government is bound to effect improvements—the general belief that the funds of the town are honestly managed—the apprehension that the Committee plan might lead to heavier taxation—the want of any known Code of Rules, pointing out the mode in which Meetings could be held, and Commissioners appointed, and their powers defined. And lastly, the want of a sufficient personal stimulus, arising from expected honor, rank, or political influence connected with the discharge of the duty.

4. Such being the case, it might be said that Government have now only to economize the old, and to impose additional taxes, and carry proposed improvements into effect through their paid servants. I think, however, that this is a course to which Government should not resort, till hope of attaining the end, through the instrumentality of the people themselves, is exhausted.

5. By the statement I have the honor to append, it, appears that Government do, in point of fact, expend the whole of the town

duties upon the Police of the town, exclusive of the pay of the Magistrates and Superintendent. I see no reason why the people should not be told distinctly that Government will not allow of a single rupee being expended upon the town, beyond the average annual proceeds of assessment and town duties, and that it is not their intention to continue the lotteries beyond the period when the debt is paid off. This would at once put an end to that vague dependence upon Government for the execution of every work of improvement, and the care of all public business whatever.

6. In a separate address of this date, on the subject of watering, a new tax is proposed to be imposed; if that be ordered, it will probably have the effect of drawing increased attention to the subject.

7. In order to remove every obstacle to the assembling of the citizens together, for the purpose of looking into and controlling their municipal affairs, I see no reason why portions at least of a law passed for Ireland in 1828 should not be enacted here, this would obviously be only doing more effectually what was proposed to be done in December before last, as stated in Mr. Macswen's letter of the 3d December, 1833. If the clauses remained inoperative, they could not do any harm, and would afford a commencement for more extended institutions.

8. It surely deserves consideration whether Government should not have the power of conferring local rank of some kind upon persons elected by their fellow-citizens to offices of trust under this, or any future law.

9. It is not my part to advert to the political advantages of such a course. The main ends at which I aim, are that the municipal establishments now existing should stand well with the public, that the improvements or changes, of which they are susceptible, should be introduced with the knowledge and consent of the people, and that such a share of power should ultimately be entrusted to the inhabitants, as to enable them to execute, or cause the execution of, the improvements they might desire to see effected.

10. So languid would appear to be the public appetite for business of this sort, that it would be wrong to destroy any existing establishments in order to make way, for confiding to the public Committees, the arrangement of the details of the town business. They must at first be auditing, inquiring, and reporting Committees, with power to call for papers and accounts, to make suggestions on matters relating to expenditure of town funds. And, finally, to petition Government in regard to any matter that might seem to call for that course.

11. Supposing the Government to adopt the above suggestions, a very important subject of inquiry with the Committees would be whether better means of raising the sum now realized from town duties could not be devised, provided that Government would consent to repeal the tax. This measure, it is plain, would be no sacrifice to Government, since they have for many years expended that amount on the town, and it being a purely local tax, they ought perhaps to continue to do so.

12. In conformity with the above sentiments, I have the honor to submit a draft of an Act, to enable the householders of Calcutta to elect Municipal Commissioners with certain powers.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) D. McFARLAN, *Chief Magistrate*.
Calcutta, Police Office, Feb. 5, 1835.

Statement referred to in para. 5.

Establishment of Police Thannasars, Barkundazas, &c. Superintendent of Roads and Executive Officer with their subordinates, Overseers, &c.	Rs.	145,652	2	7
Contingent Charges— Repairing Roads and Drains, Cross Bridges &c.	"	39,118	3	8
Ditto Cleansing the Town.....	"	72,954	15	4
Ditto Sundry Charges, including Thanna Rent, Scavenger's Carts, Rollers, Repairs of Buildings, Office Charges.....	"	12,245	11	2
Establishment of Clerks, Writers, Constables, Peons, Town Guard, House of Correction, Police Hospital, and Conservancy Establishment for the Esplanade Roads....	"	84,764	1	8
Contingent Charges— Conveyance Allowance, Dieting Prisoners, and Patients to Police Hospital, Law Charges, Office Charges.....	"	31,765	8	8
Ditto Lighting, Watering, Paving and Draining the Town.....	"	41,775	6	10
	Rs.	427,776	0	11
Net Collections of Assessment.....		125,799	10	9
Average amount of Town Duties.....		216,233	8	7
		412,033	8	4

Excess paid by Government Rs. 15,742 13 7
(Signed) D. McFARLAN, *Chief Magistrate*.

DRAFT OF AN ACT.

Be it enacted that from the _____ next the Town of Calcutta shall be considered to be divided into the four following divisions for the purposes of this Act, viz.

1st or Upper North Division—bounded on the north by the Mahantia Ditch, on the south by Machua Bazar Road and Cotton Street to Meerbhur Ghant, on the east by Circular Road, on the west by the River Hoogly.

2d or Lower North Division—bounded on the north by Machua Bazar Road and Cotton Street to Meerbhur Ghant, on the south by Buttockhanna Road and Hare Street to Police Ghant, on the east by the Circular Road, and on the west by the River Hoogly.

3d or Upper South Division—bounded on the north by Buttockhanna and Row Bazar Street to Police Ghant, on the south by Durrumtolla Street and Esplanade Row to Chaundpaul Ghant, on the east by the Circular Road, on the west by the River Hoogly.

4th or Lower South Division—bounded on the north by Durrumtolla Street and Esplanade Row to Chaundpaul Ghant, on the south by the Lower Circular Road, on the east by the Circular Road, on the west by the eastern border of the Fort Plain.

II. And be it further enacted that, upon the application of 21 or more house-holders, residing in any one of the said divisions, and each occupying a dwelling house, or other premises, assessed under the Act of the 33 G. 3d c 52 at a monthly rent of 50 Rs and upwards, it shall be lawful for the Governor of Bengal to order the Chief Magistrate of the town of Calcutta or other public officer, to convene a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the division for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.

III. And be it further enacted, that at any meeting, convened as above directed, every person, who shall have occupied as owner or lessee, any premises of the assessed monthly value of 10 Rs. and upwards, for the period of 6 months antecedent to the time of such meeting, shall be entitled to vote at such meeting and no other person whatsoever, and no person occupying any house or other premises, on which the assessment is—months in arrear, shall be entitled to vote, or take any part in the proceedings of the meeting.

IV. If any controversy shall arise in any such meeting, as to the qualification, or right of voting of any person claiming to vote, such controversy shall be determined by the Chief Magistrate or other officer appointed by the Governor to preside.

V. It shall be competent to a meeting, convened as aforesaid, provided it shall be attended by one third of the number of persons qualified to vote, to proceed to the election of no more than nine and not fewer than five of their number, owning or occupying premises of the monthly rent of 50 Rs and upwards, who may be willing to serve as Commissioners of Town Police for the Division. The Chief Magistrate and the Magistrates of the division shall be ex-officio members of each body of Commissioners.

VI. The Commissioners so elected shall remain in office for one year, and shall be capable of being re-elected.

VII. An ordinary meeting of the inhabitants qualified to vote shall be held in the month of January of each year, to be presided at by the Chief Magistrate, or other person appointed by the Governor of Bengal.

VIII. The Commissioners of any one division may at any time call a meeting of the Commissioners of any, or of all the other divisions, to consider any matter of interest affecting all the committees.

IX. The sittings of the Commissioners shall be held monthly in public, and their duty shall, for the present, be confined to collecting information regarding the evils most felt by the community that are within the province of Police to remedy, regarding the expenditure of town funds, and the strength of the establishments maintained and the manner in which they are employed. The mode in which new funds might be raised, and the old economized and generally to the suggestion of improvements and the means of executing them, and to this end they are empowered to correspond with Government through their Chairman, and to call for the production of all accounts and papers connected with the subject.

X. The Commissioners of each division shall be at liberty to entertain a clerk at a monthly salary not exceeding Rupees 100.

[SECOND LETTER.]

To W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq.

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Sir,—In continuation of my letter of the 23d ultimo, reporting the accumulation of a sum sufficient to construct the additional pumps and reservoir, required at Chaundpaul Ghant, for watering the roads of the town, I have the honor to submit the following remarks and suggestions on the subject, together with the draft of an enactment.

2. The plan of voluntary subscription suggested by me on the 24th August 1834, and sanctioned by Government on the 1st September, 1834, has been only partially successful. Subscription books were sent to every house early in November; many persons subscribed, but some of these have withdrawn, because their neighbours would not contribute, and many more were only willing to do so, if their neighbours would. Some few objected on the specific ground that, when the town duties were given up to the public, it would be time enough to talk of voluntary subscription; and some said they would submit to no new tax, till they had a control over the old.*

3. The objection founded on want of control over the old assessment fund is hardly chargeable on Government, and the excuse that, the town duties are not applied to Police purposes, is not tenable, for by a statement appended to this report, it appears that, over and above the assessment, and exclusive of Magistrates' salaries, more than

* It is believed that many streets were left unwatered, merely because nobody would commence the inscription of his name in the book sent round.

the amount of the town duties is already expended on Police purposes by the Government, and nothing is proposed in the present plan to be withdrawn from the town.

4. It might here be argued that, because the bulk of the persons affected by the annoyance of dusty roads have neither subscribed when asked, or petitioned to compel recusants, nor complained in a public manner, there must have been little inconvenience felt, and consequently no cause for the interference of Government, and probably that is a just conclusion;* for in the cold season when the days are short and the dews heavy, and the weather calm, people do not suffer much; still the annoyance has been considerable† and must greatly increase towards the end of February, and be intolerable in March, April, and May. Yet the feeling caused by this annoyance is almost sure to escape in other ways than in a quiet business-like meeting of neighbours, to devise a remedy, and I doubt whether, even the southerly winds, with their suffocating dust, would induce people to petition for a law to impose a tax, or to enable them to control, and so attempt to save enough out of the old taxes as to pay for this additional convenience. I am indeed justified in this conclusion from the fact that, the most populous and frequented parts of the town, such as the Bow Bazar, Clive Street, Cotton Street, Rada Bazar, China Bazar, and Hatte Khola, never have been watered at all, and no movement, that I know of, has ever taken place to cause them to be so. Such being the state of the case, the following questions occur.

1. Whether the old system of watering a few principal streets at the Government (or town) expence, leaving other parts uncared for, should be recurred to?

2. Whether the inhabitants should be left to petition for the renewal of the evil of dusty roads, Government remaining inactive till they do so?

5. The principle involved in the first question would seem to have been decided by the letter of the Honorable the Vice-President in Council of the 1st September, 1834, in favor of extending watering. Indeed, I think there can be little doubt on that head. Government are surely exposed to a charge of partiality if they water the European streets, and neglect the native, thus distrib-

uting common funds in aid of the rich and influential, to the neglect and detriment of the poor.

6. The second question I look upon as very important, not with reference to the amount proposed to be drawn from the people, (that is small) but with reference to the principle involved in it, viz whether Government on the mere report of a public officer, and without the petition of parties interested, should proceed to exercise their power of taxation, which is assuredly the most invidious office of the Government. A strong feeling of the delicacy and difficulty of the question, in this point of view, has led me to trespass at so much length on the time of the Government.

7. Among a people better acquainted with, and more disposed to manage their own affairs, I think the above question should be answered in the negative, in Calcutta, at the present juncture, I think it should be answered in the affirmative.

8. Government is aware, from a separate address of this date, that the scheme of Conservancy Committees proposed by me on the 1st December, 1833, has not succeeded; among the causes of failure therein assigned is, the absence in Calcutta of retired men of business, or idle men of character and talents; the pursuits of every man, with talents fit for public business, are of an engrossing nature, and there is in Calcutta no reward of fame, rank, or considerable influence held out to counterbalance the sacrifice men must make, who devote much time to any other than their appropriate duties. It is not therefore very wonderful that the mere hope of a little better management of some of the most uninviting details of the town business, should not have had the effect of calling much energy or activity into exercise. I think, however, that the imposition even of the very slight tax now proposed, may have the effect of stimulating men to a thorough investigation of their municipal affairs, and some progress being made in forming the materials for a municipal constitution founded on proper principles.

9. Whatever may be the effect in this respect, it seems clear, that a fair case for imposing the tax on the great thoroughfares is made out, because, first, the evil to the public and the inhabitants is great; second, there are no funds fairly available for the purpose of removing it, and no prospect of a movement on the part of the people to create them.

* I see in former times the watering of the roads never commenced till March, and does not now in the Fort till that time.

† In parts of Chowringhee Road, Esplanade Row, Durrumtollah, Bow Bazar, Clive Street, Tank Square.

10. There are two ways in which Government might frame their law, viz. to levy an adequate money contribution, adjusted according to value of premises, or to impose a penalty on every one who did not water the road in front of his door.*

11. The former of these is the more convenient course; it ensures certainty, and regularity, and responsibility is firmly attached to the public servants. The latter has the recommendation of possible economy to the parties, inasmuch as those who have a small frontage might manage to water in front of their houses by means of the servants already engaged by them. And further, the expense would be regulated by the extent of frontage, which many may consider a better criterion than the amount of rent.

12. This plan, however, could only be adopted when the whole, or a majority, regulating the whole, desired it, for the greatest inconvenience would be found to arise from the mixture of public and private servants tasked to water a given extent of road, while the imposition of a penalty for neglect, would not only be invidious, but, to be effectual, would require an establishment to watch the parties who agreeing to water might fail, or neglect to do so.

13. The next point is, the amount to be assessed, the statement forwarded with my letter of the 24th August last shows a considerable variety of rate, and it would be for the interest of streets of the low rate to maintain the list, but the principle will not bear being applied to its utmost extent, for that would lead to an assessment on each house, varying in amount according to the frontage of the premises, and the width of street, and the having or not having an opposite neighbour; a plan neither admitting of such easy and economical adjustment, nor in itself so equitable as the assessment according to rental.

14. A general average of the expense would give about one per cent. on the annual rental, as sufficient for so much of the expense of watering as the inhabitants are now asked to pay. If the tax is levied only for the 8 months the dry weather lasts, then about Rs. 1-4 per cent. for 8 months would be required, this would be the better course in regard to those cases in which tenants pay tax, and the payment would be commensurate in point of time with benefit enjoyed, but greatly the more inconvenient, as causing the introduction into the account of fractions of

quarterly bills. Allowing for vacancy, and percentage on collection, more than one per cent. would be necessary, but one and a half per cent. would be the limit.

15. A clause in the new enactment to enable the majority of house-holders in other streets or divisions to apply for compulsory watering would be useful.

16. The poor are evidently not much interested in this matter, all houses under 10 Rs. rent per month should be exempted.

17. The method of collecting the tax would be the same as that of the assessment, viz, by demand, through the Collector and his establishment, and process of distress, in the event of non-payment. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. allowed to the Collector on assessment should be allowed here.

18. It would be well to commence the arrangement by employing the Magistrates as the administrators of the fund, and to give to house-holders the right to meet and appoint their own administrator, should they see fit, as well as to increase or diminish the amount to be levied at pleasure, so long as it did not exceed one and a half per cent. on the rental of the house.

19. It may be said that the present proposition is one of piece-meal legislation, and that a scheme should be chalked out which would provide for the whole expense of the Steam Engine, and of watering the Plain roads. In the way of such a plan, however, there are difficulties not easily got over. If Government does not water the plain roads, nobody will, for if left to a subscription, by those who use them, the same failure as I have above described, would be incurred. The idea of a toll is not to be entertained. General assessment all over the town would be unjust, for the native inhabitants of the central part of the town do not frequent the Plain, and the great bulk are too poor to have any interest in the question beyond that of not wishing to pay any thing at all. Again, a tax on account of an engine, the benefits of which are confined to a few streets, could never be made general.

20. The present plan may also be called piece-meal, since it leaves the item of lighting to be paid for as heretofore out of the general funds, although the locality benefitted is very limited. If Committees, such as I propose, are instituted, this would be a subject for early consideration; it may for the present be left in its present state, the amount expended being so small, about Rs. 5,000 per annum.

* If it is for the public it may be said that the public should pay, not the inhabitants of particular streets, but many of the public never use the watered roads.

21. Upon the whole I feel justified in submitting the draft to Government. I do not urge its adoption because the people interested are the persons who ought to urge it, further, I should not even have submitted it without a movement on the part of the inhabitants, did I do not think that the imposition of the tax itself will be the best inducement of the people to take an interest in their own affairs, which interest, once excited, might lead to results importantly useful.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) D. McFARLAN, *Chief Magistrate.*

Calcutta, Police Office, February 5, 1835.

Statement referred to in para. 3.

Establishment of Police Thannadars, Burkundaze, &c. Superintendent of Roads, Executive Officer, with their Subordinates, Overseers, &c.	Rs.	145,652	2	7
Contingent Charges— Repairing Roads, Drains, and Cross Bridges	„	39,118	3	8
Ditto Cleansing the Town ..	„	72,954	15	4
Ditto Sundry Charges, including Thanna Rent, New Scavenger's Carts, Rollers, Repairs of Buildings, Office Charges	„	12,243	11	2
Establishment of Clerks, Writers, Constables, Summons' Peons, Town Guard, House of Correction, Police Hospital Establishment, and Conservancy Establishment for the Esplanade Road. ..	„	84,764	1	8
Contingent Charges— Conveyance Allowance, Dieting Prisoners, and Patients in the Police Hospital, Law Charges, Office Charges	„	31,765	8	8
Ditto Lighting, Watering, Paving and Draining the Town. ..	„	41,275	6	10
		Rs. 4,27,776	0	11
Nett Collections of Assessment		195,799	10	9
Average amount of Town Duties		216,233	8	7
		412,033	3	4
Excess paid by Government		Rs. 15,742	13	7

(Signed) D. McFARLAN, *Chief Magistrate*

DRAFT OF AN ACT.

Be it enacted, that the several Streets of Calcutta, enumerated in Schedule Appended to this Act, shall be watered during the ordinary dry months of each year, viz. from the 15th October to the 15th June, and that for the purpose of defraying the expense thereof, an assessment, not exceeding one and a half per cent. on the valued rent of the houses in those streets be imposed upon them, to be levied by the same persons, and in the same manner, and under the same rules, as are in force in regard to the assessment on houses at present levied in Calcutta.

2. No number assessed at a lower rental than Rs. 10 per month, shall be subject to the payment of this tax

3. The Streets above ordered to be watered shall be divided into sections 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. as per schedule A, and it shall be competent, of any three inhabitants, of any one of the sections, to require the Chief Magistrate of the Town to call a meeting of the owners or occupiers of premises liable to assessment under this act, situated within the section, which meeting, if attended by one-fourth of the said owners or occupiers of premises, shall be competent to elect a committee composed of not less than three, and not more than five individuals of their number, who may be willing to accept the office, to which Committee shall belong the duty of auditing the accounts of the first year, and framing an estimate of the expense of the next and subsequent years.

The members of this Committee so elected, shall remain in office one year, and shall be capable of being re-elected.

4. It shall be competent to the Governor of Bengal to order the application of this act to any street or streets consisting of 50 or more premises in the Town of Calcutta, a majority of the inhabitants of which street or streets shall petition in writing through the Chief Magistrate for the time being, for the same being extended to them.

(Signed) D. McFARLAN, *Chief Magistrate*

SCHEDULE A.

Section 1.—Tank-Square; Old Court House-Street; Government Place; Wellenly Place; Council House-Street; Esplanade Row; Old Post Office Street; Clive Street; Conitollah-Street; Mission Row; Waterloo Street; Bankshall Street; Coliah Ghat Street; Hastings-Street; Hare-Street; and Church Lane.

Section 2.—Chowringhee Road and Park-Street as far as Wood-Street.

Section 3.—Durrumtollah Road.

Section 4.—Bow-Bazar and Boitaconnah Street.

Section 5.—Strand Road from the Channapani Ghaut to the New Mint; Clive-Street, Clive-Street Ghaut and Old Fort Ghaut.

(Signed) D. McFARLAN, *Chief Magistrate.*

THE HURDWAR FAIR.

On the 1st of April, 18— I quitted Kurnaul in company with ———; our intention being to visit Hurdwar, Mussoorie, and Nahan, returning via Umballah to Kurnaul. Our tents were sent forward early in the morning towards Kurowlee (distance 15 miles) and we followed them after tiffin. On reaching the ghaut at the Jumna, to our great annoyance, we found our baggage deposited on the right bank, while the only ferry boat was quietly floating down the stream on the opposite side of the river. At sunset we were joined by another party similarly circumstanced, and our united exertions effected the passage of the river, and the establishment of a dinner table on the left bank, where, at midnight we sat down to a hastily prepared meal. Next morning we completed the stage to Kurowlee, where our party was greatly increased by the arrival of other travellers, and we formed a respectable camp.

3rd.—Proceeded to Kaira about 13 miles, on a made road, leading through a beautiful country, well wooded, and highly cultivated. Passed several good towns on our way, and, after a ride, which we all enjoyed, found our tents pitched in a large grove of mangoes. At noon, a smart shower of rain fell, and cooled the air so completely that we sallied forth immediately afterwards with our guns, and got excellent sport: the quail being very numerous.

4th.—Eleven miles to Saharunpore, over a country somewhat inferior to that of yesterday. Our tents were pitched close to the compound of Dr. Royle, the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden. In the evening we visited the garden, and were highly pleased with its appearance. Dr. Royle's compound forms part of the domain, which occupies a tract of slightly undulating ground, through which a small stream is led from the Dooab Canal. Every material afforded by art or by nature, Dr. Royle has made the best use of in beautifying the place. A small irregular hollow in the ground has been improved into a picturesque little lake with its island of willows, &c. &c. The garden is laid out with great taste, and contains a variety of trees and shrubs collected from all quarters of the world. Amongst others the Deodar from Nepaul, and the Australian fir are particularly worthy of attention.

5th.—Fifteen miles to Secunderpore.

6th.—Fourteen miles to Dowlutpore, where, the breeze being delightfully cool, and the country a promising spot, some of our party shouldered their guns immediately after breakfast and were rewarded with a very good day's shooting.

7th.—Kunbul; the encamping ground for visitors to the fair. After travelling about four miles we entered a perfect forest of mangoes which afforded us shade all the way to Kunbul. Our tent was pitched upon an open plain without shade, all the groves being pre-occupied by other visitors. The broad road about one and half mile long, between our camp and the fair, had every clear spot on each side occupied by tents or horses.

I was disappointed in every circumstance attending the fair. The ground about Hurdwar is broken into ravines, and covered with bamboo jungle. Most of the roads follow the course of the ravines, and are consequently 10 or 12 feet below the level of the country. This not only condenses the crowd in a manner both disagreeable and dangerous, but also make it impossible for a spectator to obtain from any point a view of the immense multitude collected. The best street in Hurdwar is very narrow at all times, and is rendered particularly so during the fair, by the projection, from the walls of the houses, of sheds to cover the rubbish laid out for sale.

In so dirty a place, of course, no valuable goods are exposed to view, and a stranger can only see these by treating for their purchase at his own tent.

I rode through the town once or twice and was quite disgusted. The stalls, as I have mentioned, contain nothing but what is to be seen in the commonest bazar. The nose is offended with the effluvia of asafœtida (a principal article of traffic) and the more disgusting steams arising from huge cauldrons of boiling ghee in the sweetmeat shops. Elephants, camels, and horses pass through the scarcely penetrable crowd of human beings, who by the way are the very dirtiest I ever saw in India, I really think they take pains to carry their body in the filthiest state possible to the place of ablution at Hurdwar.

While riding through Hurdwar one morning, I took occasion to visit the sacred ghaut. This was formerly a very inconvenient place, and numbers used to be squeezed to death in

the grand rush made at the end of the season, at an hour when the waters of the Ganges are supposed to be usually efficacious. The ghaut is now formed like a large embrasure, the gorge being towards the street, and the checks opening out to a considerable breadth into the stream. It has a fine flight of steps, and the water being quite shallow between these and the island opposite, no accident can well happen. Up one pair of stairs, in a building forming one of the checks of this embrasure, is stationed a guard of Goorkha Sepoys for the preservation of order. In the stream, platforms are erected where the most holy of the Brahmins take their station, other Priests ply upon the stairs and accompany to the water such Deotas as have any money to give. I stood for nearly two hours in the guard room and had a complete view of all that passed below, and the results of my inspection was, that none but old and ugly women come to Hurdwar to bathe, and the oldest and ugliest of these old and ugly creatures take the greatest pains to conceal their persons by fixing Kannauts around them in the stream. On the Island which I mentioned as being opposite the ghaut, numerous camps were pitched, of which the Begum Sumroo's and that of the Goorkha Corps were the principal. The police was so well regulated by Mr. Graham of Saharunpore, that I only heard of one case of attempted robbery, and on that occasion one of the thieves was cut to pieces.

On the 12th April, we proceeded on our tour, and the first part of our march being through the main street of the town, we started very early to avoid the crowd. The fair being at an end, the Goorkhas also started for Deyrah by the same route; and, to avoid their camp, we sent on our tents 17 miles to Dooawara. After passing the town of Hurdwar, you enter at once into the Dhoon, by a narrow pass, and travel about a quarter of a mile along a road built on the hill side. Above us, the hills rose every abruptly, and we observed, at a considerable height, the entrance of a cave said to be capable of containing a great number of people.

The road to Deyrah is stony, but otherwise, excellent, and passes through very fine scenery. The Dhoon is a narrow valley, lying between the lower range of the Himalayah and another very low range of hills which separates it from the plains, and are only to be passed at certain places. At Hurdwar the entrance is very narrow, and is almost entirely occupied by the bed of the Ganges. As you proceed towards Deyrah, the valley widens, until it attains a maximum breadth of

about 12 or 13 miles. That part called the Deyrah Dhoon is about 56 miles in length, its eastern extremity being at Hurdwar and its western boundary being the Jumna, which crosses it directly at Rajh Ghaut. The valley beyond the Jumna is called the Kyarda Dhoon, and stretches N. W. until it reaches the Pinjore valley, beyond which the southern boundary of hills gradually vanishes.

Our first march in the Dhoon was too long to allow us to enjoy the scenery, which, notwithstanding the havoc committed amongst the timber, is very wild and pleasing.

On our right hand the high range of hills rose abruptly to a height of 7000 and 8000 feet, while to our left, the valley was bounded by a gradually sloping range of considerable height, but covered with beautiful forests. The intermediate spaces was occupied on either side by a forest of saul and sissou, mixed occasionally with other trees. The Goorkha Corps having marched only 9 or 10 miles, we saw them preparing their camp in a magnificent forest, with a clear trout stream rippling through it. We reached Dooawara at 9 A. M. and were much vexed at having made so long a march to so disagreeable a place. There was scarcely a tree to afford us shade, and the ruins of a hut erected there by Mr. Shore, added to the dreary appearance of the place.

In the evening I walked out for an hour with my gun, and saw a few black partridges, and several hog deer, of which I killed one with no. 6 shot; but my people were too much fatigued to enable me to give the ground a fair trial. I am told it is a famous place for black partridges.

On the 13th we gladly proceeded towards Deyrah. The road passed about 4 miles through a saul forest where the trees crossed their branches over our heads, forming a screen impervious to the rays of the sun. The road was as hard and smooth as a gravel walk in a garden. This avenue terminated on an open lawn, extending some distance to the right, and nearly to the foot of the hills on our left. Around it the jungle was luxuriant and its edges exhibited the most beautiful shades of foliage. The dark leaf of the saul, which predominates in these forests, was relieved by the bright young leaf of the sissou and the dhak jungle in full flower gave a gay appearance to the whole landscape. At 4 or 5 miles from Deyrah we quitted the forest altogether, and passed over an open cultivated ground to the station, where our tents were pitched in a large tope of mangoes and bamboos, near a fine Seik tomb.

Deyrah is situated in the broadest part of the Dhoon, about 4 miles from the hill of Kalunga. The forest and jungle have been pretty well cleared for some miles around, and the station is perfectly healthy, indeed, it experiences few days of really hot weather throughout the year. Its altitude, and that of the Dhoon generally, I conceive to be greater than that of the table land of Malwa by 400 or 500 feet. The town of Deyrah is a wretched place, and with exception of Officer's houses and public buildings, the Seik tomb is the only respectable edifice at the station. In rear of this tomb there is a fine stone tomb about 70 yards square and many feet in depth; it is supplied by a small hill stream and is always brimful of clear water.

Mussoorie being only 14 miles distant, we paid it a flying visit, and proceeded afterwards towards Nahum. At 17 miles we found Saleinspore, a paltry village, with one well, which affords the inhabitants a precarious supply of water. The river Ason, running at a few hundred yards south, waters their fields and works their mills, while to the sportsman it affords shooting of all sorts and fishing on a small scale. The country between Deyrah and Rajh Ghaut has been almost entirely denuded of its timber, which floated down the Jumna, furnishes Kurnaul, Delhi, and the station below with building material. On the 9th we reached Rajh Ghaut, passing over 8 miles of the most wretched country you can imagine. At the Ghaut we found a large party of sportsmen, and anxious to enjoy a little sport, I joined their camp.

Rajh Ghaut is a mere ferry on the Jumna, just below its confluence with the Ghirri, a stream of nearly equal magnitude. The two rivers unite their waters in the narrow channel of the Jumna (here only about 40 yards in breadth) and rush down with such rapidity that the best swimmer can scarcely cross quickly enough to avoid a rapid, about 200 yards down, where he would be dashed to pieces. The rapid on the left bank is not so bad, and the rafts pass it easily, indeed I saw a strong boat nearly completed at the Ghaut.

To a person fond of shooting, a week's sport at Rajh Ghaut will at any time well repay the labor of the journey. Both above and below our camp were patches of cultivation abounding in black partridges. The steep wooded banks of the river were the haunts of innumerable jungle fowl, and deer started from every patch of grass. The Ghirri, too, is famous for fine Mahaseer that take the fly readily.

Though the stones which cover the banks of the stream were so hot as almost to blister the naked feet of the bather, yet the water was so cold as to enable us to cool our wine, &c., which we suspended by strings from the bank.

After remaining three or four days, three of our party started for Kurnaul, and the remainder accompanied them one very short stage to Pounta. At day light we set off on foot, forming with our beaters a line nearly three quarter of a mile in length, the right resting on the Jumna, and the left being upon the ascent up the low range of hills. I happened to be on the extreme left, and after travelling about a mile, found myself buried in a grass jungle more than 6 feet high, with various trees scattered through it. All sport was quite out of the question under such circumstances, and therefore exchanging my shot for ball, I carefully proceeded, rather expecting to see a tiger or an elephant than any other sort of game. Nothing, however, in the shape of game met my eye during the journey, and we all met at the ferry opposite Pounta with scarcely a charge of powder expended.

At Pounta, the Jumna is broad and smooth, and far less rapid, of course, than at the ghaut above. The village is, like all others in the Dhoon, a wretched collection of grass huts, but there is a tomb nearly finished, which rising above the trees give you an idea that you are approaching a decent village. The right bank of the river appeared very paltry from the opposite side. It rises abruptly from the stream to a height of 30 or 40 feet, and is covered with trees and bushes. From its summit, however, a bare plain extends to the foot of the hills. One or two boats were moored under the shady bank, and some of our party amused themselves by fishing with floats, the stream being too smooth for the fly.

In the evening, four of our party returned by the road they had travelled in the morning, but I preferred the opposite bank, and set off gun in hand, keeping close to the river. I reached camp just before sunset, having picked up five hares and one spotted deer on the way.

The near approach of muster now obliged us to think of returning to our station, a prospect nearly as grateful to us as that of black Monday is to a school boy.

We determined to march leisurely back to Deyrah, and then run into our cantonment as quickly as possible.

Our first retrograde march took us to Futtipore, about 4 miles up the Ason, where we found capital fishing and shooting. The next four miles we walked extending our line of beaters across the plain. Numerous florican rose before us at great distances, but

we only succeeded in killing some small game and one or two hog deer. This march brought us again to Sahainspore, whence we rode into Deyrah and proceeded to cantonments by dawk.—*Delhi Gazette*.

THE NORTH EASTERN FRONTIER.

We now intend offering some observations on the subject of the countries on our north eastern frontier. Before entering into the details which we propose submitting, we may premise, that we consider Cabool and Cashmere as the key stones of our power, and that the possession of these, gives permanent security to our authority; but should either one or both fall into the hands of the Russians, they will ensure to that power the future conquest of Hindostan. It is true, the possession of these provinces could not immediately cause such a revolution; a few years must doubtless elapse, a few changes from peace to war, treaties ratified and pledges be broken, but the ultimate result would not be the less certain, for in her, Russia obtains this base for her future scheme of ambition, and the eastern star of England will then have passed the time of its meridian. Leaving Cabool, therefore, as the chief point which is to give security to the British, or power to our wary adversary, let us seriously review the occurrences which passed under the eye of our present Governor General.

We may premise that we are principally indebted for our present sketch to native evidences, but as these were eye witnesses of acts described, we consider that reliance may be reposed on their general veracity.

When Dost Mahomud was aware of the intended invasion of Sujah, his first object was to obtain accurate information as to whether his opponent was supported by the British Government, and the means he adopted for this purpose will be afterwards attended to. He, however, gave out that he was convinced of the good faith and honourable conduct of the British, because had he not done so he would have exposed his own weakness. At this period, his half brothers at Candahar had been induced by the other half brother at Peshawur to depose Dost Mahomud, while a large party is said to have existed within the walls who desired to see the British masters of Cabool, and would

have supported another powerful party favorable to the cause of Sujah. Dost Mahomud felt himself surrounded by no common difficulties. As head of the Borakzes, he seemed to have only that tribe to depend upon. The Kas Khomul, or standing army, were in favor of Sujah, or rather prepared for a revolution, that being ever the period for advancing their own interest and for reaping for themselves a golden harvest. The Ludosye tribe which had for long given kings to Cabool, were evidently inimical to his cause, nor were their troops employed by Dost Mahomud. The other powerful tribes in the neighbourhood were indifferent, hoped for advantage in the struggle for power between the Borakzes and Ludosees. Dost Mahomud's resources were insufficient for the struggle; his private fortune obtained from the plunder of Heerat having been expended, nor did he possess the means of conducting a campaign. His half brothers at Candahar, or what Lord Brougham would call the Dil Family, consisting of 5 brothers, Sher Dil, Khan Dil, Meer Dil, Ram Dil and Poor Dil, had, as we have said, combined to depose him, and when Sujah was yet at Shikarpore, Mere Dil, a man of specious manners and a notorious intriguer, came to Cabool to urge his brother to proceed to Candahar, it having been arranged to depose him in his absence. Dost Mahomud took up the cause of Candahar most warmly and proceeded to increase his forces, making forced levies of money on the inhabitants of the city. Notwithstanding this alacrity, he found pretences for not marching until the winter set in, and the common roads were declared impassable, still he asserted his determination to proceed, and placing Ameer Mahomud Khan, his only brother, in command of Cabool, he actually set out. While this was passing, Sultan Mahomud at Peshawur evinced unequivocal symptoms of defection, while Zeman Khan at Jallalabad, son of the famous Falley Khan, and therefore nephew to Dost Mahomud by the father's side, was almost in open opposition to his half uncle;

he took the road to Peshawar and arrived at Jellalabad before Zeman Khan was prepared for him. The gates of the city were immediately closed and Dost Mahomud opened a battery against the town, which is but badly fortified. In eight days a breach was made and the town taken by assault. In the meantime Morad Alley Sirdar, who had been sent by Sultan Mahomud Khan to combine in his intrigue, fled along with Jumahamud Khan; they succeeded in making their escape from the army disguised in women's clothes, but Zeman Khan was taken prisoner. Returning to Cabool with his nephew, Dost Mahomud now prepared to proceed to Candahar, and went to Ghussni, apparently afraid in the distracted state of his dominions to proceed further. Finding, however, that the Candahar brothers could make no head against Sujah, but were cooped up in the city and in an entrenched camp outside, he set out, accompanied by only 8000 horsemen, chiefly Borakzes, making forced marches to their assistance. Fearful lest his troops would go over to the enemy, and knowing that almost all his Sirdars had written to Sujah, stating their desire for his success, he led his men next morning to the attack. Sujah's army lay encamped in a mangoe grove on the south of the city, with an old wall on the north or in their front. The new troops of Dost Mahomud were on the westward, while the entrenched camp of the Candaharees was on the westward. The Candaharees had succeeded in bringing over a Sirdar of Sujah, named Shubar Khan, and his defection seems to have decided the action. At 9 o'clock in the day, the action commenced by the opening of a battery from the entrenched camp, which did considerable execution. The troops of Dost Mahomud at the same time took possession of the old wall, from which they securely sniped at the camp. Shumbah Khan went over, and at the same time Sujah fled without a struggle, probably suspecting further treachery, and that it was not unlikely he might be surrendered to the enemy. The Belochees now formed without order to oppose the approaching troops of Candahar, but this was but for a moment, their camp was quickly in possession of the enemy, and themselves scattered in every direction. An Englishman, named Camel, in the service of Sujah, is said to have alone opposed a moment's resistance with a parcel of ragamuffins whom he had collected; he was himself severely wounded, and on the total discomfiture of Sujah's troops, he took service with Dost Mahomud.

Notwithstanding this success it was not considered prudent by Dost Mahomud to pursue

Sujah; for a report arrived that Meer Mahomud Khan was at the point of death, and Dost Mahomud had therefore to provide against the chances of a revolution from the powerful parties, whom he knew, were in opposition to him.

He accordingly posted back to Cabool, but did not reach the city till Ameer Mahomud had expired from the effect of an inflammation of the bladder. These brothers appear to have been really attached to one another, and Ameer Mahomud at his death left the bulk of his fortune to Dost Mahomud, urging him to exert himself against the further progress of the Sikhs. His loss, however, detracted greatly from the great moral advantage obtained by Dost Mahomud from his recent success over Sujah.

We now turn to Peshawur, which Runjeet, watching his opportunity, had taken possession of, almost without a struggle; its former prince, Sultan Mahomud, has returned as a fugitive to Cabool. To account for this, we may mention that Sultan Mahomud had married the daughter of Fysoolah, and that the latter had risen to power in consequence of his connection. Whether he had behaved with arrogance, or seemed inclined to take advantage of the weakness of the Government to render himself independent, is uncertain, but Sultan Mahomud after endeavouring by different stratagems to get rid of him, at length invited him to a feast, where he treacherously murdered him. Not satisfied with this, he immediately sent to seize his villages and private property, endeavouring to get hold of the brother Mamoolah Khan. The latter, however, effected his escape with his family to the hills on the Teera Range, and placing his family in the fort Jalookhar, he proceeded to Shurspittoo, where he bid defiance to Sultan Mahomud. Dreading his increasing power, Sultan Mahomud sent several embassies to him, but Mamoolah would not believe either his protestations or oaths; at length some holy Syuds succeeded in effecting an apparent reconciliation, where each party was prepared for the treachery of the other. Sultan Mahomed was afraid to engage the Sikhs, lest his brother-in-law should attack him and prevent his Sirdar Kakun Pattan, from pursuing some partial successes he had obtained. At length he abandoned the camp, while Mamoolah Khan went over to the enemy with 2000 troops. This was of great consequence to the Sikhs, who had hitherto held only military possession of the country. They obtained by Mamoolah's means command over the country around Noshera and Hust-Nug-

ger, their northern boundary, but at Cohaut ; their southern extremity, no one can now leave the camp without being liable to be cut off.

We shall now proceed to the banks of the Sutlege and Indus, leaving the field of contest at Peshawur, for consideration, on reviewing the condition of the Sikh States under the present dominion of Runjeet Sing. We shall also leave Dost Mahomud for a brief space, now comparatively speaking, firmly fixed on the throne of Cabool, thanks to the abortive attempts of the British Government to depose him. We must first allude to the policy of opening the Indus as a subject of political interest, leaving our remarks with regard to the mercantile advantages of the measure for future consideration. Some 10 years ago, Captain Murray, Political Agent at Umbala, submitted a proposition for opening the Indus, we believe, to Sir C. Metcalfe, who styled it a splendid but impracticable measure. Lord William Bentinck took it into his head to carry this project into effect, and was for a short time warm as any school boy on its execution. He accordingly purchased the navigation of that river by an act most injurious to the British interests, namely, the recognition and declaring independent the powers of the Ameers of Sind and the Sirdar of Bawulpore. Let us attentively observe the position of these States, and we believe all must join in the conclusion, that whether as regards the security of our dominions against a foreign enemy, or the peaceful establishment of our provinces within an unsettled barbarous country, uncontrolled on their skirts, the policy cannot be supported by a single solid argument ; neither was the measure in the slightest degree called for. The opening of the Indus required not the recognition of these States, and it is alleged that Runjeet Sing, who well knew that a desire expressed by the British authorities, either to the Ameers of Sind or the Bawulpore chief, would have been sufficient to ensure their acquiescence, was so struck with the measure, that he gave Lord William credit for concealing some masterly stroke of policy, under an absurd exterior. The territory of Bawulpore skirts the Biccaneer country, forming a long narrow stripe on the left bank of the Indus. Now, this State owes its present existence to the protecting influence of the British ; the Sirdar being unable to defend himself against the power of Runjeet Sing, who having deprived him of the best half of his dominions on the right bank, is only deterred from seizing the remainder by his treaty with the British. With this dependant authority we must go

through the farce of negotiating, and for the declaration without any specific engagement being agreed on, the Governor General confirmed him in his present dominions.

The Sindians, formerly an appendage of our good friends in Cabool, were likewise confirmed in their independence. This is probably one of the most barbarous countries in Hindostan. It contains about three millions of inhabitants and yields about 60 lacs of revenue. At the period we allude to, it was governed by Meer Morad Ally, the head of the family and chief of Hydrabad, Meer Rustum Ally, Ameer of Kyrepore and Meer Ally Morad, chief of Meerpore. The first act, therefore, of opening the Indus, was to establish a line of feeble independent authorities, who were at liberty to league or form alliance with our enemies, we having for the *nominal* navigation of that river, surrendered the right as paramount authority to dictate the course they were to adopt, when the general peace or welfare of the continent, called for such an interference.

We now pass on to the next act of his Lordship's administration. We may premise that the British public were at length aware of the possibility of a collision with the Russians on our north western frontier, and we may almost gather from Peacock's examination before the House of Commons, as well as Mr. Grant's speech, that the attention of the authorities had been called to the subject, and that most probably, instructions of some kind had been forwarded to his Lordship on the subject. To guard against this event, the establishment of an influence in Cabool was obviously necessary, and we now proceed to detail the means which his Lordship adopted for effecting it.

Dost Mahomud then trembled on the throne of Cabool, while Shah Sujah was a stipendiary of the British at Loodianah. The crooked policy, therefore, of the Governor General, was to arm the Shah against Dost Mahomud, and then take advantage of his anticipated success. Dost Mahomud was, we repeat, ruler in Cabool ; we were at peace with him, neither had we cause of dispute. As we shall afterwards find, the object aimed at might likewise have been honorably attained by the recognition of Dost Mahomud, without the necessity therefore of a wanton act of treachery, on the part of the paramount authority in Hindostan. Sujah who had formerly been refused permission to make an attempt on Cabool while in the British territories, not only appears to have obtained leave, but had his annuity settled on his family during the period of his absence, and

under that sanction, he commenced raising troops within the British dominions, that is, the protected Sikh States, for the avowed object of recovering his lost throne, yet his Lordship dared not acknowledge him as his puppet. No! that would have been too bold a measure for our cautious ruler who wanted to remain behind the screen, to reap the advantage, without sharing either in the danger or disgrace. There can be little doubt, that had Sujah been recognized, and aided by the British, his success would have been certain, but without the open assistance of the British, we conceive that the recovery of his throne would not have brought us one point nearer the object aimed at, than before the Shah's expedition; we trust, too, we anticipate the remarks of the future historian of India, in styling the above an act that shuns the light, an act which permanently stamps the Governor General's reputation, affording a color to other measures, scarce perhaps warranted without this clue to his Lordship's line of policy.

Sujah, as we have stated, having received the demi-support of the British, commenced making preparations for the campaign, levying about 3,000 troops within the Kotelah district. Runjeet Sing could not be deceived as to his having obtained the cognizance of the British, and Bhauwal Khan and the Ameer of Sindé were likewise thoroughly convinced of it.—Under this impression in an evil hour, Morad Alley of Hyderabad, invited him to Sindé, or rather promised him a free passage through the Sindé dominions. On the 5th of Rumzan, 1833, the Shah quitted Loodianah for Muleher Kottah, with 5 guns, 600 Zinchalchees, and two battalions under two European officers, Camel and Dick. His brother-in-law Mahomud Shoriff Khan was his principal adviser at this period. After remaining a few days at Mulehur Kottah, he proceeded with his increased force towards Bawulpore. This threw the chief of that State into the utmost alarm, and it was with great difficulty he could be brought to meet the Shah at a friendly interview. We cannot help calling attention to this, as the passage of Sujah affords a criterion by which we may estimate the real strength of the parties with whom he had to contend. It is indeed almost the only mode, for the British authorities prefer remaining in dark, by either discouraging or prohibiting travellers from visiting countries not under their immediate controul.

The Vukeels of Runjeet Sing arrived at the same time in Shah's camp and settled a treaty, by which the former chief, as the price of his neutrality, was to retain possession of whatever territories belonging to the Shah's for-

mer dominions he might conquer, previous to the Shah's being in the acknowledged possession of the throne of Cabool.

The Shah having staid 12 days at Bawulpore, took 19 days more to march to Kyrepore. The Ameer of Kyrepore had some well-founded misgivings about receiving the Shah, and sent his sirdar Meer Junghee with some Sindians to prevent his advancement. Casim Shah, however, arrived about the same period, as ambassador from Morad Ally Khan of Hyderabad, and an arrangement was drawn up by which the Shah was only to remain 50 days in Sindé, that he was to be paid a lac of rupees by two instalments of 50,000, and to be conducted to Shikarpore,—arrived at Shikarpore, and the first instalment being paid, he commenced levying contributions on the buneas to the extent of 2½ lacs, and having collected in all about 20,000 followers, he took possession of Shikarpore under the plea that the remaining 50,000 rupees had not been paid. The Ameers got alarmed, and proceeded to oppose resistance against the attempts of their faithless guest. The brothers, being as usual, at enmity with one another, a proper combination of measures could not be expected. Meer Rustem Khan, a vain and weak man, sent a force of 50,000 Sindians across to Shukut at a short distance from Shikarpore, and an action took place before reinforcements could arrive from Hyderabad. At this period the Shah's force was chiefly composed of Punjahees and Hindostanees, the remainder being made up of Beloochees, Rohillas and Sikhs, consisting of about 5,000 sewars, 12,000 foot soldiers, with 1,000 jmjalchies and 8 pieces of artillery. A skirmishing of out posts having occurred in which the Shah's troops were worsted, nearly the whole of his force were detached next day under Summunder Khan to attack the Sindians. The latter were defeated and 1,500 killed—many Sindé Sirdars also perished in the action, and Gossim Shah who had lately come to escort the Shah to Shikarpore, was drowned in attempting to make his escape across the river. Meer Morad Ally having died about this time, was succeeded by his son Noor Mahomud Khan, whose force had advanced to Curaker. About the time of the defeat of the Sindians, a letter of defence had been sent to the Shah by Noor Mahomud Khan, upon which the former made an advance of one march towards him. Noor Mahomud then sent a Vukeel to the Shah, who now, as the price of his forbearance, demanded 12 lacs of rupees, but was afterwards contented with 7 paid down, and a promise of the remainder on his obtaining possession of Candahar.

We now resume our view of the state of affairs in the countries on our North Eastern Frontier.

Shah Sujah returned immediately on the execution of the above treaty to Shikarpore, where he remained eight days, and then set out finally for Candahar, after a residence of 9 months in lieu of 50 days, as originally agreed on. Nothing worthy of observation occurred during the march, which was completed in one month. The invading army had increased, it was said, after the defeat of the Sindians to 450,000 men. The Candahar Chiefs offered no opposition to the advance of the Shah, but retired to the city, and to an intrenched camp, immediately on the appearance of his force. The different roads were immediately occupied by the Shah's troops, and measures were taken to prevent supplies reaching the city, while the main body encamped in Nader Shah's Candahar, an old deserted fort, lying about one coss from the principal portion of the main town. It is said to be on the south-side, at right angles to the Cabool and Heerat roads. Here (45 days) was frittered away in fruitless attempts, at battering the walls, where the *Dil Family* merely defended themselves. Just before Dost Mahomud's arrival, arrangements were made to take the place by assault, but the garrison received intimation of the intended attack; and the Shah's troops were accordingly beaten off. Perhaps we cannot give a better description of the rapid progress of events after the arrival of Dost Mahomud, than by quoting the account given by an intelligent native, who arrived in the Shah's camp just at this period.

We need scarcely apologise for giving his journal at length, as, after making the requisite allowance for surplus *bahadering*, the statement affords, we believe, as true a picture of the occurrences, at least as correct a one, as we have hitherto been able to obtain from other sources of intelligence.

" ——— Commandant, late in the service of Shah Sujah.—I arrived at Kyrepore with 500 horsemen on my way to join the Shah who had then gone to Candahar. I was asked by Amud Khan on the part of Meer Rustum to take service with him, and offers were made to me of Rs. 10,000, but I declined them. An application was then sent to Hyderabad to allow me to cross the river, and measures were adopted in the interim, to prevent my doing so; but after remaining there eight days, I crossed in spite of them and proceeded on to Shikarpore. Here, likewise, I remained eight days, and then setting out with me 40 camels, loaded with water,

I set out for Candahar. There are no wells on the road to Kunda, which is 40 coss distant. The people of that place attempted to oppose my advance, having stationed 2000 sowars, and 3000 foot, on the road, some distance from Kunda, at a place named Putta. I came suddenly on them in the night time, and we had a battle. The whole ran away and I took possession of their water camels and a few matchlocks. On reaching Kunda, a faqueer told me to be on my guard, so I insisted on the thanadar's furnishing me with 500 men to shew me the way. From this place I reached Bagnee 8 coss, and thence to Shale 80 coss, where I remained six days. Here I understood, that the Murrees, Kakeus, and Boroees intended to defend the road to Dhera. I accordingly marched in the night, and at Dhera I attacked them. The Afghans had three men killed while I lost a horse and one man wounded. Notwithstanding this affray, I remained there six days; my next march brought me to a village of the Barackzes, about 5 coss distant. My sowars having seized a doomba sheep, the town's people attacked us, wounding one or two of my men. I was asleep at the time, and before I got to the place, 9 of the enemy were killed. In all they lost 16 men, and I went off, taking with me 6 of their camels. I arrived in the morning at the Shah's camp when the troops were just retreating from an unsuccessful attack on Koondils Candahar. It appeared that they had had no proper ladders, so that even had the garrison not opposed them, they could not have got inside; I went directly to the Shah, and told him not to mind a defeat, for *inshallah tullah*, I would make another attack next morning. I found him encamped in an old fort, called, I believe, Nader Shah's Candahar, situated opposite, and at a distance from Koondils Candahar, against which batteries had been erected. The Shah's position was strong and capable of opposing considerable resistance.

" News had arrived, however, that Dost Mahomud was within 10 coss of Candahar, and preparations were then made for retreating. There is a ruin called Candahar, on the Husar road, about 2 coss distance, and the Shah was recommended to go there among the guns, from the batteries erected against the city. I strongly urged him on no account to take such a step; but if a movement should be made, it ought to be towards Dost Mahomud, instead of retreating on the opposite direction. The Shah delivered over to me 15 guns, 4 large, the others *zinjals*. and placed 3,000 Dooranees under my orders. The same night they all run away,

and in the morning I found likewise three of my guns unserviceable. The Shah retreated as proposed during the night, taking the guns from the batteries, and here we found ourselves cooped up in a confined place, full of trees, with gardens in all directions, some of my horses being picketed within the ropes of the Shah's tent. I refused to remain in such a place, where the men could not fight, and accordingly took out my party with the guns about 2 coss distance, between the position which the Shah had abandoned and Koondils Candahar. Before this I had received from the Shah the rank of Nuwab and the general command of his troops. Dost Mahomud had now communicated with Koondils Candahar, and was encamped, on the Cabool road. Zummender Khan was encamped between me and the Shah. Dost Mahomud's troops made several attacks upon me which I resisted; passing me on my right they then attacked Sumundee Khan, who retreated, leaving his guns, and while the enemy were plundering his bazar, I sent and brought away his guns to my own position. At night 1200 Zinchalchees under Shubaz Khan and 6000 Rohillas went over to the enemy. On the previous night 500 of the Khas Khana had come over from Dost Mahomud, each of whom received a gold mohur and a shawl. They were made over to me; but I was afraid of them and considered them as spies. Next morning the enemy bore down between my position and the city, directly on that of the Shah. Camel's corps came out to receive them, the rest of the Shah's troops, concealing themselves the best way they could behind the trees. Camel was defeated, after some partial success, and surrounded; his troops were cut up and he himself wounded and made prisoner. The Shah had gone off long before this, no one knew whither, but it was afterwards understood he had taken the road to Furrak in the Heerat district. Somunder Khan fled to Sibeet Dunder and is since dead. I was now left alone, and defended myself the best way I could for eight or nine hours. I surrendered on an engagement made by Dost Mahomud, but notwithstanding this, every thing I had was plundered. I lost three horses, and property to the amount of three lakhs of Rupees; my son also perished. I was offered service by Dost Mahomud, who kept me for two months at Cabool, but I declined it, and returned by way of Pashawur to my own home."

Our observations on the North Eastern Frontier of our Indian dominions, have already been spun out to a much greater extent than we had previously proposed.

We shall now from the data, hitherto advanced, endeavour to form our conclusions regarding the policy which has been or ought to have been pursued. First, therefore, we conceive, that with regard to the foremost puppet in the drama, Shah Sujah, it has been clearly proved, that notwithstanding his long residence within the British territories, we sent him out a true Afghan, as completely devoid of honor and principle, as when he first received protection at Loddianah. This is apparent from his behaviour in Sinde, and consequently whatever professions he may have made to the British Government before the accomplishment of his enterprise; they would not have been fulfilled, unless there had been held out to him similar, if not greater inducements, than would have been required to make Dost Mahomud perform all that might have been required of him. We may here state on the authority of native evidence, on his own protestations, and on the reports of intelligent travellers, that Dost Mahomud was at that period prepared to agree to any proposal emanating from the British Government, even, it is said, had that been the insisting on his yielding the throne to Shah Sujah. The latter's imbecility is evident through his whole progress. He acceded to a useless and humiliating treaty with Runjeet Sing, without in return stipulating for a single solid advantage. Instead of conciliating the Sindians, after having thrown off the mask; instead of rendering Shikarpore the basis of his operations, he foolishly placed his fortunes on the hazard of a single campaign, which was lost by his own want of energy and glaring cowardice.

The miserable Government and weakness of the Ameers of Sinde, may be estimated by the effect of the defeat of 5000 men, when the whole country, containing a population of 3 millions, was placed at the mercy of a Pindarree rabble. The dastardly conduct of their Sirdars is, however, admirably contrasted with their *bahadering* towards our Political Agent; by their having deluded him into a contemptible treaty of commerce, and their unblushing effrontery in making him believe, that they would not assent to a British Agent being placed at the mouth of the Indus. This is the most favorable light in which this article can be viewed, for we should otherwise have to assume, that jealousy or some less worthy motive induced the Political functionary to accede to their desire, that a British Agent should not be placed at the mouth of the Indus.

Poor Bawulkhan was thrown on the mercy of Shah Sujah and obliged to shut himself

up in his fort, from the dread of the former's 3000 myrmidons. With this Sirdar, however, whose territory scarcely yields a revenue equal to that of the protected Sikh States of Patialah, we likewise went through the farce of negotiating a treaty, which prevented future Governor Generals from remedying the rude measure of Lord W. Bentinck. We may here record the different policy pursued by Lord Minto, Sir David Ochterlony, and the then resident at Delhi. The protected Sikh States yielding a revenue of 55 lacs of Rupees were received under our protection, not by treaty but by "*itela namah*," and it would appear from this document, that the chiefs only exercise their respective authorities during the good will and pleasure of the British Government.

We say Bawul Khan was declared independent, for permitting the navigation of the Indus. For this boon he is to receive a duty on all boats, and to be permitted to fix any prohibitory duties on merchandize he may please, within his own territories. Runjeet Sing and the Sindians have secured similar favors along the whole course, and on both sides of the Indus; and this, forsooth, is called by the partizans of Lord W. Bentinck—opening the navigation of that river.

With regard to his Lordship, had he openly spoused the cause of Shah Sujah, coward as he is, there is scarce a doubt that the moral effects of such a recognition would have placed the Shah on the throne of Cabool. Such a measure would at any rate have been superior, when contrasted with the weak furtive policy which his Lordship selected. In this case the terms of recognition should have been defined, and nothing been left to the generosity of the invader. The case required, however, no crooked, Sicilian policy; it was obvious as the day, either we ought to have made the existing authority the means through which we might have obtained our object; or we ought to have stepped in ourselves, where a great proportion of the inhabitants

were anxious for an interference. Had we preferred the former, Dost Mahomud was prepared, as we have already stated, to make any sacrifices to the British, and the recognition by us would have given him at least that ascendancy, which he has now obtained, through his Lordship's efforts to depose him.

But has this been the only consequence of his Lordship's measures? have we placed Dost Mahomud on the throne, and only forfeited for a time that character for bold, open and generally upright conduct, for which we have generally been respected? No! we have hitherto omitted to mention that Russia has been awake to his Lordship's plot—we dare not call it enterprize—and has on this account advanced her frontier towards Khewa, sending an embassy towards Kokund with an evident design of obtaining an influence in that district. She is said to have been induced to this, by another of his Lordship's measures, namely, the sending a British emissary to Bockhara, for no defined cause, save, indeed, to arouse apparently the jealousy of the ambitious autocrat.

Before concluding, we have but one more remark to make; we stated our opinion in another part, that, making allowance for change of time, Lord W. Bentinck and Sir George Barlow will rest side by side in the pages of history. Both were endued with indomitable obstinacy, which in one instance caused a mutiny of the army, and in the other brought it just to the brink of one, which might have separated India permanently from Great Britain. Weakness of purpose, contracted views, and conservative principles, have been however the distinguishing features in the characters of both, and when we compare Sir George Barlow's conduct to Jeypore, with that of his Lordship, in the instance we have quoted, we are led to the conclusion, the British reputation has suffered materially under the administration of these distinguished statesmen.—*Mossil Ukhbar*.

HALLAM'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

No. VI.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

Sir,—“The reason,” says Mr. Hallam, “why a system so incompatible have been held respecting our constitution is, that some have confined their attention to the letter of our statutes and other authorities, whilst others have looked only to the instances of arbitrary government they have found on record.” What does the author mean to convey by this passage! Does he mean to say, that “instances of arbitrary government,” if sufficiently numerous, are not the *only facts worth considering*, in estimating the character of the English Constitution? The class of men who maintain that the government of England under the Tudors was very despotic, do no rest the truth of their opinions by asserting the occurrence of one or two oppressive acts. They declare such acts to have been very numerous; and admitting their opinion to be borne out by facts, would Mr. Hallam deny that their case was proved? From the above passage, and indeed from the whole tone of his work, I should say he would make this denial. The author of the Constitutional History neither conceals, nor glosses truths; he is neither the cold narrator, nor the apologetic defender of cruelties; there is no superstitious loyalty for weak or wicked Kings, no bigoted admiration of oppressive and corrupt nobles, about him: still he seems to think, that very many instances of oppression, by subjects against subjects, and by governors against governed, can co-exist with a good constitution. Mr. Hallam seems continually to separate the theory from the practical working of a constitution. “The writ of *Habeas Corpus*,” he says, “has always been a matter of right. But as may naturally be imagined, no right of the subject, in his relation to the crown, was preserved with greater difficulty.”* On the supposition that a limited prerogative existed, according to any rational interpretation of such a term, it may not “naturally be imagined,” that this right difficulty. In truth, to talk of this as a right continually encroached on, and yet to lay claim to tolerably free government, is a palpable contradiction. It must be recollected, that it is not a suspension of the writ of *Habeas*

Corpus in cases of actual or apprehended rebellion, of which the author speaks. Every one knows that within the last hundred years, the enjoyment of the writ above mentioned, as a right, has several times been suspended; and no one contends, that such temporary deprivations of personal security (whether justifiable deprivations or not, is not now the question) amount to a destitution of the enjoyment in *general* of personal security, through the possession of a right to the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. But this is not what is meant by the author of the Constitutional History. What he obviously intends to assert is, that the people of England possessed the right of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, simply because such a right existed on the Statute Book, though the right was continually violated with impunity by the sovereigns or rulers for the time being; though in fact the law was of no more actual value than a bit of waste paper! In making such an interpretation of the term *right*, I cannot help thinking that Mr. Hallam has fallen into the fatal error of confounding form with substance, of mistaking words for things. I have already adduced some examples to show, that this writer's anger is more apt to be called forth by the violation of certain legal forms, than by the contemplation of the injustice implied in the acts of oppression themselves; and that agreeably to the same bias of his mind, he seems, in recording instances of the abuse of power, to derive consolation from the thought, that such abuses were committed according to law. These defects arise entirely, in my opinion, from his not fixing his gaze exclusively on the conduct of private individuals towards one another, and on the practical working of the Executive Government, as the sole test by which to judge of the efficiency of the constitutional check upon injustice. This want of clear-sightedness leads him to cite as authorities in favor of the existence of a limited monarchy, men whose writings cannot be said to establish such a fact. Thus, Hooker is represented as an advocate of limited monarchy,* though he lived in the reign of Elizabeth, is chargeable, likewise, with some-

* Hal. V. l. 1st pp. 251, 252.

* Hal. Vol. 1st p. 230.

what of an excessive deference to authority, and though not a word throughout his 'Ecclesiastical Polity' is to be found, of indignation on account of the acts committed in those times, or even a hint that those acts were beyond the sphere of a sovereign's power, whose authority could rationally be said to be limited. Thus, too, Mr. Hallam lays much stress on the principles asserted in Aylmer's answer to Knox's "Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women," merely because it contains the speculative assertion of the existence of a limited government.* Elizabeth was not very likely to take offence at the asserted existence of a limited monarchy, so long as she wielded practically so much real power, and even if she disapproved of such an assertion, she was likely to wink at it, inasmuch as Aylmer was contending for the right of a woman's reigning, and arguing against the hateful reformer Knox. But Elizabeth's whole reign shews, that she would have abhorred the asserted existence of a limited monarchy, according to any reasonable interpretation of these words, and that she would have considered the practical exercise of such a principle, as downright treason. But perhaps, the most striking misapplication of a writer's words in order to support an author's own theory, is to be found in the use Mr. Hallam makes of a certain passage from Raleigh.† Hume had used the same passage to shew that the government of England in the days of Queen Elizabeth was no better than that of Turkey. Writing of Philip II., Raleigh had said, that he "attempted to make himself not only an absolute monarch over the Netherlands, like unto the Kings of England and France; but Turk-like, to tread under his feet all their national and fundamental laws, privileges and ancient rights." It seems to me, that Raleigh's words of themselves, obviously refute the meaning put upon them by Hume. There is a distinction made by the writer, between the term *absolute* as applied to England, and the sort of government that existed in Turkey. But Raleigh meant to say, that the Government of England, *acting according to certain forms*, had a degree of power so great, as to be correctly characterized by the word *absolute*. Really this appears to me to be the only fair and rational meaning that can be put on the above passage. Mr. Hallam's remarks are, 1st, that Raleigh was not a fair witness. 2d. If there were rights and privileges in the Netherlands, were there not also rights and privileges in England, and did not this prove the Government not to be absolute?

And would it not be as Turk-like to infringe on Magna Charta, and all those unrescinded statutes, and those traditional unwritten liberties, which were the ancient inheritance of the subjects of England, as to do the like in the Netherlands? 3d. It could not with truth be said, that as absolute sovereigns those of England could rank with those of France. The reason why Mr. Hallam considers Raleigh as an exceptionable witness is this. "Unscrupulous ambition," he says, "taught men in that age who sought to win or regain the crown's favour, to falsify all law and in fact in behalf of prerogative." To such a remark, I would simply reply as follows. Does the enumeration of the facts I have given, (and I have only given specimens) seem to shew that Raleigh was exaggerating, in describing prerogative to have been so powerful? They must have strange notions of a limited prerogative, who admit its capability with the extraordinary power that was exercised by the Tudors. I would observe in the second place, that Mr. Hallam's objection to Raleigh as a witness, goes farther than he seems to be aware of. Kings must be powerful to make it worth man's while to flatter them respecting the amount of their power. If the Parliament had exercised a real and substantial check upon the royal authority, the Parliament and not the Monarch, would have been the idol of sycophants. They who deny this, do not look deep into human nature. At a subsequent period, when the Parliament began to shew independence, such a doctrine as that of absolute power in the sovereign would have been fiercely taken up by the Members, as it was in several instances in the reign of Charles I., whether wisely or not, is not now the question. We know how Montague, Sibthorp, and Manwaring were treated for advocating ultra loyalty; can any man conscientiously think, that the House of Commons could have decreed sentence against such men had they lived in the reign of Elizabeth? Mr. Hallam's second remark resolves itself into his constantly repeated assertion, that because there were certain forms observed in governing England, therefore the Government was not absolute;—a doctrine quite true according to the strict letter, but which when admitted, does not in the slightest degree shew that the monarchs did not exercise a degree of authority, altogether inconsistent with the notion of a reasonably limited prerogative. With respect to the author's third remark, if it can be shewn that the Tudors did continually commit the most disgustingly cruel acts with impunity, it appears to me to be trifling with our understandings, to measure whether France's des-

* Hal. Vol. 1st p. 303.

† Hal. Vol. 1st pp. 208, 209.

potism did not exceed that of England, when the amount of despotism in England was so prodigiously great. The author of the Constitutional History not only cites in favor of his theory, authorities which when properly examined, do not support the soundness of his opinions, but he upsets at once with a mere flourish of his pen, any statement, which seems to make against what he considers to be the truth. Thus Bodin de la Republique says, the English Ambassador M. Dail (Dr. Dale) had assured him, not only that the King may assent to, or refuse a bill as he pleases, but that "*il ne laisse pas d'en ordonner à son plaisir, et contre la volonté des estats, comme on a vu Henry 8 avoir toujours usé de sa puissance souveraine.*" Did not the English Ambassador speak the truth? Does not Mr. Hallam's book irrefragably demonstrate the accuracy of Dr. Dale's statement? Yet the historian throws the fact overboard at once, by simply asserting, that the exalted notions of prerogative, which the ministers of Elizabeth entertained, were imbibed from the examples of despotism that were before their eyes on the continent.† Now there is not only not the slightest evidence adduced, to shew that Elizabeth's ministers derived their notions from a continental source, but what is more important, their conduct undeniably proves, that whencesoever derived, their theoretical notions were constantly carried into practice, and that accordingly, though in form there might be checks upon the sovereign, in reality the extent of his power was fearfully great. Nothing can prevail on Mr. Hallam to quit his hold of the position, that the power of the sovereign in the times of which I write was legally limited by constitutional checks: yet he is much too honest and much too sensible a man, to attempt to deny, that a vast quantity of oppression was committed by rulers. Accordingly he seems to think it necessary, to make such an admission square with his theory, by ascribing the forced submission of our fore-fathers, to the vigorous exercise of the arbitrary jurisdiction of the Privy Council, which inflicted any punishment short of death, and the dispossession of freehold;‡ and to the compliant spirit of the nobility, not to any defect in courage, or disregard of freedom in the people.§ With respect to the first of these reasons, it is no doubt quite true, that if men submit tamely to the cruel tyranny of

the privy counsel, such a court is an effectual instrument of despotism. But why did the people submit? Why did they remain the quiet and indifferent spectators of a notorious and monstrous abuse of power? To me it seems, that their submission is a proof of their moral slavery. The second reason appears to be an assumption altogether unsupported by proof, and indeed, one, that involves a contradiction. What sort of a courage, what kind of a love of freedom could that have been in a people, who permitted their sovereign to imprison the persons, to take the lives, to spoliage the property of nobles, at pleasure? What regard for independence could that nation have felt, who permitted their kings to nominate the representative of the people in Parliament, and who tolerated on the part of royalty such a decree of interference with the freedom of debate as made Parliaments a jest and a mockery? Courage in a people, to deserve the name of courage, as far as politics are concerned; love of freedom, to mean any thing beyond an empty phrase, imply qualities which would not only not have permitted injustice to be perpetrated with impunity by kings, but which would have *forced* Parliaments to be bold in spite of themselves. Admitting, however, that a dastardly spirit was confined to the Members of Parliament, it seems self-evident, that Parliaments composed of such materials, could not operate as an effectual check upon royalty, either as regard the imposition of taxes, or the making of new laws; yet that such a two-fold check did exist, it is one of the chief objects of Mr. Hallam's work to establish. If I have not entirely misunderstood the author of the Constitutional History, he has erred in fancying, that because there were, from time to time, assemblies, named Parliaments, called together, the sovereign's power was therefore limited. A theory altogether different is held by Mr. Macaulay. That gentleman holds, "that the government of the Tudors was, with a few occasional deviations, a popular Government, under the forms of despotism."* This opinion is not contained in the review of Mr. Hallam's History, but in a subsequent article on 'Naes' Memoirs of Lord Burghley. It is well worth while to inquire how far this view is just; but the inquiry must form the subject of another letter.

I am, &c.

A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

* Hal. Vol. 1st p. 305. Note.

† Hal. Vol. 1st pp. 303, 305.

‡ Hal. Vol. 1st p. 51.

§ Hal. Vol. 1st pp. 49-51.

* Edinburgh Review, Vol. 55. p. 281.

No. VII.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

Sir,—At the conclusion of my last letter. I proposed to inquire into the truth of Mr. Macaulay's opinion, "that the government of the Tudors was, with a few occasional deviations, a popular government, under the forms of despotism."

That constitution of Government would be the best, which should elevate to the highest attainable pitch, the intellectual, moral, and physical condition of the great body of a nation. If we examine the nature of the ends supposed to be accomplished by the constitution I have described as a perfect one, it must at once be allowed, that the materials of such a constitution, do not as yet any where exist. The highest attainable intellectual perfection in the great body of a people, implies the utmost practicable diffusion amongst them, of the most useful knowledge; and before this great end can be brought about, there must be a previous agreement amongst the leading minds, "the choice and master spirits," not only as to what is *truth*, in the countless questions about which men's thoughts have been interested, but also as to the relative importance of different truths, and the best means of communicating a knowledge of truths to others. He cannot have taken a comprehensive survey of the state of human opinions, who fancies the world has got beyond its intellectual infancy. A selection or one of two, from amongst the innumerable points of controversy that remain unsettled, will be enough to shew how slowly truth is reached, and how small is the progress that has been made in reaching it, even so late as the 19th century.* On the question what is good morality, might we not expect the minds of most men to have been long ago made up? On a subject which professes to ascertain, what is the duty of man, might we not rationally suppose, that an inquiry must have been so earnestly undertaken, so zealously and indefatigably conducted, and so successfully completed, as should in some degree correspond with its unspeakable importance? No one surely will have the hardihood to deny, that it would be a knowledge far above any price in value, could we but reach *certainty*, as to what constitutes a perfect system of morality. We should then know, what feelings, and

what motives, followed by what acts, are good, bad, or neither good nor bad, but simply indifferent. Would not the attainment of such knowledge be a great gain? It would not necessarily, and of itself, make us follow a course of undeviating rectitude: it would not inevitably free us from "envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness:" it would not deliver us from that fruitful cause of so many bad and angry passions, the honest misapprehension, namely, or the wilful misrepresentation of the motives of others; but leaving no doubt as to what was virtue, and what was vice, it would engage the deep, and earnest, and undivided, attention of the wise and good, to promote the cause of virtue, undistracted by the fatal and deep rooted differences of opinion that now prevail. Let no one say, that, such differences of opinion do not exist, or existing, that they are of no practical importance: they *do* exist, and they *are* of the utmost practical importance. One class of men hold, that true morality consists in *wise benevolence, discoverable by reason and conscience, and exclusively directed to the interests of our fellow creatures in this world*. The bare announcement of this as a fundamental principle of morals, excites horror in another class. This living without God in the world, is to their minds, the instantaneous conversion of the beauty of earth into the ugliness of hell; it is the presentation before their senses, as the actual and frightful realities of this world, of all those circumstances of horror, which the sublime imagination of Milton conceived as belonging to the shades below:—

"A dismal situation waste and wild;
A dungeon horrible on all sides round,
As one great furnace flamed; yet from those flames
No light; but rather darkness visible
Serves only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades where peace
And rest can never dwell; hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges"

With the more rigid Christians, for I need not say it is rigid Christians I allude to, goodness as separate or separable from Christian doctrines, is a thing absolutely impossible. Such a separation is not authorized in the Scriptures, and the admission of such a separation, would amount in effect, to a renunciation by a Christian of that religion, which to him is all in all. What is the practical inference from this unfortunate difference? It is, that until the truth shall finally prevail amongst the leading minds of

* I hope it will not be inferred from this opinion of the author, that he does not readily admit, that the amount of truth now in existence, when compared to what was known in a savage state of society, is not beyond all calculation in favor of present times. It is the difference between day and night.

both parties, the highest success, as an object to government, cannot be given to the realization of genuine morality, in the minds and hearts of all classes of men.† Let me take one other example to shew, how slowly the march of intellect, (if I may use what is now become a cant phrase,) has advanced. One of the great ends of government is, obviously, the utmost practicable diffusion of physical comfort amongst the people. Physical comfort in a comprehensive sense, includes the consideration of the mental condition of man. Good health is an indispensable element of physical comfort, and it will scarcely be denied, that the pleasurable satisfaction arising from the consciousness of a mind full of useful knowledge, and overflowing with the milk of human kindness, must have a strong effect on bodily health. See, then, how widely spreads the inquiry, how is the utmost amount of physical comfort amongst the people to be attained? Even if we take the term physical comfort, in the more limited sense, of a certain degree of ease, as resulting from a sufficiency of food, clothing, and lodging; how numerous, and how difficult, are the questions, that would spring, from an attempt to ascertain, the best means of producing the utmost amount of physical comfort amongst a people. One of these questions would be, whether on the supposition, that reason and benevolence should progress, the notions that now prevail, respecting the usefulness of the institution of private property, would retain their present strong hold on the minds of men? Another, admitting the usefulness of private property, whether the rights of men as regards their property and persons are wise in their nature, and clearly defined; that is, whether, (if well executed,) they are the best that could be imagined, to promote the security of person and property, and to realize the happiest distribution of national wealth; and whether the means exist, of enjoying the above rights easily and safely, that is, whether a good administration of the laws, obtains? In other words, whether any existing system of jurisprudence is the best that could be devised? Could an answer in the affirmative be given to such a question? Taking England, (a country that has surely advanced as far in knowledge and virtue, as any other in the world) as an example, should I expose myself to the charge of ignorance, were I to assert, that very few Englishmen, are tho-

roughly imbued with enlightened notions upon jurisprudence, and that fewer still, are prepared by a disinterested desire to do good, and by freedom from prejudices, to receive the knowledge upon this subject, that is ready to be imparted to them by the enlightened few? Yet surely, correct opinions respecting jurisprudence, must be familiar to the minds of at least a considerable number, before the subject can be either taken up *comprehensively* by the government, or before a more perfect system can be carried by the government, into practical effect. I have dwelt thus long in describing the ends that are supposed to be attained by a perfect government, and the difficulties that stand *even now*, in the way of the attainment of those ends, that we may have some criteria by which to judge, what the condition of our ancestors, with respect to government, was, some 300 years ago. Is it a matter of doubt, whether we are better informed men than our fore-fathers? To many this may seem a superfluous question; but inasmuch, as the nature of a government at any given time, depends upon the knowledge of the people at that time, I hope to be allowed to make a few remarks on this subject. If there is any truth more simple and obvious than another; any truth without the universal recognition of which, in any country, the people of that country, can scarcely be said to be above the brutes that perish, it is, that the happiness of the community is, in the eye of reason, the only conceivable end for which government exists. In England this principle is now universally admitted. We are far enough from the practical realization of this doctrine, but the doctrine itself no one denies. If certain institutions, certain customs, or certain principles of legislation, are condemned or upheld, they are condemned or upheld by a reference to their alleged injuriousness, or usefulness, to the public. Some complain of a Royal Court, because of its expense, and because it is generally a sink of intrigue and corruption; many condemn a system of hereditary legislation, because the knowledge and the virtue necessary for statesman, are not accidents of birth; some are opposed to sinecures and pensions, because they are expensive, and because they are too often bounties upon indolence, and upon political profligacy; many set their faces against the principle of ineligibility to office, on the score of peculiarity of religious opinions, because such a principle involves the twofold evil of raising up enemies to the common wealth, and depriving it of the services of useful citizens; and some condemn a national church, as favorable to political corruption, and adverse

† The reader must carefully distinguish, the proposition, as to the propriety of a direct interference, *now*, by a government, in institutions connected with morality, from the proposition as to the propriety of such an interference at a future time. There are many reasons that make sensible men jealous about a direct interference in such matters by a government, *now* which *may* not exist at a future time, if wisdom and benevolence increase and multiply.

to the best interests of religion. The friends of all these institutions, customs and principles, uphold them by the very same sort of reasoning, that their enemies employ to condemn them. Without Courts they tell us, Kings could not exist, and without Kings, chaos would come again; hereditary peers, from their fortunes, and from the stimulus to honorable actions, that is afforded by the pride of ancient descent, may be trusted as to honesty; and as to talents, look to their speeches,—see how far they surpass those of the greasy commons, and how fearful would be the dangers, from monarchy on the one hand, and democracy on the other, did not privileged nobles stand between these antagonists; without sinecures and pensions, where would be a *merit fostering* fund; as to disqualifying laws, has not the removal of them, placed all Protestants, within the clutches of the scarlet lady that sitteth upon the seven hills, and that drinketh of the cup of abomination; and as to a national church, by what other course shall we steer clear of the whirlpool of fanaticism on the one hand, or the rock of infidelity on the other? However weak, or however powerful, may be the reasoning of either party, on these, and innumerable other questions, both appeal to one common principle, the common good: they both call for that, as for a ring, in which to strip, and fight out the battle, fairly and manfully. Is not this a mighty point gained? Prejudices are fearful weapons to contend against, ignorance is an armour of proof, and selfishness is the strong hold of Satan; but reason, in the fair field of righteousness, shall prevail against them all! How did matters stand in the times of the Tudors? Did the people; did their clerical guides, whether Roman, Anglican or Puritan; did Members of Parliament, whether Commons or Lords; did Ministers of State; or did Sovereign Rulers, whether Kings or Queens, maintain, or acknowledge, that the sole end of any form of Government, is the promotion of the common happiness of all?

That not a single individual had a glimpse of this great and now comparatively simple truth, I will not take upon me to say; but that it was generally understood, and acted on, in those times, it is quite impossible to admit. The people were generally ignorant and submissive, except when driven to open lawlessness, by absolute starvation: of the clergy, (those of them at least, who emerged at all from a state of profound ignorance and listless torpor) some were desirous to uphold the Roman Church before it was upset, and to restore it, when the reformed creed gained a footing; some bent all their energies to

support the new hierarchy, and the royal prerogative; some were fierce protestants; but all were hurried on by bigotry, and a spirit of savage and bloody intolerance, as disgraceful to pure religion, as it was inconsistent with the very elements of enlightened notions on the end of civil government: what Parliaments were, both in their materials and acts, I have shewn by some striking facts; what they were in base and abominable selfishness, when circumstances permitted them to legislate for their own interests, it would be difficult for language to convey an adequate idea of: as to ministers of state, it is notorious, that the whole brood of them, looked to their personal aggrandisement, and the amassing of wealth, as the sole end of their being, and sought the attainment of that end, by the most abject and unconditional submissiveness, to those who held the governing power; and as to sovereigns, who shall gainsay the unquestionable truth, that the gratification of their own single and individual wills, formed the sole motive of their actions; and that the resolves which sprang from this uncontrollable self-willfulness, led them, now into foolish and unjust wars,—now prompted them to the passing of the most absurd and tyrannical laws,—now impelled them to wreak their vengeance on discarded favorites, or innocent men who by some fatal chance had incurred their capricious displeasure;—a self-willfulness, in fine, which never urged them to follow out the general good, for its own sake, and at the expence of their individual power? There are no means, by which we can better judge, in a rough way, of the condition of a people as to its Government, than by a knowledge of the state of justice amongst them. In any country, if there existed very little litigation, and if this absence of litigation proceeded, not from defects in the laws themselves, or the mode of their administration, but from a high sense of justice amongst the inhabitants themselves, it would speak well for the government of that country. This strong and general tone of moral feeling, would indicate a healthy state of education, on the highest of all subjects,—morals; and morality cannot well advance far, unless it is fostered, indirectly, at least, by the government of a country: so far, then, credit would deservedly be due to the Government of any country, where such a state of things existed; and as the character of the governing power is always more or less influenced by the state of knowledge existing amongst the people, a high toned morality in the people would unquestionably be seen in the acts of its Government. On the other hand, if the people of any

country, owing to whatever circumstances, were above the laws; or if justice was frequently violated, by the undue influence of individuals, or by the direct authority of the executive power, it would be a miserable sign of the state of the Government of that country. In the first case supposed, it would shew, that anarchy or a total absence of Government prevailed: in the second, it would indicate such a degree of ignorance and timidity in the people, and such dis-

graceful indifference in those with whom legislation rested to what ought to be their first and chiefest care, that to talk of good Government as compatible with such a state of things, would be a curious sort of contradiction. What was the state of justice during the times of the Tudors? The question is sufficiently important, to deserve an answer in a separate letter.

I am, &c.

A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

REMARKS ON THE CLIMATE, SOIL, AND CULTIVATION OF PENANG AND PROVINCE WELLESLEY.

[Continued from Vol. VI., Second Series, p. 509.]

SUGAR.—The sugar cane is partially cultivated on Penang, but extensively in Province Wellesley, especially in the central and southern portions of it. To these last the Chinese were allured by the richness of the soil, the facility of water communications, and cheapness of fire wood. The plantations there occupy about nine hundred acres of land, and very small portions only of these are permitted to lie fallow.

When prices are remunerating, clayed Sugar is the principal product, otherwise a coarse black Sugar is made. Under very favorable prices the average quantity of clayed Sugar manufactured in the season, of from 14 to 16 months, may be estimated at eleven thousand piculs on an average, or about 654 tons, and from four to five thousand piculs of coarse black Sugar. About 16,750 piculs of clayed Sugar might, if exclusively manufactured, be got from the quantity of Sugar land cleared and that now lying fallow. When compared with a West India Island's produce, this quantity is indeed insignificant; yet it is encouraging here, for it is the result of the labor in a new country, of freemen whose tastes are even luxurious, on a track of land which but a few years ago was a wild forest. There are about 2000 Chinese collected as cultivators or otherwise on these plantations. At present they may be considered as the sole Sugar makers at this settlement, for the cane, which to a considerable additional extent, is raised by Malayan settlers, is partly converted into jaggery, and also into a coarse black Sugar and syrup, which all find a speedy sale amongst the population. There is no doubt much land still available for

Sugar plantations, and the capitalist will perhaps be enabled, by a perusal of the details which follow, to form his own judgment regarding the probable results of Sugar planting.

It is not known, nor is it a matter of consequence that it should be so, at what period, or from whence the Sugar cane was introduced amongst the Malays of Keddah; it has, however, been cultivated by them from times beyond the reach of tradition.

They class the cane into several varieties.

1. The large cane or *tubboo*, (the generic term) *bitong iyang tiyadu beraboo*, which as this designation implies, is comparatively free from the ashy powder found on several other kinds. The Malays consider it to be less sweet than the *tubboo etam*.

2. *Tubboo bitong beraboo*: the powdery bark cane.

3. *Tubboo merah*: a red cane, the juice of which is considered more acidulous than the two foregoing. This appears to be analogous to the species found at Tavoy on the Tenasserim Coast, when it was captured by the British.

4. *Tubboo rottan*: the rattan cane—thin and hard.

5. *Tubboo kōoku karbau*: buffaloe hoof cane—a hard cane with a chocolate colored rind.

6. *Tubboo etam*: a black cane—esteemed by the Malays—will attain to the height of 12 feet.

The Chinese have selected the first mentioned variety, because, they think, it yields the most juice and is freest from colouring

matter. The average height of the cane under good cultivation is here about 7 feet, reckoning from the stole to the upper joint; 10 is however not uncommon, or even 12 feet in virgin soil.

Superior as the Chinese must be allowed to be to the various classes of Straits' native cultivators in the application of hereditary tact and unceasing industry to whatever they undertake, they yet fall far short of the point, to which did not habit and prejudice interfere, European science and skill might conduct them.

Their mode of manufacturing raw Sugar, superior as it is to the native method employed in Hindoostan, is yet very imperfect, and would, by a West India planter, be thought rude, slovenly, and inefficient. The ground having been first well cleaned and trenched, the cane plants are set out in rows, which are six feet apart; the plants are at intervals of two and a half feet or two feet seven inches; the trenches or hollows betwixt the rows are from one to two feet deep. The most approved months for planting are April and May; but canes of all ages may be seen in the plantations, for the Chinese cannot afford to be regular; and were all the canes ripe at once, they would not have a sufficiency of mills to clear them off.

On the quality of the soil and the care bestowed on its culture, depends the period of maturity of the cane. It is generally, however, ripe at the end of the fourteenth month, in favorable sites. In other situations its maturity is delayed to the 16th or even the 18th month. There are on an average about 3400 bunches in one orlong, each bunch having from five to eight or ten canes. The ground is cleaned four several times betwixt planting and cutting, and the leaves are stripped off to the proper extent five times. To each bunch a cartie of putrid fish is allowed as manure. The cost of cultivating until the produce is ready to be carried to the mill, may be stated as under:

Expence of cultivating 100 orlongs for 14 months.

	Sp. Drs.
Cost of land already cleared (or of clearing forest land).....	2000
Chinese overseer at 10 dra. per month.....	140
50 Chinese labourers at 5 per ditto.....	3500
Agricultural Implements.....	100
Houses for people.....	50
Quit rent (at a medium rate).....	75
Manure—35 piculs of fish or 1 cartie to each bunch, and carriage.....	10

Total cost of first year,....Sp. dra. 5875

Total of 2d year or season of 14 months, Sp. dra. 3825

The mill consists of two vertical rollers, which are either of granite, or sections of the

largest and hardest tree which the frontier forest yields. These are put in motion by a pair of buffaloes working on a long crooked beam, which is attached to the central axis.—These rollers are generally about two feet in diameter, and they rest on a platform of wood, which is raised only about two feet above the buffaloes' circular path; betwixt the latter and the mill on a level with the buffaloes' path, a barrel is sunk in the ground to receive the cane juice; to each mill six buffaloes are attached, and they work in pairs, and are relieved every two hours, each pair working four hours; in all six reliefs only are thus effected in every twenty four hours, and there are occasional stops and delays.

The boiling apparatus is under the same wide open shed with the mill; and on the opposite side to it of the buffalo path, it is raised only three or four feet above the latter. The fire place is well constructed with brick and mortar and vaulted. There are three iron boilers in all; a large barrel for the cane juice, which, instead of being conveyed in a pipe or gutter directly from the mill, is brought in pails to this barrel from the first barrel; also a reservoir which stands at the side of one of the boilers, having a syphon at the bottom; and lastly, a cooler into which the boiled and clarified juice is put.

The canes are brought on men's shoulders to the mill, where they are cut into convenient lengths. One man feeds the mill and another relieves it of the pressed cane. The cane is passed thrice through it, and is then cane trash, which is used along with the firewood when that is dear. Thus much time is lost, for, with a powerful mill, it would not be required to pass the cane more than once, or at most twice through.

It was found by experiment that one hundred canes were pressed the first time in nine minutes, the second time in twelve minutes, and the third in eight minutes. The length of this middle period indicates some defect in the mill, or an over feeding of it by the workmen. On an average the quantity expended every day during twelve hours' work should be, were no stops to take place or reliefs, nearly 2,500 canes. Allowing, however, one orlong to yield about 20,400 canes, the mill will be occupied during nearly eight days (twelve hours each) in clearing them off.—With West India machinery, and its ceaseless operation, this number of canes would be pressed in about *twenty hours*.

One hundred (unselected) canes yielded 32 gallons and 116 ounces by measure, of juice; and the produce in clayed Sugar of first and second sort, from twelve hours milling, ave-

aged three piculs; thus giving about twenty-four piculs for one orlong of canes. Twenty-five ought, however, to be obtained from the best land.

The cane juice flows from the mill through a gutter to the barrel, which, as before stated, is sunk nearly to the rim in the earthen floor; from this it is carried in pails to the other barrel at the boilers. The head Sugar-maker stands here and keeps supplying the juice to the quallies or shallow iron boilers. It may be observed that these are imbedded in brick work, extending a foot or more above their rim, and smoothly plastered inside so as to prevent loss by the juice boiling over. No particular attention is paid to the temperature of the liquor at any stage of the operation—the whole being *guessed* by the force of practice. When the juice boils too violently, some coconut oil is thrown in to check the ebullition. When the juice has been sufficiently heated in the first boiler, it is poured into the clarifier or flat bottomed wooden reservoir, from which it is, after fecullurings have subsided, let off by the *syfarn* into the second, and so on to the third boiler. In this last it receives an addition of about a sixth or even more of a *chupah* (a *chupah* is about one quarter and a sixteenth of a gallon) of fine shell lime as an adjunct. The juice is here examined in small quantities on a shallow saucer, and when ready, it is put into the cooler; after remaining there a few minutes, it is poured into conical baked earthenware jars, each calculated to hold 50 catties of Sugar. Twelve of these jars are usually filled at each milling of 12 hours, and each jar, after the claying process, ought to yield from 24 to 25 catties (the cattie is 1½ lb.) of Sugar, about 20 catties of which are of a fair description, the remaining being dark coloured. These jars or pots are filled gradually from the cooler, by about one quarter of a jar at a time to allow of crystallization taking place. They are then arranged under a shed of slight materials, on a platform of split *nibong* or palm wood, raised about two feet above the ground; below are ducts formed of the large bamboo, which is split longitudinally into equal parts for the purpose to collect the molasses. About twelve days after these jars have been filled, when the molasses have well drained off, cakes of finely kneaded and moistened clay are laid over their contents.

The clay is removed two or three times, and a portion of Sugar is scraped off the top at each renewal. The Sugar thus clayed is dried in the sun in wooden trays, and then packed up in wicker baskets lined with palm leaves. From the above-mentioned number of twelve pots, molasses are obtained in the

proportion of one half of the weight of the Sugar procured, or perhaps a little more, owing to the water used with the clay. The molasses are not in much request, so that the Chinese pay little attention to the way in which they are collected. They are generally filled with dead ants, flies, wasps, and other insects which swarm in the claying house.

No attempt has been yet made to distil rum. The Chinese make a sort of arrack by distilling a fermented mixture of rice and molasses.

The process in making coarse dark Sugar is the same as that described for the fine raw Sugar, only that instead of the concentrated syrup being put into clayey jars, it is poured into shallow troughs and stirred about with a wooden pole until it becomes sufficiently crystallized to be picked up. It is too much saturated with molasses to be easily exported.

For the sake of perspicuity, the calculations which follow have been made for a larger scale than any individual planter has yet ventured on here. They are, however, founded on Chinese practice, and on the average rate of productiveness on the very first description of soils. The shortest period within which these last can be made productive has also been assumed.

Four months have been allowed as the time for gathering in the crop and manufacturing the Sugar. For this period eight mills have been allotted for one hundred orlongs; but three mills would suffice, were they to be kept constantly going as they would be under European management.

Cost of manufacturing clayed Sugar from canes, the produce of 100 orlongs of land or 133·3 acres.

FIRST COST	
8 Mills at 200 drs.	1600
50 Buffaloes at 10 drs each	500
Houses	400
Incidental charges.....	100
	<hr/> Sp. drs. 2600
Cost of manufacturing the canes on 100 orlongs into Sugar at the above rate —these being cleared off in 4 months	3200
Add for tear and wear & loss by accident	400
Packing and conveying to market ..	200
Interest on capital—say.....	300
	<hr/> 6700
Add cost of cultivation as before	5875
	<hr/>
Total cost at the expiration of the first season of 14 months.....	12,575
PRODUCE.	
2 000 piculs of fair clayed Sugar, at 6 drs. per picul, and 400 do dark at 3½ per do.	13,400
26,300 gantaugs of Molasses, at 15 piee per guntang.....	2,945
	<hr/> 16,345
Balance of profit Sp drs.	3,770
N B. The poorer Chinese hire a Mill at one Sp. dr. per day without Buffaloes, or attendants.	

Daily expenses of working each Mill.

	Dr. cents
1 Tindol or manufacturer.....	50
1 Fire-feeder.....	20
1 Mill-feeder.....	25
1 Withdrawer of cane trash, who also carries the cane juice to the boiling place.....	30
1 Buffalo driver.....	20
Hire of cane cutters and carriers of ditto to the Mill.....	1
50 Billets of fire-wood.....	90
Lime and oil, &c.....	5
12 Claying pots at $\frac{1}{4}$ of their prime cost, as they last on an average for 3 seasons.....	60
Total Sp. dis.....	400

Eight days expenses being for one orlong's pro-
duce, Sp. dis..... 82

Prices remaining as above, the profit of each subsequent season ought to increase beyond the above sum to an extent equivalent to the amount of capital expended originally in the purchase of land, mills, cattle, &c., and in erecting buildings, the same having been recovered the first season.

The Chinese are not very willing to admit that they gain at all by the cultivation: but they are monopolists whenever they can possibly become so; and it is well known, that numbers have returned from the Sugar plantations to China with well-filled purses.

Perhaps, however, it might be safest in originating a Sugar plantation to reckon only an average produce of 22 piculs of Sugar, and the usual proportion of molasses, instead of what has been given above, since it might be difficult to get a large track of land of uniform quality.

The Chinese have occasionally received from 8 to 9 drs. per picul for their Sugar; there is hardly any imported to Penang from other countries, since the growers here can keep down the price by glutting the market when there is a competition, and rendering the speculation a losing one. Finally, the speculator is warned against relieving all that the Chinese may tell him regarding Sugar-making. It is against their interest to speak truth.

TARUM—INDIGO.—There are three species of the Indigo plant known to the Malays of this Coast,—the *Tarum rinne*, or true sort Indigo—*fera tinctoria* or anil—the *Tarum besar*, or *Kukor*, the creeping broad leaved kind—and the *Turum akâr*, also a creeping Indigo, which is a strong pereunial plant, found in great abundance growing wild in the Islands lying near Junkseylon and on those in the vicinity of Trang. Its leaf is larger than that of the *Tarum besar*. This last species was in 1793 conveyed from Sumatra to India by Colonel Kyd.

The two first mentioned kinds are chiefly cultivated in Penang and Province Wellesley,

and merely to an extent sufficient to supply the cultivators and the local market.

The manufacture of Indigo is yet in its infancy, and the product is too crude to be fit for the European markets. It is either in the state of thickish liquid, or of a coarse concrete semi-crystallized mass, with an inordinate proportion of lime, for its base, and of a light blue color. I have been credibly informed by a Dutch gentleman, that the dried Indigo plant was in former times often carried from the Dutch colonies to Holland and there manufactured into the dye.

In 1822, the then Superintendent of Province Wellesley made an experiment, with the aid of a native from Bengal, to ascertain the probability of manufacturing Indigo there: the result was a product, which by competent judges in Calcutta, was pronounced to be a fair merchantable Indigo of the second quality. There cannot be any doubt that the first quality might be produced, for the plant thrives luxuriantly, and is not subjected to the accidents of floods and droughts as in India. There is abundance of land here fit for growing Indigo, and the only drawback to its extensive cultivation by Europeans might be the high price of wages compared with Indian rates.

The Chinese are the only regular cultivators of the Tarum. The plant is generally renewed every year in weak soils; but with proper management it will continue very productive for two years. The seed is first raised in a nursery, and then carefully transplanted. Shell lime is employed to kill the insects on the leaves, a decoction of the *tuba akar*, a strong creeping plant, is applied to the root to kill insects. The Chinese have a bed of this shrub in all their gardens. It is a powerful narcotic; and the juice infused in water is said to stupify fish. It is an efficacious remedy in that irritating disorder, the ring worm, when applied *externally*; it must be remembered, internally it would be poison. The first cutting commences at the end of the second or third month after the seed has been put in the ground; about seven cuttings may be taken as the average of two years. The plants are cleared once a month, and after each cutting a cattie of fish is given as manure to each plant.

The cost of cultivating for two years may be estimated as follows:—

10 Orlongs of cleared land.....	200
10 Labourers at 5 drs.....	1200
Seed and implements.....	30
House.....	20
Quit rent—averaged.....	15

Total Sp. dis. 1465

Produce of 2 years, 700 piculs of wet Indigo,
being 70 per orlong, at 6 drs per picul.....4200

Sp. drs. 2735
Deduct for losses by accident, repairs of
houses, vats, &c.....200

Balance, profit Sp. drs. 2535

The above is the favorable side of the subject. Should the cultivation increase a little beyond its present extent, prices will fall so greatly in this article, ill adapted as it is to profitable exportation, that little or no gain can accrue. The case might be reversed were the Chinese and Malays wise enough to adopt the most approved method of manufacturing the article.

The Chinese allow one picul of *dry* Indigo as the average quantity obtained from twenty piculs of wet. But how much of the former consists of lime and other impurities must depend on the will of the maker. The Malays mix it in the proportion of nearly one half the weight of the liquid Indigo. The weed is steeped in mud wells lined with chunam, and a large tub is perhaps attached to the garden. The fermentation is guessed at; at the end of the second or third day the process is complete. The whole apparatus does not cost above eight or ten dollars on the above number of orlongs, provided the crops can be cut in different months.

The liquid Indigo has occasionally been imported from Siam to Penang in earthenware jars.

NILAM.—This plant does not appear to have attracted the attention of Botanists. From its name it might possibly be confounded with *nila* or Indigo. It is, however, quite distinct from the latter and is useless as a dye. The plant resembles a small rough leaved geranium, and seldom rises above two feet high. It is propagated by cuttings, as it bears no seed. The cuttings are planted in good forest land two or three feet apart in dry and sheltered situations, but thrives well enough exposed to the sun. The plants are stripped of their leaves three times in a year, and the shrub will sometimes last to the end of the third year. The leaves are merely dried in the sun and loosely packed for sale; an orlong will yield from seven to ten piculs within the year; they have an agreeable aromatic smell. Arab traders take occasionally considerable quantities of Nilam, and lately it has found its way to Calcutta in smaller quantities. The leaves are considered by the Arabs as a luxury on account of their supposed warmth when used as stuffing for mattresses and pillows, and their agreeable fragrance. The demand is either on the decline, or the supply has increased beyond it,

for the cultivator now gets about 3 Sp. drs. the picul instead of from 9 to 13 drs. as formerly.

The native country of this plant has not been, I believe, ascertained. The Malays suppose that it was introduced from Sumatra. The value of an orlong's produce now being from 25 to 30 drs. the profit after deducting labor is not remunerating.

A Bangkok Siamese describes this plant as being cultivated at Siam. He states that the people there prepare an article used in perfumery, internally as a medicine, and as a cure for the tooth-ache from a mixture of Nilam and the leaves of a plant called by the Malays *daun chapa*, or wild sage; these are infused in water and the whole is distilled by means of an apparatus consisting of three pots placed one above the other. The product is collected from the surface of the upper one, on which it is condensed in shape of a white concrete substance. It sells high. Wild sage abounds in Penang.

GAMBIER.—Is described in Marsden's Dictionary as a shrubby plant, from the leaves of which an extract called *gatah gambir* is procured by decoction, and formed into little balls or cakes, in order to its being eaten with betel. Its culture is described in the Batavia Transactions, which do not happen to be at hand, so we have had recourse to the Chinese for information. This shrub was at one period cultivated with success at Penang and other places to the Eastward; but as Java was the principal market for the produce, and the Dutch had levied a duty of 12 Java rupees per picul on it, the cultivation at the former Island did not repay its cost, and it was accordingly abandoned. Prices have been lately advancing, and the Chinese are talking of trying it again. The plant is partial to hilly land or slopes at the skirts of hills. Two hundred plants are usually placed on one orlong of land, being six feet as under. They are raised from seed, and are topped to eight or ten feet when the Gambier is to be prepared. The Chinese dry the seed slightly, and sow in rainy weather. They superstitiously believe that the plants will not thrive should a woman approach them, or the workmen drink arrack while employed in planting them. The seed vegetates in 40 days, and are planted out in the second or third month afterwards.

At the expiration of 14 months, the first cutting of the branches with the leaves on is made. These are put into a boiler, and when the juice has been extracted, the branches and refuse are thrown away, and the boiling is continued until the liquor has obtained the proper consistence: when it is put into

shallow troughs, dried and cut into slices for sale. The second cutting takes place eight months subsequently to the first. The plant now grows strong and admits of frequent cropping; and it will endure for 20 years. No manure is used, but the plantation is kept clean.

The Chinese consider the refuse of the boiling as a very excellent manure for pepper vines, and that the two kinds of cultivation might be advantageously combined.

Estimated cost of cultivating 10 orlongs.

Value of cleared land 10 orlongs.....	200
Six labourers per annum.....	360
Quit rent.....	7
Boilers, fire-wood and implements.....	20
Houses.....	50
Incidental.....	80

Total 1st year.....	667
2d year.....	397

1064

The six labourers on the plantation will, after the above period, be constantly employed in cutting and preparing the Gambier; the average produce monthly being considered nearly 15 piculs of dry produce, which, at 3 drs. per picul, will be 45 drs. monthly, or 540 drs. per annum.

As before stated, this is the account obtained by collating different Chinese statements.

TOBACCO—Is raised in small quantities by the Malays for their own consumption. The quality is inferior, but Persian and American tobacco seeds have been distributed in Province Wellesley, and may prove advantageous to the Ryots. There is nothing apparently to prevent the culture of this plant from being greatly extended. The Malays are much less addicted to the use by smoking of this succedaneum for what their Prophet has denied them—wine or spirits, than the Chinese and Burmans. A Chinese has always his bamboo pipe at his elbow, while the Burman places his siket or cigar, clerk-like, behind his ear. The Malay, however, rivals Jack in the elegant compound of Tobacco, Gambier, &c. with which he ornaments the space betwixt his upper lip and teeth, a custom even more disgusting than the mode in which it is retained for use by the former.

COFFEE.—This plant thrives luxuriantly on the plains in the shade and on the hills without shade.

Several years ago large tracts of mountain land were cleared and planted with it, and good crops were obtained, notwithstanding the depredation of monkeys and musangs; but the price of Coffee fluctuated so much, that its cultivation, for exportation, was aban-

doned. A few thousand plants yet remain on the hill plantations, which have been converted to spice ones.

The quality of that now obtained to the amount of, perhaps, 100 piculs yearly, is considered equal to the average of that taken to the European market from other regions excepting Mocha.

COTTON.—Cotton has never been extensively cultivated at this settlement. It has, however, been long introduced, and the staple of one of the varieties now cultivated (but whence obtained cannot be easily ascertained) is of a very superior quality. It thrives luxuriantly on the light as well as the stiff soils, and equally well on the hills as in the valley. The chief obstacles to the cultivation are the price of labor, and the sudden vicissitudes of climate from dry to wet: the latter being apt to injure the pod.

Bushes of the above-mentioned variety, which has a yellow blossom, have been observed for the last six years in almost constant bearing. They begin to bear in six or eight months after planting.

The following calculation was given to me several years ago by an intelligent Chinese, who intended cultivating Cotton, but abandoned the project for a more lucrative one.

One hundred orlongs will contain 435,600 bushes; and each bush will yield annually 50 buds of Cotton, or one tail, which is the lowest average rate, being 272 piculs and 25 catties for one year's produce.

The expence of cultivation and cleaning the Cotton, about 1100 drs. after the first cost, will be nearly 2000 drs. yearly.

SIRIH, OR THE BETEL VINE.—The Malays are great consumers of Betel. Custom frequently changes beauty to deformity and calls it lovely—so it is with the Malays. The best looking person of this class—for there are numerous handsome individuals of both sexes in it, notwithstanding the generally received sceptical opinion to the contrary—very speedily mars his good looks, in an European's eye, by an immoderate use of the betel mixture. It is, however, a very harmless indulgence, and perhaps serves to check the intemperate use of more demoralizing luxuries. The use of the leaf by itself would not excite disgusting impressions, and would be salutary as an aromatic; but the heterogeneous compound of the leaf, areca, shell lime, tobacco, and gambier!!—Well, let it pass—no moral injury is sustained from its use by any individual or the community. The old men carry about with them a sort of metal tube, having a ramrod-looking pestle

with which they busy themselves in pounding the mixture. The young make daily nut crackers of their jaws; and although the mixture perhaps rather tends to preserve the teeth, still the exercise on the nut must be a little too violent for them, and the Malays say it injures the sight. The Chinese are not much addicted to the use of Betel.

Betel leaf is a commodity which will not bear exportation to a considerable distance. It cannot be preserved in a sound state beyond eight days, but by being prepared over a fire and rolled into balls, in which state it is called *chenai*, it will keep a year, only the quality is much deteriorated. The Betel now raised on Penang and in Province Wellesley exceeds the consumption, and admits of a considerable quantity being sent to Keddah, which last country formerly supplied Penang with a large portion of its annual demand. About 6000 cuttings are planted by Malays in one orlong, but 3000 would be a sufficient number to insure permanency to the plantation. To each plant a post of bango or some other durable wood, from 7 to 10 feet high, is fixed; when the Vine has reached the height of about 6 feet, it is bent down and laid in the earth, which process is by some planters twice performed, and one of the strongest shoots arising from it, is trained up the post; it is twice detached at top from the post bent down about a foot or two, then twisted and again raised.

The plucking begins about the 6th or 8th month; care is taken not to pluck oftener than once in every 20 days in dry weather. The number of pluckings in a year is about twenty-five, and the average of each is 50 leaves for each Vine.

The produce during the succeeding twelve months will be 63,000 bundles.

The rental yearly of the above number of Vines is now about 213 Sp. drs. and the amount which may be realized by a leisurely sale of the same, may be considered nearly 5 Sp. drs. per 100, land included. In this instance, as with mostly every other Penang product, the real value of a plantation cannot be ascertained from knowing the rent it bears and vice versâ. The rows are cleaned once in two months; and manure is applied twice a year where the soil requires it; the Vines are topped in a line with the heads of the poles, which being portions of a split tree, are rough and afford sinuosities for the Vine to cling; the leaves of the principal lateral branches, and of the smaller shoots only, are pulled. In Penang the betel leaf is within certain limits farmed out for revenue. Within these limits the price of 100 bundles is about 6 drs., beyond them the average of about 1½

both on the Island and in Province Wellesley for picked leaves. In the latter district 50 cents are given for 100 bundles. The cost of cultivation, average as follows:—

One orlong—first cost.

Value of land.....	10
Digging, holing and planting.....	35
6000 posts at 1½ drs. per 100.....	90
Implements.....	2
Withes.....	1
2 Coolies, for eight months, at 4 drs.....	64
Cost when the vines begin to yield.....	202

Annual produce—second cost.

Of 6000 Vines or 63,000 bundles, at 50 cents per 100 bundles.....	315
Expense of cultivation and incidental.....	100

Lowest rate of profit at the end of 20 months drs.	215
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Two hundred drs. are frequently given as rent for 600 plants, which were the risk of low prices left out of the question, might be considered as an enormous profit, but in fact the risk is great. An orlong covered with 6000 flourishing Betel Vines will hardly sell for more than 360 Sp. drs.!! But the disproportion greater or less according to circumstances than the above betwixt actual outlay and rent, and betwixt the rent and the market value, obtains with reference to mostly every other kind of produce.

Any very *considerable* increase to the present amount of cultivation of Betel, without an increase in the demand accompanying it, which, until the population has greatly advanced cannot be expected, must be attended with a fall of profit sufficient to deter the speculator. The profit now is assuredly very remunerating.

The consumption of Betel by the inhabitants of Penang and Province Wellesley may fairly be stated at 6,211,440 bundles of 100 leaves each, equal in value to 81,057 Sp. drs. which would be the produce of about 98 orlongs of land, planted regularly. But allowing for the various distances, different cultivators give betwixt the plants, according to their individual fancy, about 100 orlongs may be assumed.

PENANG.

THE ARECA OR BETEL NUT.—This tree has given its name to the Island of Penang—not from its growing there in larger numbers, or being more luxuriant than elsewhere, but because it was the tree chiefly cultivated by the Malays who first occupied the Island. It now better deserves the title from its having been the emporium for all the Betel Nut (not intercepted in its way) raised in the East Coast of Sumatra. The cultivation of it on Penang as an exportable article is very in-

significant, yet it is capable of advantageous extension. The tree is too stiff and uniform to be beautiful, yet a grove of it has a picturesqueness of its own, derived from the slender and wavy appearance of the stem and the tuft of leaves high over head, leaving all below open to the breeze. The flower, too, casts a delicious perfume around, and a creeping plant attaches itself to the stem, bearing a number of white flowers equally odoriferous.

The cultivation of this tree has hitherto been almost exclusively confined to natives, although large plantations of it were contemplated by Government on the first settlement of the Island.

It was, however, in this instance as in others, found best conducive to the prosperity of the place to leave it to individual enterprise.

The tree is raised from seed. Four hundred should be planted (after reaching a foot in height in the nursery) on one orlong of land, at 12 feet asunder, and kept clear of jungle and lullang, which may be done twice a year. Some trees bear at the fourth year; but five may be allowed. The expence of cultivating 100 orlongs, until the tree bears well, may be estimated as follows:—

100 Orlongs of land.....	1100
40,000 Plants.....	50
Clearing and planting.....	400
Cultivating for 5 years.....	1000
Incidental and losses.....	200
Quit rent (average).....	250

Total Sp. dis..... 3,00

Each tree in good bearing yields on an average six bunches of from 100 to 150 nuts each yearly. The highest price is 3 cents per 100 Nuts, the lowest 2 cents. Therefore assuming the lowest of these rates, the yearly produce value would be 4,800 Spanish dollars, or 2 Sp. drs. the *koti* or *lakhsa* [10,000] which is the usual native mode of computing.

NIPAH AND OTHER PALMITES.—The Nipah is a low species of palm (*nypa fructicans*) which grows in marshy situations near the sea shore, and principally on the banks of rivers and creeks. In the latter situations its stem and half of the shoots and leaves are covered with water at every flow of the tide. It is found abundantly and interspersed with tall trees and low shrubs in the *ootan bakau* or Mangrove belt, which lines a great portion of the coasts both of Penang and Province Wellesley. It is a valuable palm; from it the Malays extract a saccharine juice, or nera, which when quite fresh, is pleasant to the taste but a little too cloying, and becomes like the juice of the coccaut and other cultivated palms incubriating in a few hours,

owing to the rapid fermentation it undergoes; when boiled in the manner that the juice of the sugar cane is, a thick syrup is obtained called *manisan*. It is rarely boiled to the point which would produce Sugar. The fruit grows in large bunches, and although rather tasteless, is preserved as a sweetmeat.

The Island of Penang contains but a small number of trees, compared with the opposite coast, where it is very abundant. Although it grows wild, yet those who make it their business to collect and boil the juice, take much pains to cultivate it.

The plants are thinned so that they shall be about 12 feet asunder. If the juice is not to be extracted, the palms are thinned of their long leaves twice in a year, leaving 4 leaves on each. These are freed from the central pith and then doubled and fastened by split rattans over laths of the *nibong* palm. In this form they are under the name of artap, used for roofing houses. If the leaves be large, and this thatch were not exposed to violent winds, it will last for four years, although three years is the average period. An orlong will yield annually about 8000 leaves, the value of which, before they have been converted into artap, may be about 4 Sp. dollars. This leaf is with much more difficulty ignited than the cocoanut leaf, which is used as thatch in Malabar and Canara, or than the grasses which are used for the same purpose in other parts of India, yet employment of it in a town where much property is at stake, would be highly dangerous.

When *nira* is to be extracted, and syrup made, the fruit bearing shoot or sheath called *mayong* is lopped to within about one third part of its length of the stem—an earthen pot is suspended to this at night, and the juice is collected in bamboos before sun-rise the next morning. A shoot, or *mayang*, lasts about three months, and yields daily on an average one half of a *chupah* of juice. Only one shoot is tapped at a time: this lasts for about 3 months when another shoot is ready, which lasts for three months longer. The tree is then left for one year to recover itself. The Nipah is said to sustain this treatment for a long series of years without suffering much in vigour. In 800 *pirdoos* or bushes only about 400 are in bearing at a time. The fruit appears about the third year after planting, and it continue to flower yearly afterwards. Until that period *nira* cannot be drawn from the palm. When the syrup is converted into Sugar, the latter is made up into cakes about three inches in diameter and half an inch thick, the rim being cased with a leaf; but owing to some saline particles, perhaps from the plant growing in brackish

water, the Sugar from the cocoanut palm is preferred by the natives.

The cultivation of one orlong—800 palms—produces yearly of juice 9000 guntongs or 4,500 guntongs of syrup, which at 3 pice per guntong is.....	135
3 Men, at 4 dollars per month, for 6 months..	72
Stock—viz. boiler—vnt—knife—axe—crooked knife, gollok billiong—barrel or vase, &c....	5
	<hr/> 77
	58
Deduct for quit rent, accidents, &c.	10

Profit yearly Sp. dra. - 48

The above is calculated for the lowest rate of profit.

The juice is occasionally converted into vinegar. The above calculation is for a plantation in full bearing, which it cannot be expected to be until the fifth year.

The taste or desire for sugar, salt and intoxicating, or to use a softer word, still exhilarating substances, appears to be inherent in the constitution of man; and few portions of the globe inhabited by him can be pointed out where Nature has not furnished him with the means of gratifying it.

The Mangrove here forms a *marine* forest of various breadths. In some places it is upwards of a mile broad. To convert the deep mud on which this grows into dry land would be a Herculean labor, even for the amphibious Hollander. At a distance from this—the outskirts of Neptune's domains—has a lively appearance, exhibiting every tint of green with a bright foliated tree glancing out here and there. But on reaching it, all is found to be dismal and nearly impenetrable—an agitated mass of waves and branches at high tide, and a noisome low tract of splashy mud, interspersed with deep pools, at low water. Unightly, and at first view apparently useless, as this sea-wood may appear, it is only one of the many instances where we shall find that nature proposes utility as the end where beauty and grandeur are denied; besides the constant supply this tract affords of artaps, it yields almost the whole of the fire-wood used in Penang and by the shipping; and this fuel is considered far superior to the wood of trees growing on the dry land. Another of its products is the bark of the tree properly called *bakkau*, which is of a reddish colour, and is employed in the tanning of leather and fishing nets.

INOS.—This is a low palm, with fan-like leaves, broad and durable. The Javanese cut the leaf into thread and then weave it into sail cloth. It is then brought here and sold in the bazars under the name of *kadoot* layer. The shrimp catchers use it for their nets or siring: the shrub grows here; the

leaves are rarely manufactured: This cloth is not here in much request. It costs 6 coponga for 14 cubits. The finer sort might be died and used for light blinds, and would even be a good substitute for mosquito gauze. It makes excellent grain bags.

KICHUM—Is a low forest palm, found on elevated ground. Its leaves strike off at the level of the soil. They are used like those of the Nipah for thatch, and are more durable, although they do not appear so neat or sit so close as the artaps. The Nipah being unknown in land, this leaf is chiefly used. It has been known to last for 20 years on the Lancavy Islands, where it especially abounds. The leaves are plaited and tied together in broad rolls, ten of which will cover a house 20 feet by 10 feet in dimensions. The price $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollars.

BERTRAM—Is a low dark leaved palm.—The pithy part of the leaf is the flattened, and is then used for partition walls of houses—even the outer walls. It has a light and clean appearance.

DANGSA—Is a sort of spungy palm, the stem of which is used for temporary fences, as it requires no peeling or dressing.

NIBONG CARYOTO URENS LIN.—This palm is valuable. The houses of the natives are chiefly built with it. It forms ready made *nibong balut*, or pillars, and when split, is used for the open sort of flooring and high walls of the houses of the bulk of the ryots. It forms excellent and durable light rafters, even under a tiled roof. The pirates have large bundles of *sligi* or lances, formed of this wood, which they throw before coming to close quarters, as the fibre is apt to detach itself in sharp spikes, a common wound from such a weapon is dangerous. The sheath of its fruit, which is a little smaller than that of the areca, is extensively manufactured into those light water buckets, named *timba*, which are in universal use. The deeply planted fishing stakes are chiefly formed of Nibong.

MOONGWANG—Is a low prickly palmitc, cultivated by the ryots as a fence for their lands. The branches spread along the ground, or at about a foot above it. Its prickly or serrated leaf is about six feet long. It is dried, cut up, and formed into mats and grain bags.

One hundred bushes rent for a dollar yearly; but they harbour rats, so that it is doubtful if more is not lost by the destruction they occasion to the paddie than is gained in rent.

PUDAK PANDANUS ODORATISSINUS—Is the fragrant Pandanus. Its fruit much re-

sembles a pine apple, but is larger. It is a straggling palmito, seldom rising above fifteen feet in height. The flowers are sold at one pice each, but the fragrance is too overpowering for Europeans. The women cut it into shreds and fold them in their hair.

THE PANDANUS.—A low palmito-looking shrub.

MOONGWANG LAYER OR HUTAN.—This palmito-like shrub grows in the jungles. Its leaf is often fifteen feet long and slightly serrated. It is commonly used by the Malay for making sails. A sail of about 18 by 16 feet costs about 3 Spanish dollars.

KOOMBAR.—Is a palmito which grows in marshy places. There is hardly any stem. The leaves are often 30 feet long and their pithy central part is of the thickness of the wrist of a man. This pith is extensively used for the gunwales of boats being laid lengthways and kept tight down by transverse wooden pins. This material, from its lightness, acts like a cork plank and will prevent a boat, even if full of water and light merchandise, from sinking.

It forms excellent fishing rods, with which the whole population, of all ages, upwards of 3 years, are well supplied, and of which they make constant use of.

TAI OR TAL.—Is a high fan palm. It yields abundantly a sweet juice which is boiled up into syrup. It is very scarce tree here, but is abundant in Keddah.

NOW OR ANAU.—Is a high palm tree (*Borassus gomutas* of Luin.)

It is not very plentiful. It yields excellent toddy and some sago. The *ijoo*, or horse-hair-looking envelope of its stem near the top, is of value for making cordage; and when thick enough, forms the writing pens of the Malays.

The *iju* or *gummuto*, as is also called down the Straits, is better adapted than rattans for fastenings of roofs or palings where exposed to the weather.

KALOORI.—This is a palmito which grows in deep swamps. Its branches are slender and covered with very sharp thorns or spikes. The fruit grows in large bunches; is about the size of a nutmeg, of a crimson brown colour, and contains a very acid medullary substance. It is sold in all the bazars under the terms of *assam kaloori*, and is used in curries.

CORN.—Rice is the grain chiefly cultivated in the Straits of Malacca. On the Island of Penang the field is confined owing to the generally hilly nature of the surface, but Province Wellesley, which is an alluvial dis-

trict, offers a wider range, and to it, therefore, the following observations will principally apply. The area of this Province has not yet been fully ascertained, owing to the incorrectness of the maps of it; these having been constructed when it was in a jungly state, and to the irregular line of its boundary. But judging from a series of triangles which have been taken preparatory to a more correct plan, the area cannot well be less than one hundred and twenty square miles. How much of this superficies is well fitted for Rice cultivation, will be known, perhaps, in a very few years hence, when all the *sawah* land shall have been cleared of forest, until when it can only be generally asserted that several detached patches remain to be located, some of which consist of upwards of 500 orlongs. The Malays of this Peninsula are strongly attached to agriculture. The unmaritime Malay could not exist without his *bindung*, or rice field, and to the preparation of it every other passion for a while gives way. His enthusiasm in the work is such that a positive and greater gain could hardly bribe him from it. With such a predisposition, the Malay is a useful subject where the cultivation of grain, and the obtaining of those supplies which naturally arise out of, or follow that cultivation, are desirable objects. Beyond this, Malayan agriculture is deficient in method, too often slovenly, and always falls far short of the fullest productive point. But the Malay is not stubborn, although he is indolent and capricious. Example and prospects of gain may in time, as they now partially do, stimulate his dormant faculties to useful efforts. •

Malayan husbandry differs considerably from that practised by the ryots of India; the former is not subject to the village system so prevalent in the latter region. The British Malayan ryot or landholder, after having paid his rent or quit rent, is quite independent, and his treshing floor is never beset by those needy dependants who take *custom* from that of the more enduring Hindoo, such as barbers, village watchmen, astrologers, brahmans, fakeers and washermen. He is a Mussulman, but can rarely, if ever, be charged with bigotry, fanaticism or intolerance. That part of his creed which is based on natural religion, takes but little out of his purse, and that little he can, although the Hindoo may not, withhold should his avarice master his devotion, while the superstitious portion of it from its being mixed up with rites and games tending to amuse rather than to instruct, he enjoys too well to have any inducement to evade a voluntary contribution for its support. It would be well for the Orang Malayoo of this coast were he to

imitate the thriftiness, perseverance and foresight of the Hindoo. If he finds it difficult to get money, he finds it much more so to keep it when obtained. His habits are all of a lavish or a thoughtless cast, and may fairly be traced to the insecurity caused by native despotism before the Malayan power of Keddah became extinct, and to the creed which locks up his money by forbidding him to take interest. Trade and buying of landed property are the only means left to him of partially evading this law. It has been supposed that the Malays branched off from a Tartar stock: this position, probable as it may seem, might perhaps be controverted by the consideration that the Tartaric and Malayan languages are apparently *radically* distinct. If the assumption on the other hand be well founded, it might serve to account for the erratic propensities of the Malays, or at least of the maritime portion of them. But the population of Keddah and Patani, from which ours has chiefly been drained off, has a decided agricultural character, and is not more disposed to locomotion betwixt harvest and harvest than any other people so situated would be.

Province Wellesley was long the seat of the Government of Keddah before Buddhism was supplanted there by Islamism; a fact which is proved by written records and architectural monuments. It bears traces of having been fully cultivated; but it must have lain under forest for several centuries, and until the British Ensign became the signal for the tide of population to roll back from the northward.

The Malays are not however the only rice cultivators either in Penang or Province Wellesley, although they are in the proportion of about 41 to 4 of the other classes.

There are in the latter some native Christians, for the most part Roman Catholics, a good many people from Bengal and the Coromandel Coast, a number of Samsams, a class who speak the Siamese language and worship Buddha, and a few Bugese, Chinese, Burmese and true Siamese. The Chinese, with the exception of a few of those from Macao, look with contempt on paddie planters. Yet what but lack of a paddie field forced them from their country.

Paddy means rice in the husk—*Rice* the grain, when unhusked, a distinction to be kept in mind when adverting to the calculations which follow.

Data are wanting from which a very *precise* estimate might be formed of the quantity of Rice grown on Penang. It is pretty certain that the quantity of sawah or proper

Paddie land actually under cultivation, does not exceed 700 orlongs. No prospective estimate can ever be formed of the quantity of dry or *oomah* land likely to be used for light paddie crops, since the Malay, never if he can avoid it, cultivates such land for two seasons successively. The quantity of jungle cleared for such cultivation for the ensuing season may be rated at 200 orlongs.

Neither can the actual extent of Rice land cultivated in Province Wellesley be yet ascertained, owing to the quantity of new land constantly coming under tillage, and as such is not surveyed until well cleared; but there are sufficient data for enabling us to rate it at not less than 15,000 orlongs, or twenty thousand acres, which is rather more than thrice the quantity which was under culture in 1825. At the latter period Government were induced to advance cash to the cultivators and to give them Rice lands at a rate of quit rent almost nominal. This liberality was but ill repaid. Few of the Malays who received advances cultivated the land allotted, or returned the loan, while the worst consequence was that they began to think that their services could not be dispensed with, and thus a great incentive to exertion was removed. From the period that the ryots were thrown on their own resources (1826) the competition for land, and as a sure consequence, its value has rapidly increased. It is estimated that about thirty thousand acres of land of every description are in cultivation within the Province.

The population of Penang and Province Wellesley combined, excluding troops and their followers, but including convicts, amounts to 84,500 souls, or very nearly so. The annual consumption of rice by this number is now to be estimated.

The average number of persons composing a family is assumed to be five, which, from actual observation, is pretty near the truth. The daily average consumption by each family is rated at $3\frac{1}{2}$ chupahs of rice. If there be any error here, it will, it is believed, be found to be of *excess*, since the population does not subsist on a mere grain diet, but is abundantly supplied with fish, plantains, Indian corn, pulses, and sweet potatoes, poultry and butcher's meat.

The common Malays are not over nice in their choice of flesh and fish. They prefer the flesh of the buffalo to that of the ox, and that of the young ground shark is in request at all times.

Religion and prejudice deny to every Malay the use of pork, which is here excellent, being fed with great care in sties by the Chi-

nese on rice and the kaladie plant, the latter being brought to Penang from Province Wellesley by Malays and sold at 4 pice the burden. A thorough stickler for the creed of the Prophet would loathe the idea of carrying pigs' provender to market. The Malays admit that their own Prophet Mahomed was an epicure in pork, which was his favorite dish. Once on a time, say they, Mahomed gave a feast to the men in authority, and the pork which formed one of the chief dishes was very soon discussed. Not feeling satisfied, he addressed his daughter *Fatima*, and inquired if any remained uncooked; she, supposing that all had been dressed, replied in the negative. After dinner Mahomed went to the kitchen, and there found a large joint of the meat lying uncooked; feeling angry at the disappointment he and his guests had met with, he pronounced the flesh of the hog to be *haram* (forbidden) thenceforward.

The Samsams in Province Wellesley are partial to pork. They hunt the wild hog by dogs, either spearing him or drawing him into a rattan trap, which last, being attached to a branch of a tree bent down for the purpose, is like a mole trap, suddenly flung up into the air with the astonished occupant. Their Prophet, too, or Teacher Buddha, was fond of pork.

The flesh of the turtle is also haram to the Malay, although he is permitted to eat its eggs. These are sought for in the sand with great avidity, as are the eggs of the *tuntong* or river turtle, which are oblong and less oily than those of the sea turtle. The Malays assign two reasons for the interdiction: one, that as it keeps its head withdrawn within the shell, its sacrifice or *simbaleh* cannot be made, nor the *bismillah* or ordinary invocation repeated according to orthodox custom; the other that it is amphibious, or as they express it, *hayoon fit darainee*, possessed of two distinct lives, one adapted to the land the other to the water. The fine rock crab is likewise eschewed by strict followers of Islam, because, as they say, it exhibits on its shell an impression of the foot of the hog, and in fact all amphibious creatures are *haram*.

The Burmese and Siamese are the grossest feeders and the greatest consumers of rice. The Ava Government during the late war with the British, gave the following rations to each soldier.

Rice, being nearly 34 chupahs by measure....	64 lb
Balachong.....	8½ "
Chillies.....	4 "
Salt.....	8½ "
Salt fish occasionally only.....	10½ "

The Siamese require about a similar supply.

A common labouring Malay requires monthly :

Rice—30 chupahs or 56 lbs. (value in cen's)	90
Salt 1½ chupah.....	24
Fish.....	30
Chilly and other condiments.....	15
Tobacco—sireh—araca—lime and gambier....	60

Total pice or cents. 197½

N. B. The value of pice is fluctuating.

For a family of five persons an addition of ninety cents monthly will be required to the above items, and rice in proportion.

The expense of the year will therefore be—2367 pice or cents, which at an average of 105 cents or pice per Sp. dollar will be Sp. dollars 22 57

Clothing and Housing a man, 2 Sarongs—	
cents.....	60
1 Bajoo or Jacket.....	30
1 Pair Pantaloon.....	30
1 Head-dress or Kerchief.....	20

A Woman, 4 Sarongs.....	120
2 Bajoo.....	70

190

Housing.....	1
Extra luxuries, such as doriaus, &c. &c. &c.	2

Total yearly expenses, dra. 26 92

A substantial ryot lives much better, and will wear out yearly 2 sarongs, two long sashes, called kain panjang, two bajoos or jackets, 2 pair of pantaloon, two kerchiefs, two handkerchiefs, besides keeping by him a complete festival suit of these clothes. It has been estimated by writers on India that the poorer ryot of Hindostan expends in living only fourteen rupees a year. The Chinese and the Malays consume nearly an equal quantity of rice, but the former use much more animal food than the latter, and dress much better, in the lower classes.

Estimated yearly consumption of Rice.

PENANG.

By the fixed and fluctuating population exclusive of troops.....	coyans 3,500
By 200 houses—and by cattle, &c. &c.	280 3780

PROVINCE WELLESLEY.

By fixed and fluctuating population....	3378
Seed grain on Penang 3½ coyans paddie	1½
Ditto ditto in Province Wellesley or 75 coyans of paddie being in rice	37½
Loss	5

Total estimated consumption 7202½

Rice land in Penang yields a return which may not be averaged higher than 75 fold, or nearly 300 guntangs of paddie for each orlong; but it has been considered advisable to rate it here at 60 fold only. The rice land or *bindang* of Province Wellesley gives an average return of 117½ fold, the maximum degree of productiveness being six hundred guntangs of paddie on an orlong (or 1½ acre) of well flooded alluvial land, or 150

fold, which number of guntangs are equal to 300 guntangs of rice, weighing nearly 4520 English pounds. The present average produce has been very *moderately* estimated in this account at 470 guntangs the orlong of paddie. The quantity of seed invariably allotted for an orlong of land is 4 guntangs. In the estimate of *future* produce as available for the support of the local population, 480 guntangs an orlong have been assumed as the *net* average produce, this increase being admissible on the score of the improving productiveness of the land. The average produce now derivable as above specified from one square mile of *bindang* land will be $248\frac{1}{2}$ coyans of paddie, or $142\frac{1}{2}$ coyans of rice, affording food sufficient for the support of 1915 souls; so that were every orlong to have its complement, the population of this Province might be more than doubled without outrunning the means of subsistence. Prospectively viewed, the number which a square mile will be sufficient to support may be rated at 1936 souls. In Siam 40 fold is esteemed a good average produce. At Tavoy on the Tenasserim Coast the maximum rate of productiveness of the rice land was in 1825, and is still believed to be, nearly the same as the average of Siam, while the average was only 20 fold, at which last rate the produce of a square mile would support about 1000 souls. There the return for seed sown is not only thus small compared with the return for the quantity sown here, but to obtain the above average of 20 fold or 260 guntangs of paddie from one orlong of land, it would be requisite to sow thirteen guntangs of seed. The difference in favor of this local Malayan husbandry is therefore 219 guntangs of paddie for each orlong cultivated, besides the profit arising to the latter by the saving of labor. To obtain on the Tavoy Coast the clear return of 470 guntangs of paddie, being the average above stated for Province Wellesley, including land newly cleared, and not yet become fully productive, it would be required to cultivate $1\frac{1}{4}$ orlong and to sow $23\frac{1}{2}$ guntangs of seed.

The total present population of the latter Province could be supported on the average quantity of rice raised on 24 square miles of superficies, while on the Coast alluded to an area of about 43 square miles would be required to supply food to such a population.

The very superior fertility of the Province Wellesley soil depends on its alluvial composition, and on its being level and easily accessible to water, and in some localities on its being comparatively new; but this last circumstance does not seem to operate as might be supposed, for some land which

has been longest under cultivation, or upwards of 20 years, yields the largest crops.

The soil of Mautama or Martaban Province, of which Moulmein formed a part, seemed to me while travelling over its plains in 1825 to approach nearest to the standard of this coast. Pegue, however, being for the most part an extensive delta, composed of alluvion, its soil perhaps takes the lead of ours. The productiveness of the soil of Malacca or of Singapore will scarcely, it is supposed, reach our standard; but on this point data are not at hand to enable me to form an opinion. Out of 42,667 orlongs, the quantity supposed to be available at Malacca for rice cultivation, only 3,297 orlongs were under tillage three years ago. According to the Malayan annals, and they are rendered credible by European contemporary accounts, the population of the city of Malacca when first attacked by the Portuguese, amounted, independent of the country or interior population, to 190,000 souls. If this number, or say 200,000 for the whole, were supported by the grain produce of that country, it must have required an extent of $102\frac{1}{4}$ square miles or 49,602 orlongs to have been under rice cultivation, supposing the fertility to have equalled that of the Keddah Coast as above given. Being a commercial state, however, it is probable that it received grain from other countries. It is only in those Malayan States where agriculture seems to have never been entirely subordinate to trade that we now find a fixed agricultural population of any considerable magnitude. Java was one of these, Keddah, Perak, Patani and Trangaud, with Ligor and Sangora, were probably also in the list. Keddah from its position and general features must always have been a grain country. Its commerce never extensive, was in the hands of its Raja and his favorites, and when that was all but annihilated by the drain caused by the new channels into which trade flowed consequent on the proximity of European settlements, the population sustained little comparative diminution, and continued to raise supplies of grain for its neighbours as well as itself, until falling under foreign dominion, its energies were paralysed and its population dispersed.

The Imports and Exports of Rice for this settlement are as follow :

IMPORTS.

	Coyans.	Bags.	Coyans.	Gntgs.
For the year ending 30th				
September, 1834.....	3197 $\frac{1}{2}$	6052		
For the half year ending				
30th September, 1834..	721	11482		
Total	4357	80		

EXPORTS.

	Coyans.	Bags.	Coyans.	Ongts.
For the above eighteen months	1478	25		
	Total		1478	500
			2878	380

Excess of Imports over Exports.

Total estimated consumption by the fixed population— <i>itinerants—cattle, &c. &c.</i> in Penang and Province Wellesley for 18 months— <i>seed grain for the half year excluded, consumption of Troops also excluded.</i>	10740	600
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Total excess of consumption over importation for 18 months as above	7862	220
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The Produce to meet this is estimated as under:

PENANG.

Fixed cultivation for 18 months	197
Fugitive crops	50
	127

Being equal to nearly one month's consumption.

PROVINCE WELLESLEY.

Fixed cultivation for above period,	6604½		
Irregular and fugitive do. .	300		
	<hr/>		
	6904½		
	<hr/>		
		7151	400

Total deficiency unaccounted for, being excess of consumption over the balance remaining of Exports and Imports and amount of produce added thereto.... 710 620

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement of exports and imports, yet it is highly probable that a good deal of Rice has been imported in small quantities through numerous channels both into Penang and the opposite coast without being observed. The crops for the last two years in Province Wellesley were very abundant, as the present promises to be, and perhaps the produce for these has exceeded the average assumed here. The produce of partially cleared lands too, may have been somewhat underrated. The grain dealers may also have had a supply in hand at the beginning of 1833. Some of these causes must have been in operation. Besides the registered exports too, it is well known that considerable quantities of Rice have been exported occasionally from Province Wellesley to the borders of Keddah and Perak.

The grain season commences about the middle or end of July on Penang, and about the middle of August in Province Wellesley. In the latter the ryots continue planting until the middle of October, being regulated by the degrees in which their fields are flooded. The grain is ripe within from 5 to 8 months after planting.

The Rice produced here is of the same descriptions as that raised in Keddah, and it ranks next to Bengal Rice in the market.

The varieties of Rice are very considerable, and they are nicely discriminated by the Malays. At first one might feel disposed to think these people fanciful, but on a narrow inspection, the different kinds of Rice are observed to possess distinct features.

The following are those sorts best known, and they have been arranged as nearly as may be according to their generally received value. The first five may be cut by the sickle and are termed *giyau*.

FOR SAWAH OR WETLAND CULTIVATION.

Sri kaja, sri bumi, riyong, sri bangsa, sri menjadi, ripen in 7 months, and are denoted as of the first class by the word *sri* (excellent) prefixed.

Mayang srai, white and short; mayang tilor, yellowish grain; mayang booch, white grain; mayang pinang, reddish grain; mayang kudong, white grain; mayang tilooi, dark grain; bujong besar, white grain; sissat, white and long grain; bumban unak libbah, reddish grain; chak pauh, dark grain: these ripen within 7 months.

Mayang sapangko, white; sultan bersindain; bodool: ripen in 8 months.

Mayang kooning, mayang gading, boonga machang, boonga sena, sunting mamplai, boonga pandan, riyong kichel, unak ikan, borat, chanda berinei: ripen in 6 months.

Ekor, srip mas, jaroom puak, rumboot, sawa, taring plandoh, piring, bawang: ripen in 6 months.

Panget-so, lately introduced from China: ripen in 100 days.

The following are different kinds of the *oryza glutinosa* or pooloot rice:

Pooloot etam, pooloot galah: ripen in 5 months.

Pooloot gharoo, pooloot kilah, pooloot santan, pooloot salambar nibong, pooloot kooching likat, pooloot gading, pooloot gudtongalo, pooloot naga bilei, pooloot kajang, pooloot sippat, pooloot indan, pooloot sekuppal: ripen in 7 months.

Paddie Jagong.—This species is said to be cultivated in Keddah, and to give two crops in one rainy season.

The following are varieties of the upland rice, or paddy *oomah*, which will not thrive on flooded land.

Mayang jagong, hiji trong, saboon, jarum perak: ripen in 4 months.

Tuma, soonkal, bruang, the bear; kala, scorpion; anak morei, langsung: ripen in 5 months.

Jintan, jibbat: ripen in 6 months.

The Malays here have not yet attempted double cropping as on the continent of India. There are no tanks, and it is only at a very few spots that they could be made; most of the Malayan wet land rice requires so long a period to reach maturity, that there would be a deficiency of water for a second crop were an attempt to be made to grow one; but the Malays are obstinate in asserting that were water abundant, still the rice sown here will not fructify after the rainy season has passed; but the jagong rice before noticed seems an exception.

The Chinese last year introduced from China a species of rice termed by them *panget-so*, which is short grained, of a reddish color, and goes to ear in 3 months and 10 days after planting, and as it is a species which requires to be flooded, it promises to be an acquisition, although a very light grain.

There are considerable tracks of land bordering the *bakkau* or Mangrove flats, which at present lie waste. It is understood that there is a kind of rice cultivated in Chittagong, which is not injured by brackish or salt water occasionally reaching it; were this also introduced much benefit might accrue.

The Malays never manure their rice fields, nor is there any occasion as yet for doing so, especially while the system continues of allowing the field to lie from 6 to 8 months fallow every year. The people of Bengal render rice capable of being preserved for a long time by dipping it in boiling water so as to destroy the germ. The Malays have not adopted this plan, and therefore beat or grind out the rice from the husk just before it is to be used. The Burmese, the Siamese, and it is believed all the Indo-Chinese Governments maintain large granaries. The object is political with reference to their exposure to frequent warfare, yet it is of vast utility in times were the crops fail.

SEED TIME.

Four guntangs of paddie are sown upon a well watered and cleared spot of land, of the extent of about a sixteenth part of an orlong. In about forty days the plants attain sufficient vigor to admit of their being moved to the *bindang* or paddie field.

The task of transplanting is commonly performed by the women. Before the seed is sown in the nursery, it is twice measured in order to ascertain that none has escaped preternaturally.

The *samui* or rice plants are pulled up by their roots in bunches of sufficient size to be easily grasped with one hand. The roots

are rapidly cleaned with the other and the tops are cut off. A few of the whitest stalks are then selected and carried separately to the field. *Ayer badak*, a fragrant cosmetic dissolved in water, is now sprinkled over the ground in order to propitiate the spirit of the paddie; the Malayan *Ceres*, for whom however the Malays have no distinct appellation, but express their meaning by the words *samangut paddie*, the *chaba yendar* of the Burmese, which implies that the Spirit of the Paddie vanishes through terror when not conciliated.

The spot on the field where the propitiatory evocation is made they term *humi putra*, which are Sanscrit words, denoting the "*Princes Ground*." This might be supposed to imply that the spirit evoked is deemed masculine; but the nature of the invocations which follow, rather leave this in doubt. The selected stalks are placed on a rest along with offerings of dressed eggs, pooloot rice, or orvaza glutinosa, sugar cane, cocoanut, and sweet-meats. These offerings are afterwards commonly left on the spot; but some ryots take them home and eat them.

INVOCATION.

Sri Dangomala, Sri Dangamani!
Hundah kerin anak sambilan bulan
Segala inang segala Pengasah
Jangan bri sukut jangan bri dimumu
Jangan bri killoo dan pluning
Kichel menjadi besar
Tuah jadi mudah
Yang ta kijup de per kijap
Yang ta sama de per sama
Yang ta bijan de per bijan
Yang ta tingi de per tingi
Hijau alperti ayer laut
Tinggi alperti Bukit Kaf.

Which may be thus rendered, after premising, that the first line alludes to some *Prince* and *Princess* of old.

O illustrious Dangomala and Dangamani—
Let there be fruit (offspring) nine months hence.
O Royal Nurus all—preserve us from sickness, fever and vertigo and head-ache.
May it reach the full stature.
May the old become young again
Where backward may it be forwarded.
Where unequal may it be made equal
Where colourless may it become green,
Where short let it become long.
Green as the waters of the ocean.
High as the mountains of Caucasus.

There is another invocation, which is very enigmatical, and cannot be rendered intelligible by a literal translation.

Bintang mara choacha limpah
Kudua limpah de langit
Katiga limpah de bumi
Ka empat ayer Sambayang
Ka lima pinto lahap, (by some madahap)
Ka enam pinto rizukki
Ka tujuh pukat (or pinto maleegee)
Kald hulapan pukat surga
Ka sahiban anak de kandong ibu
Ka se-puluh Mahomed jadi
Jadi siklan jadi
Ooma tanaman jadi
Bayan noollah de dalam rongga batu
Lagi ada rizukki
Deri hooloo deri hillir
Sarep mengarep
Deri senang kita senang
Menghantar rizukki
Ber tambuh ber tamboon.

The gloriously resplendant stars lighting the firmament are the first;
 The full refulgence of the sky is the second;
 The fulness spreading over the Earth is the third—causing abundance;
 The fourth the blessed waters harbingers of fertility;
 The fifth the four gates of the World pouring out plenty;
 The sixth the door to abundance of Food;
 The seventh the portal of the upper story of the Palace;
 The eighth the floor of Sugar or Heaven;
 The ninth—the pregnant mother;
 The tenth—[may the grain harvest be lucky as] the birth day of Mahomed;
 May all prove prosperous.
 May dry grain prosper—
 May the hand of the Almighty appear in the filling of the husk as a hole in a rock is shut up by degrees.
 From above from below let plenty always flow.
 From east and west may abundance ever increasing pour in.

Adam and Hawah, our first parents, say our first Malays, had two sons and two daughters: the daughters to whom they give the precedence were Normani and Aski; the sons were Soorbani and Aknini. The earth did not then yield enough food for the subsistence of mankind; Adam, therefore, conveyed by divine command one son and one daughter into the plains, and having sacrificed them and chopped them into small fragments, he scattered these over the ground. On his returning home Hawah inquired what had become of her children? Adam replied that they were abroad in the field. Six months afterwards she again asked where they were, Adam said come, and I will shew you them. They then both went forth to the plain and called on the children by name bidding them return.

The other two children who had followed them out answered 'we are coming.' Adam and Hawah now beheld with wonder the wide plain waving with a golden harvest. On a sudden the whole grain became *saman-gut*, or instinct with life, and then rising in the air like dense swarms of bees, poured onwards with a loud buzzing noise, until it entered the habitation of the first man and woman from whom it had its birth. Hence it is incumbent on cultivators to treat paddy with respect.

One of the singular customs which may be observed at this settlement, amongst a population composed of many races, and where about twelve distinct Asiatic languages are spoken by considerable numbers, is the search for ceres or proserpine by the Chinese.

They being ignorant of the real origin of the rite, call it a search for charmed roots and medical substances. Four men carry on their shoulders a small painted wooden or bamboo box, with a canopy, and open in front. In this an image of Choo Sookong, one of their deified mortals is placed. A *Juzzuzen* or Physician, places himself in front, and the whole move off over the country at a double quick pace.

Choo Sookong is believed to give himself a shake occasionally so as to impede the

movements of his bearers. The *Juzzuzen* then opens his books, and that one to which the box inclines, he consults, noticing the medicines whose names first meet his eye. The attendants then begin to dig up the earth to find the substance indicated.

It is the Chin-choo Chinese, who chiefly, perhaps solely, practice this rite.

The Siamese and Samsam cultivators, who are Buddhists, call their Ceres, *Me Pho Sop Chau*, "the exalted mother of grain." In their legends it is recorded that of old, when mankind were yet in a state of innocence, grain grew spontaneously on the earth. At length the women began to steal, and men compassionating their weakness, pardoned their error four successive times. It then became necessary to have a king who should control the evil now first appearing in the world. The men, however, soon followed in the steps of the women, and they even ventured to show every degree of disrespect to *Me Pho Sop* in the rough manner in which they cultivated the corn. At length disgusted with the insults heaped on her, and at the crimes of the human race, she fled and took refuge in a deep cave on a high mountain. Famine now ravaged the earth. To avert this calamity holy men were sent in search of the lost goddess. Following the course of a river, they perceived some husks of grain floating on its surface and were thus directed to the cave. Here they observed the seeds of grain attached to the roof, and after much supplication induced *Me Pho Sop* to return and diffuse plenty around to a race now first aware of her value.

The Buddhist ryots when about to plant the rice, propitiate this goddess by offerings of the kaboons fish or haroon (which abounds in the paddie fields during the rains) eggs, fruits, sugar, the oriza glutinosa, and betel leaf. The goddess is represented by a bunch of the rice plants which are tied together by white thread. Waxen tapers are lighted and incense burned, and scented water is sprinkled over the typical bunch, which is then covered with a white cloth raised into the shape of a canopy.

This ceremony generally takes place early in the morning. All the ryots present then evoke *Me Pho Sop* to favor the paddie crop; when the grain approaches to fullness, similar rites are performed and acid fruits are added to the oblation, because, say the Siamese, the predilection belongs to it as well as to the sex in general under similar circumstances.

The paddie planter is provided with a short stick, with a fork at the end. Having inserted from five to nine stalks or plants into this fork, he pushed it down into the mud, to the depth of from 3 to 6 inches, according to the

nature of the soil. Superstition enjoins that decorum should be observed during that operation, and that no one should speak during the planting of every seven bunches. These bunches are set at distances varying from half a foot to one and a half foot. In the richest soils even two feet might be allowed, as the bushes expand sufficiently to cover the intervals. The owner afterwards inspects his field occasionally, sees that it has the requisite quantity of water and destroys weeds and vermin. As the ear begins to fill, he stretches ropes over the field and attaches scarecrows to it, and he erects a high covered perch in which one of his family constantly watches, at the imminent risk at night of being picked off by a tiger. Birds and rats which occasionally appear in great numbers, contrive notwithstanding to take heavy custom out of the crops.

Newly occupied land near forest is most subject to their inroads; several insects also infest the rice fields. It is almost incredible the swarms of rats which overran the plains and paddie fields of Province Wellesley last year. They did much partial damage to the young grain, but the crop was nevertheless most abundant. It is probable that such an uncommon invasion was from the interior. These swarms disappeared nearly as suddenly as they came, yet they are sufficiently numerous at all times to form one of the legitimate subjects for grumbling to the farmer; they are most destructive in rainy nights, such, say the ryots, protecting them from their enemies—the owl, snakes, &c. The Malays are obstinate in believing that they swarm across from Penang, because a great many had been observed floundering in the mud after the retreat of the tide; but the most current opinion with them is, that these rats were produced in oyster or other shells!

As the ear of the rice appears, the water is generally allowed to gradually drain off to hasten its filling, but it will fully ripen without this precaution. The ryots assist each other both in sowing and reaping.

The grain is cut with the sickle when it has been laid down by its own weight, or by wind, or is otherwise in jeopardy. But as the straw is here of little or no value, grass being abundant throughout the year, and as the gram is often, from perhaps an intermixture of different sorts, not all ripe at once, and as the ryots do not readily walk out of the path which his forefathers followed, recourse is generally had to the more dilatory and expensive method of cutting by *pingeeau*, by which only enough of the stalk is left to admit of its being grasped by the hand and tied up in bunches.

Viewed with the eye of an economist, it is a beautiful object, a ripe waving paddie field of ten miles or more in extent. The whole air is perfumed by the mellow aroma; the Malay then is in his glory, and all the old women and elderly matrons are seen with comical straw hats plucking the ears of corn, the young married women and spinsters under a certain age are left at the distaff and loom and other household duties.

The Malays hold sacred the first three days of harvest, and the presiding spirit of the grain is again evoked and propitiated. These days are *pantang*, or under an interdict, or tabooed as the African would express himself, and until they are past, the cultivator is careful not to permit any thing to be removed from his house. On the first day waxen tapers are lighted and incense burned. Parts of the *Foorkhan* or Koran are recited, the rite being termed *kunduri*—all the assembly calling out *ameen* at the close of each sentence.

An iron nail is carried on the first day to the field in order to avert some planetary influence, for the plants, it is well known, had in ancient mythology their types in the several metals; it is stuck into the earth, where it is left until all the grain has been cut. This charm may remind one, too, of the sailor's horse shoe. It is afterwards placed in the granary as a charm to prevent the paddie becoming *samangat*, namely, taking fright and vanishing, as it did of old! A rude altar is then raised on the field, on which are laid offerings of rice, plantains, flour, eggs, oil, water and perfumes, a white cloth is thrown gently over all and the peasant evokes the spirit in the following strain—

Ma'ilah Che Marila Taun,
Hunda pulang Maligei mas Maligei perak,
Lama sudah main angin dan ombak,
Tumpat iyang sinuang iyang selesu.

Come O young Lord and Master,
Return to the golden and silver Palace,
Long hast thou disported in the wind and rippling waters,
Return now to a place of repose and enjoyment.

On the same day one male and one female stalk (the distinction is perhaps fanciful) are selected, on each a gold or silver ring is put, both are then tied together with a white thread, wrapped up in white cloth, and conveyed along with one basket full of the ripe ears to the granary. Some ryots cut seven instead of two stalks in commemoration of seven mothers who became *samangat*, perhaps the seven Rishis or stars of Hindoo mythology.

On the second day, two, and on the third, three baskets full are cut and consecrated in like manner. When these first fruits have been thus with due rites housed in the granary, a jar of water is placed beside them, and the harvest is begun in earnest. Many ryots either from having been weaned from

these besetting superstitions, or out of carelessness, or perversity, neglect these ceremonies in whole or in part.

The true Siamese when they first saw the seed in the nursery, set up a white triangular flag on the spot. It has a square compartment near the upper part, within which another square is inscribed, the angles of which rest on the centre of the faces of the outer square; four triangular compartments are thus formed. The cardinal points, with four intermediate ones, on the outer square, are denoted by the *prha khawany* (light in all) or guardian spirits described in their Bali Legends. Betwixt each figure is a unit (1) within the two upper triangles are written Bali syllables *Na Mo* symbolical of two Buddhas. In the centre foot and in the lower angles *Tha* and *Ya*, or *Phoothaya*, the name of Boodha in the Siamese Bali language.

The flag being hoisted, the ryots invoke in a sitting posture by name *Phra Een* or *India* the protector of mankind, and *Nang Phra Thoranee*, the Goddess of Earth, and *Chaa Deen*, the Spirits Lords of the soil, who it may be here observed, are much dreaded and are propitiated by beastical sacrifices when a tin or other mine is to be opened; also *Bri-theeo*, a spirit which guards the surface of the ground; *Phra Phrom*, or six superior Gods; *Phra Yom* or *Yama*, God of the Infernal Regions; *Phra Kan*, the Angel of Death and guide of the liberated souls of those mortals who have been doomed to expiate their crimes in hell; besides many other deities and sprites belonging to the copious pantheon of the Hindoos and Boodhas. When the grain is ripe they tie nine bunches before pulling them up or cutting them together with white thread, and then invoke Buddha. The Bali and the hierarchy, exclaiming also *aa kha-chahee mo nee me ma*; come, come, come here, mother come! They then rise and again invoke the same triad. No fire must be taken out of a house for the ensuing three days. The nine bunches on the fourth day are cut and placed in the granary as consecrated first fruits.

The Samsams after their pooja, or as they call it poocha, or its accompanying offerings to *Me Pho Sop*, select one hundred and eight paddie stalks, this being the number told by Booddhist priests on their rosary in memory, or honor of the holy foot of their deified Saint before noticed. These stalks are then fashioned into the figure of a female, much in the same manner as the Harvest Maiden is formed in some northern countries of Britain. This figure is clothed and being then considered the representative of *Me Pho Sop*, offerings are made to it of rice and fruits, and it is duly consecrated by five Buddhist

priests. It is afterwards placed above the new grain in the granary, and five stones are laid on it to prevent its escape. When any gram is to be beaten out, this image is also brought forth and told what quantity is required.

The harvest home in this Province is celebrated by games, theatrical and other festivities, several of which seem of Hindoo origin. Much money after a favorable crop is thus spent, and the Madras jugglers continue to get a share of it.

Buffaloe fights once formed here the grand harvest home amusement, and they were conducted with much décorum: the presence of the Police being scarcely wanted.

A ring of about one hundred and fifty yards in diameter was surrounded by high stands or scaffoldings, with considerable intervals betwixt them. On these were assembled the most respectable proprietors and farmers with their families of all ages and both sexes, dressed in clean holiday suits, while several thousands of people filled up these intervals: the Spaniard and John Bull would have considered the whole affair exceedingly tame. Here no barbarities were practised, there was no quarrelling and no drunkenness or other brutalities exhibited. The buffaloes were successively led out in pairs by their owners, one pair at a time into the arena, when sufficiently close, were allowed to come of their own accord to the scratch. The owners did not mount their buffaloes after the Tavoy or Burman fashion, but got quickly out of the way of the animals. Many buffaloes declined the contest, and very few fought beyond five minutes, when one generally scampered off across the country followed by the victor: blood was very rarely drawn, and no deaths occurred. The only science displayed on the last occasion was by a buffaloe, the property of an old Malay woman, and named by her *Bintangberali*, "the shifting star." This animal generally contrived by a dexterous manœuvre to get one of its horns under the lower jaw of its adversary, and by twisting his neck to bring on his side to the ground. The defeated buffalo rarely ran a second course, but made off as fast as it could without any further attempt of the victor to injure it.

Bull baiting is of course disallowed by English law, and has been therefore discouraged within the Province. Still as the animal spirits of any population, much more of one just emerging from the middle grade of civilization, will have an outlet in some way or other, it is doubtful whether the indulgence in this sport under so mild a form, compared with that which it takes in Europe, was not productive of good in the main. The same apology cannot be made for systematic cock

fighting. The Malays, it is well known, are passionately attached to this barbarity, called by them *sabong ayam*. Can enlightened England condemn them when she looks into her own bosom? The Malays are perhaps equally *scientific* as the most *civilized* European in the selecting, training and *arming* of their game cocks. This demoralizing and ruinous sport has been long happily suppressed in Penang and the opposite coast. Of course the suppression cannot extend to the birds themselves, so neighbours occasionally enjoy the sight of their making use of nature's weapons in their private quarrels, about the right and title to some favorite belle of the roost. In proportion as these channels to over excitement have been closed, have gaming with dice, or *po*, and its attendants, poverty, robbery, and theft increased, and these mischiefs have, it may safely be said, been aggravated since gambling was removed from fiscal controul and left free of tithe to the cognizance of the law. To eradicate the passion is perhaps impossible, for it is linked with several natural and beneficial ***** and aspirations as well as ***** of the human mind, to keep it down to such a level that it shall not break occasionally through gaps in the barriers of social life, is a thing of difficult achievement, and not to be achieved by any Police modelled by the principles of a free State. The vice presents itself to us in these Indo-Chinese regions as an irrepressible mental aberration, to which palliatives may possibly be applied with some small advantage. The mere operation of English law can hardly extend deeper into the evil than to reduce it to the dimensions of a permitted, or of a connived at, nuisance.

The Chinese are more determined gamblers than the Malays, scarcely an individual of either sex of the first class can refrain from indulging in it. To evade the law, the Chinese have urged that gambling forms one of their religious rites, hoping by this *finese* to shelter themselves under the Charter of Justice; but the fallacy is too palpable to be overlooked. Marco Polo who was himself Governor of a Chinese Province, and wrote about 544 years ago, gives the following graphic account of this vice.

"The present Khan has prohibited every species of gambling and other modes of cheating, to which the people of this country (China) are addicted more than any other upon earth." Amidst an untutored and heterogenous native population like ours, the noble fiat or dictum of refined legislature, that the poorest subject's house is his castle,

is apt to become the shield of the gamester and robber as well as of the peaceful citizen.

As regards Province Wellesley, the prohibitions and penalties of the law serve but as premiums to our neighbours, the Siamese and the Perak Malays, who have established cordons of gambling houses, cock-pits and opium shops along our frontiers, thereby monopolizing the revenue which our law rejects, and increasing the evils which are naturally inseparable from the unrestricted indulgence of irregular passion and propensity. After a favorable harvest the ryots avow to institute games and festivals.

The *Main Manora* and *Wayang kulit*, are the chief scenical amusements. The first of these is the Siamese Drama, embodying the heroic deeds of Sri Rama and his Army of Apes. In this the actors have appropriate, often expensive, dresses and masques, and a full band of music fills up the interludes. Instruments for a complete band, cost about £100 sterling. The second a *Wayang kulit*, a sort of dramatic phantasmagoria, is derived from Java, and is essentially of Hindoo origin. The dramatis personæ are represented by flexible leathern figures, which are worked behind a screen of thin white cloth by an *Orang dallang*, who is the sole reciter or prompter, and who is obliged to modulate his voice to suit the numerous characters introduced. The Burmese are much attached to this kind of exhibition, the *Myoomoons* annually having a private theatre of their own for its exhibition.

The *Manora* lasts here five or six days and *Wayang kulit* for seven or eight. The expence for the first every 24 hours is 4 dollars and for the last 1½ dollars. The Theatre is a shed in the open air. The person who hires the company consisting of from 12 to 16 performers, including musicians, pays all expences, the crowd is free to enjoy the performance gratis. *Wayang Joget* partakes more of a nautch than a play, since dancing and singing are its chief attractions. The dancers are women generally, but often boys in women's clothes. For a company of *Orang Joget*, consisting 12 *panya* or musicians, 3 *beduan* or singers and 2 *joget* or dancers, the hire of one night is 12 or 13 Spanish dollars.

A Chinese company consists of thirty actors of all classes. The hire for one night is 20 Sp. dollars at the lowest rate; but their music is execrable, being pitched at a very high key. The wardrobe of a Chinese company costs here at *second-hand* about 1200 dollars, and a new set of dresses will cost 3000 dollars.—*Prince of Wales' Island Gazette*.

* Blank in the *Prince of Wales' Island Gazette*.

(To be continued.)

THE INDIAN LAW-COMMISSION.

No. I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CEYLON GOVERNMENT GAZETTE.

Sir,—It appearing from the authority that the Indian Law-Commission has at length assumed an embodied form, and that it will, upon the arrival of its adjunct Commissioner from England, commence its operations: it becomes, not merely an object of distant speculation, but of immediate interest, to consider what probably may be its bent and course of action. All India (and as far as the effect of example may have weight, Ceylon as a part of India) is concerned in the future labours of the commission: I trust, therefore, I shall not be deemed as writing out of season, when I commit to the pages of your journal, for the purpose of exciting public attention, the plain and unartificial observations which I am about to do.

If there be certain periods in the history of every country, (as has well been noticed by political and philosophical writers) at which from circumstances it may be conjectured, that a positive increase, either of good or evil, will be the consequence of certain adopted measures, such a crisis is that which is now arrived in respect of the Continent of India. The incorporation of all Italy with Rome in the time of Marius and Sylla, is one event which has been marked out as of the nature of those which are thus spoken of; as the fate and progress of our English House of Commons, between the accession of Henry VII. to the year 1588, and again from 1588 to 1640, has been another.

The power of legislation to be exercised openly in the face of the world, within the boundaries of India itself, is an occurrence which cannot but be productive of consequences not unimportant: of consequences, which undoubtedly give birth to hopes, but which at the same time, may, not unreasonably, excite also some fears.

The measures which have preceded the introduction meditated of extended legislative power, have certainly not been of a kind very satisfactory to the lover of independency of legal institutions. It is another and late proof (not much, I own, required), of the inadequate interest which is taken in the affairs of India (vast though India be) by the public at home, the finding, that the power about to be vested in the Cabinet of India, has at its very commencement been marked by the

abandonment to partial, if not entire, neglect, of the King's Supreme Courts. I would add also as another untoward incident, the elevation (though temporary) to the first authority in all India, of that individual, who, as a Member of Council, in the most unguarded and unmeasured tone, attacked, through the channel of a secret Minute, the very Court of Justice of the Presidency in which he held a high office. Let Sir C. T. Metcalfe's public hospitality have its due praise—let his excellent private qualities have their just reward of esteem,—but, that after his violent papers of April 15, and May 2, 1829. He, of all others, should be the selected individual, first to fill the governmental chair, under its new régime, is to me, I confess, a matter of some regret and of partial alarm. Neither can I quite put away the recollection, that the late Governor General himself, excellent and well-deserving as he is, has so far shewn himself imbued with oriental prejudices, as to protest against any limitation to be assigned to the local legislative power; and to declare against the use and continuation of a prohibition “so vague” (thus he has spoken) as is implied by the direction to enact no laws repugnant to the law of England.

There is yet another circumstance, which, as a sincere well-wisher to mankind, and consequently feeling a strong interest in the happiness of a population forming so large a portion of it as India must be deemed to do, also affects me with unfeigned solicitude. I mean, Sir, the feeling (to say the least) of indifference, as to the Supreme Courts, exhibited by the Eastern Press at large—an indifference which, as I believe trial by jury exists only within the precincts of those Supreme Courts, may be fairly supposed to extend to that institution itself. I am not, Sir, unaware that catching opinions have of late become somewhat prevalent even in Great Britain, the tendency of which has been to eradicate from the minds of Englishmen that just pride in which formerly they were wont to indulge, as the possessors of popular judicial institutions, and of tribunals, rendered sacred by ancient custom, before which, in any contest of a serious nature, neither personal power, however high, nor opulence, however great, could avail in favor of a wrong-doer.

I am aware also that these opinions have created a desire not merely to have justice cheap (a legitimate and praise-worthy object) but also to have it small—and that it is the fashion of the day to call for what is termed a natural procedure in the way of justice, preferably to what is denominated a technical one. Now, that this natural procedure may be carried further than it has yet been done at home, with good effect, may readily be admitted; nevertheless, the notion still may well be deprecated, which would establish as a just conclusion, that the Courts in Westminster Hall should be, as soon as possible, destroyed, and that the whole judicature of England should be effected by the instrumentality of Judges appointed in local districts. The spirit of Englishmen is still likely to revolt against such a measure: but that the bias given by Pamphlets and Reviews has for years past been with a leaning towards an equalization of tribunals is, I think, incontestible: and that such a bias has already produced evil effects I also believe, and am ready to maintain. When, however, it is acknowledged by me, that the natural procedure (namely, a procedure without forms) may be carried, with good effect, further than it has yet been, I must be understood as always bearing in recollection that Courts of this natural sort still exist in England and always have existed; our Courts of Requests, and Courts of Conscience, or similar Courts, exist and have existed for centuries; to enlarge the sphere of action of these may be expedient to have none other but such would be to despoil the country of its most precious privileges—a change in the character of the people would be the unavoidable consequence of such a measure: its independency and its high-mindedness would be gone for ever.

I rightly, however, may here be corrected and told that India is very differently placed from England, and that not only the Governments of the two necessarily differ, but also the governed in an equally strong degree. I admit the position: but, having admitted it, it leads me to a conclusion, I am afraid, the reverse of that which is for the moment popular and current in this part of the world, for what is the avowed object of the present change?—the increased happiness, it is declared, of the subjects in India, and that increased happiness to be attained, not merely by giving them personal protection, but by affording them the means of amendment in their moral character, and by raising their feelings and opinions to a higher standard than they at present stand on. Surely, surely, it may be doubted, whether this can be brought about by a multitude of laws and

ordinances: more especially, too, if such laws and ordinances are to be interpreted and carried into effect by Minor Courts, dependent upon, and owing their existence to, the Government, which makes and promulgates such laws. Surely, there is some ground for fear and trepidation, when it is known that the new system is to be framed and set in motion under a Governor, who, as an adviser formerly of Government, expressed in the Secret Minute of April 15, 1829, a sentiment pretty nearly coming up to the position, that in every case the Government should have a restrictive right of interposition, delaying, if not stopping, the process of law according to its will and pleasure; and coercing the Courts, the King's Supreme Courts inclusive, according to its own view of the necessity arising.

More general expressions of an ungenial bearing, and hostile to all independency of thought and action appear in that state-paper of April 15, than in so short a memorandum could be expected! It would be wrong, however, not to make allowance for the heat of argument (even if that argument be reduced to writing) into which the stickler for an especial measure may be led, under circumstances strongly exciting him: and fain, therefore, would I persuade myself, that the Right Honorable individual in question said in that Minute more perhaps than he really meant—but said it has been, and successfully said. Nor is it merely of the bias and tendency of Sir C. T. Metcalfe's mind that fear may not unnaturally be entertained: that fear is not a little enhanced, by the tone and feeling, adopted and taken up, as it should seem generally, and as has already been noticed, by the public press of India. If it has not fully and openly declared in favour of the unimaginative reveries of Bentham and the cold platitudes of Mill, it has at least shewn a leaning towards the palsyng system of those laborious (though acute) writers; and in this leaning there is, as *I think*, peril of the highest kind.

Let me not be understood as declaring myself adverse to the establishment of what has been named the natural procedure in law, though, I believe, I am well able to shew that the technical procedure, even of English law, is not as adverse to the eliciting of truth as has been asserted. What I contend for is, that added to the Local Courts, which it would be the desire of the Bentham school to create and introduce, must or ought to have existence a Court of a higher grade—a Court of dignity sufficient to decide, according to law, questions in which the Government itself may have an interest: in short, an effective Supreme King's Court.

I shall also think it expedient to point out that the natural procedure has, in fact, been attempted and enforced throughout India, and has been found not to answer. To talk, as some youthful writers have done, of the discrediting by Bentham of all technical systems as his first and grand achievement, is, as it seems to me, to indulge in the rank of school boys. His own system, simple as he desires it to be, could not exist without the usage and adoption of technicalities. The well-

meaning of Bentham it is just and reasonable to confess, though it is highly probable, that want of success in his profession as a lawyer in some degree influenced and shaped his after-considerations, to applaud his "sarcasm and exquisite humour" seems to me extravagant in the highest degree. He is often dull, and not without an occasional tinge of impertinent self-conceit. This, however, is a matter of taste.

No. II.

Had I at all been justified before, in entertaining a doubt whether or not the Press of India was adverse to the acknowledgment, that it was in reality governed by the King of England and Parliament, and, permissively only, by its own hereafter-to-be-established Legislative Council, I should certainly feel myself now assured of the fact. I was not, Sir, when I addressed to you my last letter, in any manner acquainted with the observations made by the *Bengal Hurkaru* newspaper in reference to our late Kandyan treason trial: which observations, however, I have since read and not without pain. I should have imagined that under the late Act, 3 and 4, William IV., c. 85, gratitude (did no other feeling arise) for the prolonged term assigned to the administration of affairs in the India Company would have led to the assumption of a tone and manner, very different from that which is called into practice; that having got rid of the old impression, once said to have prevailed amongst the natives of India, that the Company was an old lady (a sort of Vizier's mistress) shut up in a box, care would be now taken to instil into the Indian subjects of the King of England the true idea of the connexion which subsists between the higher power in Europe and the Government of the continent here.

I should have been rash enough to presume that the nature of that connexion would have been explained and inculcated with something almost of enthusiasm: for surely, Great Britain, amongst European nations, is not one, in reference to whose predominance or protection any shame or sense of degradation need be felt. I fear, however, (and I speak it with grief,) that the long indulgence exhibited towards the late East-India Company, in permitting her to publish and enforce her own local rules and ordinances, over an extended mass of human beings, such

rules being unknown to, and nearly unheard-of, by the authorities and public at home, has had a natural tendency to render her a spoiled and self-willed child. The bias of the mother still influences the feelings of the daughter; and the India Company too apparently retains in her veins the same blood that circulated in those of the *East India Company*.

The Editor of the *Hurkaru* treats with ridicule and contempt our introduction here, upon the late trials in Kandy for treason, of the noble statute of Edward III. and the Law extended by other statutes founded upon it. This ridicule may be an Indian, but certainly it is not a British feeling. Is that gentleman (the Editor) aware, (he has, I understand some character) that so long ago as 1800, Sir Wm. Scott, (no mean or ordinary authority) considered that the Indian territories were British territories, and that the Law of treason would apply in full force, to *Europeans at least*, living and residing there, that by the House of Lords, August 12, 1801, a judgment was affirmed, upon the express ground taken, that Madras was a part of the British dominions, and that all foreigners resident there incurred the obligations of British subjects?

Has he considered whether or not, within the 43d section of the 3 and 4, William IV. ch. 85, it is not incumbent and imperative upon the Governor-General and his Council to take all care that, in respect of treason at least, the crime should per force be defined and named, as a crime meditated or committed *against the King*? Treason against a Government, (quoad English Sovereignty) would in truth be no treason at all: nor, unless the design be to repudiate all acknowledgment of British superiority, would it be decorous, I may say even allowable, to give the crime a subordinate definition. If the criticism and ill-directed sarcasm of the

sagacious Editor be simply aimed against the term of Law, 'imagining *against the life of the king*,' it is not worth referring to: but if, as his words imply, the name of the king is to be omitted and passed over, I have little scruple in saying that here, in this Island, we could not do so, and have no desire to do so. We feel proud of the fact, that we are the subjects of the King of England—the free king of a free people¹—and the freedom, which as Britons, we inherit, we are willing and ready to make others partakers of.

Had the late Kandyan prisoners been found guilty, it is probable, in consideration of their barbarian habits and barbarian prejudices, they would have received on the part of Government a conditional pardon: it is not, in my opinion, a matter of importance their being, as they have been, acquitted: but it is a matter of high importance that they should have been tried by a system of Law, congenial to the high and best feelings of the mother country whence we come, and whose institutions we have introduced and are vain of. This is a just source of exultation, with which it is to be regretted that the *Hurkaru* has no sympathy; but, indeed, indeed Sir,

upon the score of liberty the Indian Press generally, has much to learn. So much has the comparative handful of Europeans been accustomed to rule, that no evil is found in authority, because in authority itself shares: no virtue in obedience on its own part, because it is unwilling to admit that obedience is a virtue in those it rules over. Such sentiments, it may be owned, naturally may be expected in those, who have administered, however mildly, a despotism nearly unlimited. But how, by an avowed boasting of such maxims, a people can grow wiser or better, may justly be doubted.

I have to apologise to you for thus trespassing upon you; the more so, as I shall be obliged now to ask room of you in your pages for another and third letter. I have been led, unexpectedly, into the remarks which I have now made, by my casually having perused the paragraph cited by you from the Bengal paper.

I shall conclude my observations upon the affected opposition displayed against, what is termed, the technical system of Law, in my next.

No. III.

When the current of opinion and usage has for any length of time run in one direction, and then has been met by some opposing contradiction, it often happens that such contradiction is reared up into an obstacle of magnitude, far beyond what can be beneficially sought for, or reasonably maintained. This appears to me to be the case in reference to what is called the Bentham school of jurisprudence. I should be sorry not to do justice to the motives of an individual, admitted on all hands to have been a well-wisher to human being and studious of its interests. I should be sorry, too, did I feel that I was so deficient in philosophy as not to understand the drift and tenor of his argumentative distinctions, subtle as they often are. I should be sorry, were I obliged to own myself so cold of heart, as not merely not to wish for, but even not to hope for, and expect a better organization of civil society, than any which has yet been known to exist. Still making all these admissions, and asking for myself a belief only on the part of others, that I believe in my own assertions, I cannot but think, that Bentham, in his anxious desire of abolishing the technical mode of procedure, has gone as much beyond the line of truth in

his maintenance of that which he denominates 'the natural procedure,' as if upon the ground of the common equality of mankind, he had sought to desire palaces and built up only mud huts.

Trial by Jury, the noblest institution of a legal kind that any country ever boasted of possessing, has been undoubtedly the cause, with regard to English judicature, of much of that technicality which, in late times, it has become a sort of fashion to condemn. The wish to introduce trial by jury, in civil concerns, where it was not probably at first existent, as well as criminal, has been the occasion certainly of much of that artificial texture in the forms of litigation, which has grown up. Let the excess of such be pruned away. Always, however, should it be borne in mind, that Courts of natural proceeding have always been intermixed with the general system, and have for ordinary purposes been always places of resort. But if it really should be so arranged, that there should be none but these, farewell to all that has peculiarly characterized Englishmen—farewell to all spirit of independency—to all individual public sense of private right! Where would have been Hampden, had it been given to

him to have his cause tried before a District Judge only, and his deputy?

It is confessed that the failure already noticeable in the present English state of feelings, is derivable from—nay that it owes its partial obscuration to—the too preponderating respect and reference to the possession exclusively of property; were this new course of law and judgment *alone* to prevail and to be established, property would be all in all. Nor (I am well persuaded) would the extended constituency and reformed Commons House itself prove of weight sufficient to counteract the all-corrupting influence. This sentiment, however, (if the word can be thus applied) is in fact the basis of the opinions of the new school. Mr. Mill openly contends, that the simple protection of property is the single object and purpose of Government; and Bentham, ignorant metaphysically to an extreme, assumes as the undisguised principle of all his speculations, the selfishness of human nature—a doctrine injurious and false; a deception of the first magnitude*

‘The natural procedure—the natural procedure!’ cry the learned of the East,—the self-confident-greatest-happiness principle mongers. ‘The natural procedure,’ echoes the press not (in this instance, I fear) of human-kind, but of the new India Company. It might with no want of candour be inquired, but why, as far as you, the Company, were concerned, has another than the natural procedure heretofore been resorted to? You, the Company, have been permitted to exercise your clandestine rule over millions, for years past—the King’s Courts you have opposed, narrowed, cribbed, confined, and condemned—why have you not pursued this easy, gentle procedure? If in your own Courts the course has been trammelled and crowded with pleadings and technicalities, this must have been the error of your own Government—a Government, which, had the wisdom of Burke been effective, would have long ago been vested where it ought to be.

But, is it *true*, that the natural procedure has not been in existence? As far as I know, (I here speak with diffidence) it has been proved and found wanting—for what is this boasted, natural system, *this cure* of all legal evils? As far as I am informed, it is a system of district Local Courts, subject in their judgment to a higher appeal Court. And what has been the system under your Company? why, Local Courts, subject to appeal—what have been your Courts of Native Com-

missioners, your Zillah Courts, Provincial Courts, and Supreme Courts of Appeal? All these you have had: Courts, I should say, of natural procedure—or, if not of natural procedure, that they were not so as your own Government’s omission. These natural Courts, however, if reports say true, have utterly failed—failed in all your Presidencies—the transactions in the Zillah Court of Canara in 1813, as detailed in the judicial and revenue selections, where the fruit and produce of the natural procedure. Did the insurrection at Bareilly, the capital of the district of Rohilkund, in 1816, owe its origin to the procedure, technical, or what?—I seek for information.* In a country where, as stated by Lord Teignmouth, even short *injustice* is preferable to protracted justice, causes in the Sudder Dewannee and other Courts were in arrear to an amount almost incredible. In 1812, Bengal alone shewed cases undecided, 163,000!

Let it not be asserted, Mr. Editor, that I derive pleasure from the knowledge of these notorious evils having taken place, and partly perhaps still continuing. My purpose and the bent of my mind turn in a far different direction; but, in correcting one series of legal inconveniences, let some care be taken not to fall into an opposite extreme. There is much of self-confidence displayed by the gentlemen still in the Civil service of the Company—much of a too great reliance upon their own power of discrimination.

That many evils will be corrected by the labours of the new Law Commissioners, I trust and hope; these proceedings will naturally be observed by us here in Ceylon with anxiety—my own fear, I confess, is, that they will set out in too low a key. They will have to act under the surveillance of a Government, which, however liberally it may occasionally express itself, is yet jealous of its authority, and prone also to think that jealousy justifiable—a Government, which having in no measured manner, triumphed over the right and privileges of the King’s Courts, shews its triumph, somewhat too consciously—a Government, which it may be said puts the powers of these Courts in abeyance—and does so, with the approbation of a partial press, actuated by a bias and tendency far too openly displayed to be denied. Till some check be erected and put in force in respect of the operations of the Supreme Administration in India, as far at least as judicial matters are looked to: till some high, effective, King’s Court be established, to control all other Courts, there can be little really beneficial to the interests of human nature effected in India.

* A late young writer has classed Hazlitt amongst the *factors* of this selfish system: no mistake can be greater.

No. IV.

Of the seven centuries and a half during which was in growth, up to the fullness of power, the Roman state, far more than the half of that time elapsed, before a Code of Laws was sought for, founded upon those prevalent in Greece, with an intermixed portion of ordinances and rules gathered from the ancient customs of Rome herself. It was as late as in the 452d year before Christ, that the Decemviri were chosen, who afterwards framed and established the laws of the twelve tables, fragments of which are still found in the history of that comparatively early period. It would be wrong to charge with neglect the late East India Company, because in their territorial sway, of not yet a century's existence, they have done little to amalgamate under an equal system of administration the wide-spread and differing parts of their new enormous domination: it may, however, a little excite surprise, the consideration of their early jealousy of, and bitter opposition to, the King's British Supreme Courts. Warren Hastings did, indeed, *make use*, if not of the King's Courts, at least of the King's Judges, and the effect of his seductions not a little contributed to the disgrace into which they were afterwards permitted to fall. Instead, therefore, of the King's Supreme Court finding itself invested with powers of superintendency and control over Courts (native and others) subordinate, as was originally designed by the Legislature of Great Britain to its jurisdiction, it found itself on every side cramped and counteracted, and incurred the hatred and opposition of the whole service of the Company: a hatred and dislike even yet unextinguished, decayed and gone nevertheless as the power of the Supreme Court long in a degree has been.

Yet to a plain, unsophisticated understanding, it might have seemed that a more direct means of drawing together into union the Home-Legislation and that exerted locally in India itself by the Government there, could not have been found, than that of placing confidence in, and giving jurisdiction to, the King's Courts. Such a sentiment, however, in no manner was cultivated by the Company: on the contrary, every succeeding Governor and his Council exerted themselves to put down and impede the authority of the King's Courts. Is it going too far, or is it ungracious to conceive, that the Company never has got rid of its desire to be considered, itself, as its own exclusive Governor?—it hankers, it may be feared, still after this unworthy phantom, for what is there to feel

ashamed of in the bearing allegiance to a country, so eminent amongst states, as is our mother country, Great Britain?

Why, too, should the followers of Bentham and Mill, more especially endeavour to conceal the truth? it is difficult to understand this:—in the meanwhile, such fact being barely known to the people of England, the Company has been in the habit of lording it over millions, giving laws to tracts of country extensive as the cultivated regions of Europe herself. Did the Company so do successfully? the answer given by themselves is in the negative. Their system of legal administration has been in all the Presidencies a failure. Except, however, that their Courts of Appeal were, it is said, unnecessarily numerous, the system was Benthamitish and natural. Parties, plaintiffs and defendants, were, I believe, heard in person; Local Courts have been numerous; witnesses have been called and examined at pleasure; no rules of exclusion established; yet, on all hands, it is admitted, that truth in many cases, it has been difficult, and nearly impossible, to attain. Let, then, these considerations at least have some weight in counteracting the pernicious notions, at present given ear to, that all good is to be effected by natural procedure—its advantages, though great, may yet be over-rated; and, as to raising the character of the people governed, the natural procedure has a direct contrary tendency. How is the character of a people to be raised by having placed over them local Judges, little in dignity of character, more elevated than themselves?

What is to invigorate the character of those local Judges themselves, liable as they are and must be to removal, at the will of an arbitrary Government! Unless some control or other of a dignified nature be set over the Government of India itself, hope of amelioration amongst its subject-people it is vain to encouragement; and where can a controlling power of dignity enough be found, save in a Court of the King's?

I am far, Sir, from underrating the great men of India: I believe its second race of great men is nearly on a level with its first. We know more, through respectable literary publications (some their own), of Elphinstone, Malcolm and Munro, than we do of the Marquisses Hastings or Wellesley, nor can they justly be deemed in intellect inferior to these latter. India now would have a better chance of being well-governed, (wars being no longer

desired) under these former Indian statists than under the latter. But in all of these there is shewn an indifference to the high feelings, and the independency of others: all are jealous of restrictions thrown upon their own administrations; all evidently make *themselves* the sole centre of wide judgment. There is perhaps a tendency to this overstrained self-esteem resulting from the very nature of Indian society: the men of literature have it; their press, such as it is, has it.

The high opinion in which they are wont to indulge of their own intellectual prowess, has its origin in the circumstance of their early finding themselves possessed of intelligence above the individuals with whom they have had to converse: it has been their boast therefore (occasionally too loudly) that their deserts, in the service of the Company, have been beyond calculation, great: they have assumed their services to the Company to be services to mankind; still, taking them as a body, they have possessed undoubted merit, yet it has been alleged publicly (by Mr. T. P. Courtenay, for one, a secretary of, and connected with the Company, at home, 16 years) that the lights of India, when returned to England, have not shone with the brilliancy expected from them: that many of their ablest chiefs have displayed, when tried, inadequate ability in the mother realm; they have in fact been awed by unexpected opposition.

Many of them, it must be confessed, have not met their just fame at home, though celebrated in India. This, to say truth, has been lately declared by Lord William Bentinck

himself. It is highly desirable that it should hereafter be found otherwise: such a consummation never however can be attained, unless a more open and avowed dependency upon Great Britain, her King, and Parliament be admitted, than there is yet an inclination in the late Company's Servants to concede. Yet, why should a British public care for those who shrink from any acknowledgment of brotherhood? whose institutions they (the East Indians) pass by unnoticed! whose free laws they condemn as antiquated! whose glories they take no pride in! It is, amongst other mistakes, a great one of the Benthamite school, to contend with the pertinacity it does, that Courts of Justice ought not to make rules for their own proceeding: and that it has been a sort of usurpation in them so to do. This is an error of a high description. Had such a jealousy existed of old, the liberties of England never would have secured their present height and steadiness. There is danger at this moment incurring at home, lest the Commons-House should take too much into its own grasp, lest in its eagerness to do good, it should too much interfere with private property; and lest, in its anxiety to compensate supposed or real individual wrongs, it should rashly trample upon general established law. The sense of the people at large—their good common sense will, doubtless, however, stop short of this; in the meanwhile India will have her Commissioners to prepare for her laws and a system of procedures. Let the press and her literature guard notwithstanding against an enslaved human mind.

I am, &c.

B.

THE TOOARS AND MEENAS OF BUTEESSEE.

The Rajpoots of the small tract called *Buteessee*, are of the Tooar tribe and of Pandoo origin. Their present head, Rao Luchman Sing of Patun, considers himself the lineal descendant of Anung Paul, the last Tooar King of Delhi. How his ancestors came to Patun is not perhaps so very well known, but one of many accounts of the matter is as follows. Rajah Anung Paul, with his two sons, having proceeded on a pilgrimage, left Delhi in charge of his relative Prithee Raj Chouchan. The Rajah died during the journey, and on the return of his sons, they found the gates of the city shut against them. Prithee Raj having formed a strong party, had usurped the government,

and they were obliged to seek their safety in flight. It happened that Anung Paul during his life time, had given thirty two villages in *khyrat*, to his Purshut Acliaruj: these villages lay in a secluded spot, in the hilly tract near Narnoul, and to those hills the two brothers fled. The Purshut received them with great kindness, and pitying their misfortunes, gave up to them the villages, which have since been known by the name *Buteessee*.* When the town of Patun was built, a new name, with reference to the

* According to other accounts this name was given to the tract in question not from the circumstance of its comprising thirty-two villages, but from its having been parcelled out into thirty-two divisions amongst the thirty-two sons of Rana Buhadurjee, one of the former Chiefs of Patun.

tribe who founded it, was given, and hence the appellation of Patun Tooarawatee.

Some time after the establishment of the new city, the two brothers proceeded to the hermitage of a celebrated devotee, named *Swamee Govind Doss*, who had taken up his abode in one of the adjacent hills. They represented to him the fallen state of their family and tribe, who had been unjustly deprived of all their possessions, and entreated him to preserve to them by his prayers, this last solitary, secluded spot in the hills, which was then their only asylum. The *Swamee* consented, and presenting them with a bead from his rosary, desired them to conceal it under some of the hills, assuring them at the same time, that so long as this bead remained in *Buteessee*, so long would the district continue in their possession.

On the strength of this prophecy, they firmly believe in the durability of the chieftainship of Patun Tooarawatee.

The title of Rao was given, they say, to the head of the family, by the first Mohomedan King of Delhi, who fixed at the same time the tribute, viz: 12,000 Rs. for the Patun villages, which amounted then to 54; and 76,000 for the remainder of the Buteessee lands, making in all 90,000 rupees per annum, for the whole district. When the country came into the possession of Rajah Jye Sing of Jeypore, the same amount of tribute was demanded, and the same is paid at the present day.

The Rao of Patun affects on public occasions all the pomp and parade of the King of Delhi. He has the *Noubut*, the *Jureeputee*, the *Tukht Ruwan*, &c., and keeps his *Dewan aum* and *Dewan kaas* on a small scale. On the great festival of the Dushera, he moves out with all his state insignia, and with as great a display of Tooar nobility and attendants as he can possibly collect. The town of Patun is crowded with people on such occasions, and all are fed at the Rao's expence.

The present Rao Luchmun Singh, is the eldest son of the late Rao Jowahur Singh of Patun. The Rao showed, on several occasions, a preference for his youngest son Bishen Singh, and attempts were made by his mother, who was a *Nerookee*, and nearly related to the late Rao Rajah Bukhtawur Singh of Alwur, to have the eldest son, (whose mother as a *Khatornee*) set aside, and her own son Bishur nominated to the succession. Luchmun Sing on ascertaining this fact, counselled with some of his profligate companions, and they advised him to put his father to death, without delay, as the surest mode of securing his own rights. He adopted the counsel, and having called in secretly two Rajpoot associates, entered into his

father's room at midnight, while he was asleep, and murdered him in his bed. He then threw his brother with his wife and mother into prison, where they remained for three years until Rawal Byree Saul, who was then Chief Minister at Jeypore, sent a large military force to Patun under Kishen Singh, to demand their release.

Since that time he has shewn, at intervals, decided symptoms of mental derangement, and frequently fancies he sees his bleeding father before his eyes. A mandate, supposed to have been received in one of those apparitions, has lately led him to abandon the old family Palace, in which the murder was committed; and so confidently is this dwelling believed to be haunted, that in one of the apartments a bed is always laid out in state for the ghost to sleep upon,—while the Raja never passes it without *salaaming* to the *purdahs* that hangs before the unhallowed chamber.

Such is the immediate head of the Tooars of Butteessee. The *Meenas* of this tract are very numerous and turbulent. They have practised robbery as a profession from time immemorial, and in skill, dexterity, and address in their predatory calling, are considered inferior to no gangs of the kind in Upper Hindoostan. Their disguises, superstitions, practices and daring exploits, as detailed to me at length by many natives, would form an interesting paper. A few may be here noticed.

They worship *Devee* alone, and never commence any undertaking without supplicating the favor of the goddess. When a night robbery is intended, the gang proceed to one of her temples in the hills, and there sacrifice to her, and pray for an auspicious omen. The ceremony consists in placing a lamp before the door of the temple, where they kindle at the same time a fire, and prepare in a flat iron vessel (*kurahie*) a quantity of sweetmeats, clarified butter and sugar. This offering they place before the goddess and perform *dundwut*. After the performance of this ceremony they rise, and make five small balls or mouthfuls (*gras*) out of the sweetmeat, which having dipped in clarified butter, they place the fire before the lamp. If the sweetmeat-balls burn brightly, the omen is good, and the gang divide the sacred offering among themselves, and set out on their midnight expedition.

They are guided in every undertaking by good and bad omens, and cannot proceed to certain quarters of the compass on certain days of the week:—this they call *disasool*. If an ass bray, or a partridge* calls out, on the right hand, it is a good omen, but if they see a wolf, or a hyena, on either side, or in

* Hence the common proverb, "teetur kee moonh luchmee"—i. e. good fortune proceeds from the mouth of the partridge.

front, it is a bad omen and they must return. If an owl screeches from the right side, it is a good omen, so is the appearance of a deer on the same quarter. If they discover the bird called *malharee* or *bhowanee*, sitting in a bush without thorns, to the right, the omen is good, if on the left it is bad. If when they are moving out, a jackall cries on the right hand, it is a good omen, but bad, if on the left, and they must return: a snake on the right hand, is a good omen, and so is the appearance of a fox or bull in the same quarter. Omens of this kind taken from birds and beasts, are numerous, but need not be here particularized. The Meenas in these superstitious observances seem to resemble the *Phanseegurs* in the South of India.

The Meenas frequently make excursions to distant parts of the country, and remain absent for four, six, and sometimes twelve months. On these occasions they break into small divisions and sections, change their dress and appearance, and assume in the villages and towns they pass through, a great variety of shapes and characters. They are horse-merchants, cloth-merchants, pedlars, songsters, fortune-tellers, mussalman fukeers, byragees, sanyasses, and other classes of religious mendicants. They carry Bramins with them from Butteese as accomplices, who act the part of *mohunts*, and the Meenas are their *chelas* or disciples. In this garb their success is wonderful. They take up their station in some garden near a town or village, or on the margin of a tank, or on the roadside. The *mohunt* sits with his disciples around him in holy abstraction, with matted hair, his head inclining towards the earth, his eyes red and inflamed, his body covered with ashes, and the *samurna* or small *toolsee* rosary in his right hand. He reads the *Bagout Geeta*, the *Sree Bagout*, the *Punch Rutton*, or the *Ram Chiritr*; relates miracles, tells wonderful stories, foretells future events and repeats mystical incantations. The astonished inhabitants of the village flock to the holy ascetic, and reverence him as a being of superior order. Believing him capable of obtaining for them all their worldly wants, they open their hearts to him and implore his spiritual assistance. If the women have no offspring, they entreat him to grant them children, and during the conversation that take place on these occasions, the fictitious devotee and his disciples continue to pick up all the secrets of the town or village, with the names of the rich inhabitants, and where wealth and property are placed and how defended. When satisfied on these points, the gang make their secret arrangement and the robbery follows at a convenient hour of the night.

One well known instance of the Meenas' ability to deceive even an experienced Mohumedan devotee may be here given. In the year 1811, the Raja of Alwar was supposed to be in a state of mental derangement, and during this period he committed numerous act of barbarous atrocity against his Mussulman subjects. At one time he ordered the whole of the Mohammedan devotees to be mutilated, and their ears and noses to be sent to Nawab Anmed Buksh Khan of Feerozpoore. Having accidentally heard of a *fukeer* of great celebrity for his extraordinary devotion and piety, who resided in the Jeypore territory, he declared he would never rest satisfied, until he had his nose and ears brought to him. As no one at Alwar would undertake the task, he called in a Meena from Butteese, and offered him as a sum of money and 500 beegas of land for the ears and nose of the celebrated ascetic. The Meena consented, and immediately assuming the dress, habits and peculiar manner of a devotee of that order, proceeded to the abode of the *fukeer*. The hermit, on beholding him approach the door, was struck with reverential awe, and rose to receive him with all the religious respect, due to a saint of a superior order. After much humble and anxious solicitation, the holy stranger was reluctantly prevailed on to pass one night in the hut, and to partake of the hermit's cheer. During the repast, however, he continued to mix up on the food so large a quantity of opium and *post*, that the *fukeer* in a short time fell senseless on the ground. The Meena then rose and gagged him, and having cut off his ears and nose, and robbed him of his accumulated wealth, which amounted to two hundred gold mohurs, proceeded to Alwar, and laid the whole before the Rao Raja. The insane chieftain was overjoyed at the Meena's success, and the promised reward was immediately granted to him.

The Meenas frequently form secret connections with some of the Bunyas of the towns, through which they pass, who not only supply them with all the information they require, but receive and keep in security, the money, jewels or property stolen, until a favorable opportunity offers for dividing and conveying it away. On these occasions the Bunyas are rewarded with one-fourth of the booty. They employ Brahmins in a similar manner, and send them through the country, to ascertain where money and property may be found, under the pretence of visiting holy places of pilgrimage, and as these Brahmins have easy access to every house, they soon obtain the required information and return to Butteese to report the same.—*Delhi Gazette.*

NOCTES HUMANIORES.

No. III.

A.—A truce once more to politics say I. Let others speculate upon the consequences of a foolish act, important only because the surpassing folly of mankind still chooses to hedge a king, with that absurd regard, that leads them to respect the actions of one who wears a crown, though if the same actions were perpetrated by a common man they would be ridiculed—reprobated—scorned. If Squire Brown dismisses his steward who has got in the rents, and yet has satisfied the tenants; if Mrs. Jones discharges her milliner who has been moderate in her prices and yet has complied with the fashion; or if Mr. Robinson has cashiered his traveller, because his traveller has spoken too well of him at the different Commercial Hotels of the different towns he has visited—why Brown, Jones and Robinson are looked upon,—and justly looked upon—as foolish, capricious and ungrateful individuals; and of course having a bad character as masters and mistresses. *they must ex necessitate rei* supply the place of those whom they have discharged, *by worse*. It is exactly the same though it is not acknowledged to be the same, in the case of the King of England. If *he* without reasonable cause dismiss those stewards under whom the national tenants were content to pay the taxes—without any cause or reasonable ground of objection—he necessarily loses character in respect of firmness, consistency and principle, and must supply the place of those who thought they served an honest, upright, and straight-forward man, by those who are willing to serve a man either destitute of principle or destitute of that firmness without which principle is naught. So a truce to politics for I am disgusted with the subject and let us turn to literature or science, which can never disgust.

B.—Agreed—we need not go to Europe for subjects of discussion or vague speculation, while we have topics of local interest, sufficient to exercise all our discernment, and upon which our fullest discussions may be far more profitably bestowed, than in calculating the probabilities of Tory rise, or Whig downfall, or casting a political horoscope on the monstrous birth which the folly of King William the Reformer has produced in the military dictatorship under which our

last accounts leave England. What think you of the assurance question and the letters of C.?

A.—The letters of C. are the efforts of an honest man justly alarmed and arguing his own cause as well as that of others, with all the truth, zeal and earnestness of a clear head, and a consciousness of right. To say the least of the conduct of the Committee, in this matter, it has been clandestine, unnecessarily reserved, ambiguous, and therefore suspicious. The principle of the thing is clear and plain enough. If a man has for ten or fifteen years been paying annually a premium upon a Policy of Life Insurance, his policy is fifteen years more valuable and his life so much less valuable, than at the time of effecting the insurance. It may be too, that not only in years but in health his constitution may be impaired, and the value of his life, in the market, considerably diminished—or perhaps rendered unmarketable. Now if the Government step into the market, and offer to take lives at a fair and reasonable valuation, and in consequence of the greater security they offer—their lower premiums or other cause, the good and young lives desert the existing Societies and leave the old and *quoad* insurance, worthless lives. It is clear that the Government work this double injustice, they deprive the old assurers of that provision which they had paid so many premiums to secure; they destroy in effect an assurance entered into, at a fair and reasonable valuation, when the lives in question were insurable, whilst they protect themselves from the burden of lives which *now* at a “fair and reasonable valuation” are worth nothing—to speak with Hibernian accuracy.

B.—But is not a Government establishment of the kind—a good? and in the present state of Calcutta and Indian society—is it not necessary?

A.—That it is a good I am not disposed to dispute, inasmuch, as if properly and honestly conducted, it affords additional security, in a matter of which security is the very essence. An institution for securing against casualty, must be itself secure against casualty, or its vital principle is extinct, its object annihilated—on this ground I would approve a well organized Government As-

urance; but this is not to be effected at the price of injustice in the smallest degree to any one single individual. "The good of the public," is a very specious phrase, but be assured of this, that an act of Government, which perpetrates an injustice against one, can never be beneficial at all.—"Patriotism," says Doctor Johnson, speaking in reference to demagogues and mob-deluders, "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel;" in like manner, "the public good," has often been the plea and pretext for many a piece of private individual injustice. You may rely upon this as an incontrovertible truth, that a government which for the good of all, will do injustice to one, has advanced one step towards the Tyranny which does injustice to all for the good of one. One step did I say? I should have said, to *within* one step.

B.—Well, well, I will not dispute your maxim; but surely we may rely upon the just and honorable conduct of honorable men of established character, such as the Committee in question is composed of.

A.—Pho, pho—I rely upon their just and honorable conduct in their private capacity, but give any set of men power, and take control and responsibility, and I cease to rely upon them—cease to trust them. Besides had they really meant honestly, would they have kept any one, in unnecessary anxiety and suspense? Would they have given grounds—just and reasonable grounds for the complaints of the *Englishman's* correspondent C.? "The good of the public" indeed! How can these men or any set of men contemplate the good of the public whom they have not seen, when they contemplate injustice to their brother whom they have seen? Rely upon it, no man really cares so much for the public as he does for individuals; it is not in nature; and any men, or set of men, who can wilfully injure an individual, will have still less scruple in the case of the public—the good of the public indeed!

B.—Have you seen the Rules, and more especially, the Bye-Law just promulgated?

A.—Yes; and the said Bye Law in its reference to the notification of Government, published in the extraordinary *Gazette*; touching this matter reminds one of those evasive Dictionaries, wherein on looking for the meaning of some obscure or learned word, for instance, say "spherical" you find "*see orbicular*," and turning over to orbicular, you find "*see spherical*"—a species of mutual shuffling from the shoulders of one to those of another the responsibility of explanation. A plague o' such evasions say I, they are only worthy of Sir R. Peel and the Wellington ministry.

B.—Well, well, you grow warm, let us change our subject; and *apropos de bottles*, did you remark a strange and apparently ludicrous account of a scheme of Lord Dundonald to propel vessels by power, gained by the effect of the rolling occasioned by the motion of the waves at sea.

A.—I did remark it; but so far from considering it stragge or ridiculous, it recalled to my recollection an instance in which the principle of Lord Dundonald's plan *is*, and has been acted upon many years.

B.—Aye, indeed? I wish you would explain it, for the account we have got out here, is neither very intelligible, nor does the subject appear to have been understood by those who describe it.

A.—It is most unsatisfactory certainly, and I dare say, has brought no little ridicule upon his lordship among the small wits. In the first place the account states the power is to be gained by the *motion* of the quicksilver, whereas the very contrary is the case, as the power is to be acquired by the *vis inertiae*, the specific gravity of that metal. I will attempt a description of the invention I have alluded to, which I saw some dozen years since at Portsmouth, on going to visit that magnificent *chef d'œuvre* of mechanism, and of Mr. Brunel—the block-making machine,—and which may be found for ought I know in other large factories. It was a bellows, or rather an instrument for condensing and thereby propelling air which was effected thus. A large hollow cylinder was suspended upon an axis, and made to move or "roll," so that a line drawn perpendicular to the horizon through its diameter would alternately vibrate on either side to an angle, the degree of which I did not measure, but say of 45°. This alternate motion which was effected by steam, and a few wheels, had the same effect in the instrument I am describing as Lord D. contemplates in the rolling of a ship. Now this cylinder was divided *longitudinally* by a plate of metal reaching to within a foot or so of the bottom or lower side of the cylinder, leaving a free and open communication between the two partitions. In the top of each division of the cylinder are two apertures with valves, the one opening inwards the other outwards, the latter communicating with a tube or blower. The cylinder thus constructed and suspended is filled with water (in Lord D.'s plan it will be quicksilver) about one half and far above the lower part of the dividing plate. Now it is clear that if the cylinder, so placed be moved one quarter round or *made to roll as a ship*, the water at the bottom *remaining stationary*, the space in one of the two

internal divisions will be *lessened*, in the other *enlarged*, upon which the air will rush in at the valve of the one, and be propelled out of the valve of the other—or if not propelled will be compressed in proportion to the weight of the water or quicksilver at the bottom of the cylinder, and thus by each alternate roll or vibration, a power will be gained equivalent to the weight of the fluid multiplied by the length of the roll. Have I made myself intelligible?

B.—You have given something like intelligibility to what I confess I regarded as wild speculation; but do you think that so varying and uncertain a source of motion as the fluctuation of the waves can be effectively applied to the propelling of ships of heavy tonnage?

A.—Why, precisely in proportion to the tonnage will be the power obtained, and as to the uncertainty of the motion that only affects the *degree* of power gained, not the principle *by which* it is to be gained. Sails have been found a very good method of propelling vessels, though sometimes calms or contrary winds, preclude their use. No wise man will reject the prize of half a lack, because he cannot get the whole; nor refuse his dinner to-day, because he lost it yesterday, or may to-morrow.

B.—I am no mechanical genius, and enter little into the spirit of these matters. I would rather seek amusement from the recent travels of a Jacquemont, than the recent inventions of Dundonald or Babbage. Have you seen the work I have just mentioned?

A.—I have, and I read with disgust so barefaced an abuse of hospitality and kindness, as this publication by his friends, of posthumous slanders and sarcasms upon his entertainers. This is one of those works of the Trollope and Hamilton class, which do infinite mischief. Such productions as these tend more than any thing else to destroy good feeling between nation and nation; they stop the fountain of kindness, or at least infuse into it the poison of suspicion and distrust. These are evil examples held out to future travellers “in like case offending” as the phraseology of the perfection of reason has it; and the punishment of such treason to hospitality is necessarily visited upon all of his nation and country; when such fellows as *Pillet*, or such women as Mrs. Trollope are found to visit a fine country, and mix with a liberal minded people with the same purpose, object, and intent, that a paltry critic, the race detested of Fielding, takes up a fine poem or a tale, the offended party must, for the future, take the only means they have to prevent the occurrence of such treachery. They must close the doors of

hospitality and change the smile of open confidence into the cold, forbidding aspect of distrust. Such books, of such travellers, ought to be burned by the hands of the hangman, not by the nation they slander but by their own, to whom the real mischief is done. I think not so ill of Jacquemont as to suppose that he would himself have either published or sanctioned the publication of slander, sarcasm, or ridicule, directed towards parties to whom he was bound by the sacred bond of hospitality. “I have eaten his salt and therefore cannot slay him,” has been found an argument sufficient to restrain the undistinguishing and relentless hand of the pirate and assassin; and shall a son of science, a member of “the politest people in the world,” a travelled liberal, of the 19th century, be received into the bosom of kind and generous families, and be overwhelmed with every attention, that he may season his familiar epistles with ridicule, sarcasm and slander at their expense. The egotism and vanity of Jacquemont were in themselves sufficient to disgust; his ungrateful breach of the confidence of hospitality is abhorrent. The English are a reserved people, it is said. They had need be so, when such fellows as these obtrude upon their domestic hearth. Jacquemont’s book is a sufficient justification for the most frozen reception for the future, of every foreigner who has learned to write. The French have a sarcastic proverb which they apply when a person exhibits a more than ordinary degree of seriousness and gravity, and it is to this purport “*serieuse comme un Anglois quis amuse*.” I do not say whether an Englishman ought to be particularly serious when *amusing himself*, but this I know, that it behoves him to be very particularly serious when *he amuses them*.

B.—I think his friends and family are more to blame than he; one may write many things to one’s father or family, that would not incur the charge of treachery or breach of hospitality, which we could not publish to the world in general without justly deserving that censure.

A.—That is very true; but in my mind Jacquemont and his family in this instance, are both equally censurable.

B.—But you are dealing in general assertion—what is it he does say—let me judge.

A.—Excuse me; what I say will very likely appear in the *Herald*, and I do not mean to cause that paper to imitate the example of some others who have made the pretence of censuring a slander, the means of propagating it.—Mrs. Candour may abuse a slander, whilst she makes it known, in which case she enjoys a double pleasure, the pleasure of spreading scandal, and

abusing others.—Such is not the practise of the *Herald*—nor is it mine; so, pray, excuse the absence of “extracts” to justify my censures.

B.—If I recollect right, this slander-fostering pretence of censure, was employed by an up-country Journal lately, for the very purpose you denounce.

A.—It was so—and of course the Journal you speak of is ten times worse than Jacquemont—father or son, kith or kindred. The conduct of this Journal resembles that of a man who should abuse a murderer for causing death by poisoning, and in order to shew how wicked was the act, should administer a dose of arsenic to an innocent party, to establish the justice of his censures.

B.—What think you of the Shoe question?

A.—Ah, no more of the Shoe question; “Hal an’ you love me.” One thing however your question reminds me of—a foolish correspondent of the *Hurkaru*, who writes himself down W. and might an ass, advertising to some remarks of the *Herald* on the subject, calls it in very bad taste to make

allusion to the name of William Tell—and seems to understand by such allusion that the *Herald* meant to compare the character of William Tell with the character of the natives of India. Now this dolt cannot distinguish between an example referred to as an illustration of a general principle, and a comparison of individual with national character. The *Herald*, enumerating the ills of ceremony, cited the instance of Tell, who considered the ceremony of taking off the hat, so degrading as to warrant the death of the tyrant that imposed it. Now the ceremony of taking off the hat is itself nowise degrading as an act of courtesy; but being *exacted* it became a badge of slavery. So enough of the Shoes. But as to W. he talks as though he were an European. Had he been born a native he would have been—not a native still—they are stationary—he retrogressive. The retreat of the ten thousand I have read of—the retreat of Moreau, I have heard of, and admired as I heard or read—their retreat was from an armed enemy—but W.’s retreat I cannot admire—it is from his best friends—reason—education—liberality.—*Bengal Herald*.

ON THE POSSIBLE MEANS OF NATIVE IMPROVEMENT IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CENTRAL FREE PRESS.

Sir,—“The power of thought, the magic of the mind,”* are but inert power and slumbering magic, except when they are aroused and put in motion by the far mightier potency of feeling. Knowledge in man is *not* power, but merely the instrument of power: the energy which employs it must spring from another source; must be supplied by some moral motive, or some natural instinct. This is no recondite truth; but a truism. Whence is it that knowledge in our own days has wrought out so wonderful results? Necessity the mother of invention, self-interest, self-aggrandizement, the love of a fame, and (alas! that it should be so!) in a far lower degree the nobler motive of benevolence, have been the mainsprings of its triumphs. The homely but pre-eminently useful, nay indispensable, maxim which wisdom has learnt from nature and which political economy has adopted that men should be left to discover for themselves, and being so left will discover what is most conducive to their own interest if it

will not of itself explain the present state of civilization in which we find ourselves (which must in part be referred to other principles on which nothing need here be said) must, at all events, have been an important element in effecting it. And this circumstance accounts for the partial diffusion of knowledge. Motives must exist to put it in action and guide its movements; and though those who are possessed of information find in their wants and desires a sufficient stimulus to wield for their own benefit the gigantic weapon which lies at their command, yet when men are neither prompted by self-interest nor by ambition, nor by benevolence, the mighty engine which they do or may possess will not be pointed in any of the directions which these principles when operative would respectively indicate. And this is one reason why our knowledge has been of so little avail for the benefit of the people of India; sufficient benevolence has not been at work to call forth and apply it. Self-interest has gone some way, but a very little way in urging us to strive for the enlightenment of

those around us. We have taught them so far as to convert them into tolerable artizans, to build us good houses, to cook us good dinners and so forth. And here, too, *their* self-interest comes into play; the advantage is mutual: if *we* are comfortably lodged and fed, *they* are employed and well paid. To this point then we could not fail to advance, but how little further have we gone! The common intercourse of society has done, as it inevitably must have done,—a little. Ambition, Benevolence, and Piety have also been at work; but how grievously limited has been their action; they have incited a handful, a small Spartan band, out of all the hosts whom varying motives have impelled to journey fifteen thousand miles;—from the other extremity of our world, to a land of some real, and more, fancied wealth, of imperfect civilization and contented ignorance, of moral degradation and impure religion, to labour in behalf of her people abundantly it may be, as concerns few labourers, but feebly as regards the innumerable objects of their solicitude. How minute a fraction of all those who during a whole generation have been scattered over the face of the country at stations and in posts which afforded them the amplest facilities for serving their generation according to God's will by promoting education; and the spread of information has even *desired*, and how many fewer have even *attempted* to further these ends in the smallest measure!

Such are the fruits of the possession of knowledge without a desire to communicate it; nor can my position as to the barrenness of knowledge in such cases, for any other than selfish purposes, be impugned by the assertion that the majority of tolerably educated persons have not the talents or skill, or, that acquaintance with various departments of science which would constitute them proper agents in, or superintendents of, the instruction of others: for on the very lowest supposition they are sufficiently informed to be aware of the advantages of the slenderest portion of real knowledge of its tendency to diffusion, and its infinite superiority over the dreamy love of a corrupting and bewildering superstition. It might, therefore, be expected that every person would do all in his power to aid in such extending the benefits of instruction in his own neighbourhood, or at least whenever there were any persons with whom we might co-operate.

If all were to reason thus in regard to their duty to do good, and in regard to the means and opportunities which they possess for this purpose, how great, how general, how rapid would be the improvement of the people of India! It is an interesting

subject of speculation to advert to the various schemes which might be adopted and acted upon for stimulating our native fellow-subjects to the acquisition of an acquaintance with the varying departments of knowledge: and it would be a powerful encouragement to every one who has means at his disposal to employ them, if he would reflect how much might be effected in all parts of the country, even at the smallest stations, at a trifling expence of money and of exertion, by some measure of opinion and co-operation.

The various tastes of individuals might find every where scope in endeavours for the advancement of their native neighbours in the several departments of improvement. Those who have a natural turn for mechanics might themselves endeavour, assisted by others, to stimulate native engenuity by applauses and by rewards, bestowed on the most skilful handicraftsmen—such as are addicted to agriculture and horticulture, might in the same manner call forth the powers of the people in those arts. Those whose chief subject of interest is education might aid in establishing seminaries on any scale which circumstances might admit and in superintending their progress: and persons who in addition to this interest had the inclination and the leisure and capacity, might be engaged in compiling in the native languages Treatises, however brief, on whatever department of science, art, or literature, might suit them best, to form the component parts of a Library of useful knowledge for India. The time when all this will be realized more or less perfectly is fast approaching; but who that is all concerned for the welfare of his fellowmen, will not yearn to hasten on the happy day? It is impossible to doubt that by individual exertion would be general, if men were more frequently in a spirit of prophetic philanthropy to bestow their support on operations of which they cannot expect to see the *instantaneous and tangible results*, “to cast their bread upon the waters, in the hope of finding it after many days;”—and if they were content, in cases where nothing can be effected in their own immediate vicinity, to lend their aid to institutions of a central character within the circle of the locality to which they are attached, and with which they must feel themselves to be more intimately connected.

The advantages of concentration require no illustration. Europeans are yet by far too thinly scattered, and congregated in too diminutive bodies in any part of the Western Provinces to be able by their union to form any powerful association for the improvement of the people. The largest stations are,

also, not those where the means of individuals for advancing such ends, are the most abundant. In this point of view, it seems matter for regret that either Cawnpore or Meerut, where the military society is so extensive, was not chosen as the seat of the Government of Agra. Had either of these cantonments been selected, it is obvious that the

combination of the influence arising from rank and of the means afforded by affluence, with the wide co-operation to be expected from the numerical strength and varied talents of the European community, could not have failed to be productive of the happiest effects on native civilization and improvement.

PHILO-HINDER.

TRAVELLING TO ENGLAND.

The facilities for going overland home are now so constantly on the increase, that we imagine some of our friends will be gratified to learn in what manner the journey was performed by an officer who left Ceylon last year. It will be remarked, however, that expense and loss of time were object of minor consideration with the writer of the following letter, still it will enable the reader to judge in what manner he can best arrange the undertaking, with due regard to his probably more limited purse and leisure. Our own experience of travelling on the other side of Alexandria, and our information respecting what may be done on this side, enable us to say with a degree of certainty that the overland journey need scarcely occupy the time, and may well be accomplished within £20 of the expense of a sea-voyage.

There are perhaps errors in the names of places in India, for which the bad writing of our friend and our own want of knowledge must plead excuse.

Dec. 6th.—Left Colombo—20th, arrived off Goa. There is unnecessary annoyance at the custom house. There are no hotels, but a man of the name of Rogo Kommul, a Brahmin, will get you a house and furnish it, as also get ready your bearers for Belgaum. Government do not assist you in any way, nor are they particularly civil. Rogo Kommul may be depended on, I believe. Visit old Goa, and the convent of Sta. Annuncia; the old Prioress is a nice old lady, and the young ones fond of fun—a boat can be hired for a small sum to take you there and back again. Hire a large boat and visit a village called Zuradie, situated at the bottom of the Bay of Marmador: the landing place to the village is about 4 hours' tolerable wind, sailing and rowing; the village is 2 miles inland. The inhabitants consist of a community of ladies who are devoted to the god of love. It is the nest of dancing girls for that part of India, and you will see of all ages, from 12 upwards—a small assemblage of 30 or 40

at your request will be got up at the house of Signor Fetitey (a demi-Portuguese who is married and settled there) for the dance. You must give amongst them 20 or 30 rupees, if you wish really to see in perfection one of the most extraordinary societies I ever heard of; it was quite by chance we went there, indeed, it is very little known. Order your bearers to be placed at Osuade before you leave Goa, with a double object, one to prevent the chance of any fair Zuradeite detaining you. Many stories are told of men going for a few hours but remaining weeks. They will not quit their abode or society, at least those who are truly *religious* will not. For a month or so they will—but they are vowed to love as the nuns are to chastity—the same object, that of happiness hereafter, but by different means.

At Belgaum desire to be taken to the public rooms. If you intend visiting Dawtatabad, write to the Resident at Hyderabad to send you a permission to meet you at Aurungabad. You cannot travel dawd by Bigassoa to Poobnah. It is well worth seeing, but you require time, being obliged to travel with the same set of bearers. The collector of Doowar will pass your dawd through the Mahratta Provinces to Sattara, Meiritish and Seulial, where the Wallers or Rajahs reside. At Meiritish the Rajah will be civil to you, but he is a coarse vulgar brute; at Senlier you will see Chinfa Man Rao, a fine old fellow, and worth seeing. You must pass by the falls of Gohawk, which are finer than those of the Rhine at Schaffhausen. It is a most disagreeable country to travel in, and there is no accommodation excepting at the capitals of the provinces, for travellers; but the Ducum Sola, a small place full of dust. Between Goa and Belgaum there is a bungalow at the bottom of the Ram Ghaut, and one at the top, from which sun-rise is worth getting up to see. At Sattara there is a traveller's bungalow; Mr. B—— is Bazaar-master; mention my name to him and he will be very civil to you. He will post

bearers for you to Poonah—going over Mahableishwar, a trifle out of the way. It is the Nuwera Ellia of the Bombay Presidency, as superior to ours in beauty of scenery as inferior to the excellence of the air. It has been partly abandoned as an invalid station, as they found that excepting for a few complaints, invalids were not benefited—it is however a delightful residence for people in health. Go to the buildings called the hospital, walk in and make yourself at home. Descend to Poonah; go to the travellers' bungalow, where the keeper will give you a good dinner if no one asks you out.

We were twelve days from Goa to Poonah, travelling dawk, and stopping one day at Belgaum—one at Meiritish—one at Satara—and one at Mahableishwar,—generally during the heat of the day to avoid dust; the whole cost about £30. If you travel with one set of bearers, you will probably be three times as long at about half the expense. The Deccan is a detestable country to travel in, and if you have the money travel dawk. From Satara we had written to post bearers for Aurungabad, passing through Serroor and Amednugger. At Aurungabad which is in the Nizam's territory, arriving at night, we went to the messroom of the subsidiaries and met with the greatest civility and attention. From thence go to the caves of Ellore, either visiting Dawtatabad going or returning—a two days job. The bearers in the Nizam's territories are double the price of those in the Company's, but this you must put up with; there is no appeal. Return by Amednugger and Serroor where there are excellent bungalows. There are none in the Nizam's territory. We were travelling day and night 12 days, from Poonah and returning, staying 3 days in Aurungabad, one in Nugger, and one in Serroor, at an expence of about £30. If you have time and are hard up for money, the same applies as to travelling with the same bearers—three times or probably less, say two and a half, comfortably, the time we were, and half the expence. By pushing your bearers and occasionally posting one or two sets out of each station where bearers are, you may travel in about one and half the time we were, at little trifling extra expence. In posting the extra bearers, be careful never to post unless certain of the day and hour you intend travelling, as the demurrage is very expensive. At the travellers' bungalow you are expected to give half a rupee for a rest, one rupee for a night, if the people are civil. The Mocadduins will try and cheat you. Bring from Ceylon a comfortable palankeen, but little advantage in having it very light and they are not so strong. I suffered inconvenience from this.

The price of the steamer is ruinous; I paid 1,200 rupees, and had only a locker to sleep on. I forgot you had not arrived at Bombay. There is a mail in a bag but disgraced in a cab-like vehicle, by which you can get to Pamwell in 12 hours—horses excellent, far better than our own in Ceylon—the fare moderate. At Pamwell is a passage boat (price fixed) for Bombay. At Bombay apply for quarters at the Staff office in the Fort. If you go to Cossier you will find no difficulty in getting every assistance to go direct to Thebes. Send off an express to order a cangia from Kenne up to Thebes. The cangias carry three very comfortably.

We divided the Desert as follows and you cannot improve on it.

Left Cossier at 3 P. M., and arrived at Byr Aughis at 6½ to sleep. The following day, getting off as early as possible, to Abowsinan 8 hours, passed the wells of Seid Solyman where you may bait as the water is tolerable—next day to Hamamat, 10 hours—next day Legayta 9 hours, where the road branches off to Kenné—the water is tolerable—next day to Angam 7 hours—the following to Luxor, passing Carnac to breakfast. At Angam you leave the Desert.

Take the following stock from Bombay, in two 3 dozen cases, no cases of larger size—the stronger, the better—one and half dozen of water in bottles, 4½ dozen at least of good liquor, beer, port, claret, brandy, &c. &c. If possible take a good cook who can act as interpreter—you are not at all certain of getting one at Cossier; a party of three would do well to bring one servant from Bombay and trust to chance: a few tongues or hams, potted soups and salmon—horn lanterns, a pair of shades (luxury) well arranged for travelling, a small table, portable chairs, *pâté à la diable*, gingerbread and other biscuits, a good mattress to lay on, the sand quite good bed enough, warm clothing, tea, coffee and sugar, kettles, saucepans and plates, a pair of spectacles, green or brown glasses, a pocket pistol for brandy and water, lots of small bags, cord, hammer, chisel, and nails, quantities of strong cord; arms are not necessary.

At Cossier see that you have a driver to each riding camel. If the agent is very civil make him a present of some English pickles or some brandy (calling it physic), a looking glass, small telescope, a knife and things of that sort; this will please him and ensure attention from his father who is agent at Kenné. I say nothing of the ruins worthy to be seen, except that with all the great ideas I had formed of what to expect, they surpassed all I had imagined. At Cairo you must hire a house; Osman Effendi, a rene-

gade Scotchman (Thompson) is paid for being civil to travellers. I will subjoin the items of expense in Egypt, which is a very cheap though a disgusting country to travel in; however its antiquities fully repay all annoyance.

From Cosier to Luxor 5 Camels at 15 piasters.....	75	piasters
Hire of a Cangia for Cairo amongst three	350	—
Living and all expenses, from the 1st March to the 27th, the day we arrived at Cairo.....	300	—
Living and expenses in Cairo for 10 days	400	—
Servants, &c.....	300	—
Cangia from Cairo to Alexandria and some other expenses.....	90	—

At Alexandria a Mrs. Hume keeps a very comfortable boarding-house. We left Alexandria on the 15th April and it cost me about £20 for the six weeks living; at Alexandria we had the offer of a passage to England in a merchant ship for £30. You can get to Malta for about £12. For the above expenses you must have at least three—six with two boats would be cheaper.

L—, myself, and another paid 1,000 piasters (20 to the dollar) to get to Scala Nuova, rode through Ephesus to Smyrna—It cost us each to get to Smyrna about £10, where a Madame Maracini keeps a boarding house, paid for five days 15 dollars. Got horses for Constantinople, had 7 horses, passing through Brusa, a very beautiful place, to Moudania, where we embarked for Pera, where a Madame Guiseppini has board and lodging. We left Alexandria on the 15th April and arrived at Constantinople (Pera) on the 13th May.

Expenses from each person from Smyrna to Constantinople £9; we remained at Constantinople nearly a month—were at some

expense in re-rigging ourselves and baggage for a ride to Belgrade. I spent there £36; I bought new saddle bags and got nothing for them at Vienna paying £3; second-hand are equally good. It cost us to get to Belgrade, six days and half travelling, above 600 miles, £21 each. We agreed with the Tartar to feed us and pay all expenses leather

great undertaking; we went to Rodosto in a boat. At Adrianople is an English consul, a Mr. Blount, mention my name to him. At Belgrade cross the water to Semlin, where you get 10 days vile quarantine; from Semlin you get up to Vienna in steamers as far as Presburg, very cheap and very comfortable: £3 or 4 at most steaming, and £1 from Presburg to Vienna. Before the end of the year there will be steam from Constantinople up the Danube, when I have no doubt £10 will cover all expenses. Pesth is a nice place and the Hotel (King of Hungary) excellent; at Presburg all Hotels are alike, it cost us about £12 each from Semlin to Vienna. Here avoid the Hotel de Londres, very dear and bad. Bargain for your rooms in Vienna before entering them. From Vienna you may get to England for £20, but you may agreeably spend £100. We went by Prague, Toplitz, Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg. Austria is the most delightful country to travel in, very slow, being the only evil, but to cross the boundaries is very annoying. The Austrians are the happiest people in the world, all life and dancing. Throughout Hungary and Austria the greatest liberty of the subject prevails rather different to what we suppose — *Ceylon Government Gazette*.

TOWNS OF INDIA.—SIRDHANA: HER HIGHNESS BEGUM SOMBRE.

In prosecution of the object of my communications, I now lay before you a short notice of the city of Sirdhanah, well known as the chief residence of Her Highness the Begum Sombre. I am sorry these rough sketches prevent my fully entering into the subject, which would naturally lead to an account of this extraordinary and talented woman—at a future period; however, I hope to have an opportunity of detailing the particulars of her history—at present I shall trouble you with a few short remarks only.

The province of Sirdhana cuts no figure in ancient story, and all I can learn on this head is, that previous to the Moosulman invasion it was governed by Raja Sirkut. The principality was granted by Najif Khan

to Sombre or Sumroo, and on his death in 1776 was made over to his widow Zebonissa Begum Sombre, on condition of keeping up a force of three Battalions of Infantry. Whether we consider the celebrity of Her Highness as a successful leader of an Army in the day of battle, against men of the most determined courage; or remember the highly respectable position she maintains in society for integrity, for her munificent patronage of objects of public weal, or her benevolence to the unfortunate and indigent, we cannot help yielding to her the palm of excellence over all those of her sex who hold a place in the annals of India. In her younger days, during periods of civil commotion and anarchy, it is possible her career may not

have been unmarked by deeds of an objectionable nature. But where is there a single instance on record of a person who has taken a prominent part in eventful times, being free from a charge of a similar nature?

Compared with the depraved, treacherous, and unprincipled Native Chiefs of whom you have so many lamentable instances near Delhi, she occupies a respectable station in society, forming, as she does, an almost solitary instance where the eye dwells with satisfaction, in finding "one seeking to do good," while her extensive charity commands universal approbation and gains for her the prayers and good wishes of a vast number dependent on her bounty.

A few months ago, Her Highness publicly proclaimed Mr. David Dyce Sombre, her adopted son and heir, and invested him with the government of the principality. Her Highness, however, daily hears the most important papers read over to her by Mr. Sombre, and often passes orders. The remarks which she causes to be recorded on some of these occasions, considering her advanced age of 83 years, manifest an uncommonly acute understanding and sound judgment. She is exceedingly jealous of her prerogatives, and in consequence Mr. Sombre has a delicate part to perform. In the first place he has to satisfy and assure Her Highness of not a little of her authority being usurped,* while at the same time he is responsible for the execution of the laws, and when this is taken into consideration much credit is due for the quiet, unostentatious, and comparatively speaking, orderly government at present established in the principality.

For some time past Her Highness has led a retired life, owing to increasing infirmities consequent on old age. She has, however, excellent health, and all the appearance of having been, when young, a beautiful woman. She retains excellent good spirits, and often enlivens conversation with witty remarks and interesting anecdotes; she is very punctual in attending to business every day at noon. Her Highness has absolute power and is independent in her own territories. She uses her authority with great discrimination and justice, and generally commutes capital punishment into imprisonment for life.

The city of Sirdhanah contains a population of 40,000 inhabitants, including about 600 Native Christians, mostly the descendants of Europeans, they are still provided for as long as they conduct themselves properly. Her Highness is of the Roman

Catholic persuasion, and has erected a very handsome Church at Sirdhannah, which contains a beautiful Altar-piece, inlaid in the Mosaic style with precious stones, and a splendid organ for the performance of sacred music. This Church is endowed with a lac of rupees. The Roman Catholic Priest, Julius Cæsar, was lately invested by the Pope, with the dignity of a Bishop, at the suggestion of the Begum—and a better man could scarcely have been selected for forwarding the views of this Church. He is a gentleman of mild and winning manners, has considerable talents, and being very well read, is an agreeable companion. There are several mud forts or cantonments near the city, but only one of them is of any consequence, having been planned by a very eminent French Engineer, who did not however live to complete it. A school has lately been established, and a fund set about for its support. At present, it is superintended by the Bishop, who does a great deal of good in an unostentatious way, and is often seen plodding through the narrow streets to attend on members of his flock requiring the consolations of religion: indefatigable as usual in the cause. A neat and handsome Roman Catholic Chapel has been erected at Meerut, at the Begums charge, where a Priest from Sirdhana officiates principally to the Roman Catholic soldiers in the British Army.

A new and spacious Palace has lately been completed at Kherwah. It is on a very grand scale. Her Highness keeps up a regular establishment in the English fashion, and her table is daily attended by the principal Officers. Her hospitality is profuse, and a charitable institution daily distributes food and raiment to the poor.

The Begum's Regular forces are:

- 1 Regiment of Artillery (8 Companies);
- 6 Regiments of Infantry (8 Companies each;)
- 1 ditto of mounted Body Guards (4 Troops)
- 1 ditto of Foot ditto (4 Companies.)

The strength of which is as follows;

Each Regiment.

- 1 Captain Commandant; 1 1st-Lieutenant; 1 2d-Lieutenant; 1 Subadar Major.

** Each Company or Troop.*

- 1 Subadar, 1 Jemadar, 1 Adjutant, 4 Havildars, 4 Amuldars, 1 Neshan Burdar, 48 Sepoys, Goolindaz or Troopers, 1 Drummer, 1 Fifer (none in the Mounted Corps), 1 Bugler or Trumpeter, 1 Bhistie, 1 Bildar, 1 Drum or Trumpet Major, 1 Hukeem or Native Doctor, 1 Jurrar or Native Surgeon, 2 Vakeels or Accountants.

The Park of Artillery consists of 48 Guns and Mortars of all calibres, some of them captured by Her Highness's Troops in the

* This is the rock on which his predecessors in office silt.

Deccan, being French and Dutch guns:—the rest were cast in Her Highness' own foundry under the superintendence of a skilful French Engineer: 24 Guns are kept in use, the others are kept in store in Magazines.

Out of the 8 Companies of the Regiment of Artillery, 3 Companies with 6 Guns and 3 Battalions of Infantry are constantly employed in the British Territory; and they are at present cantoned in the Hurriana District: there is one Company of Artillery composed entirely of Native Christians, and another of Goorkhas. A large establishment of Carpenters, Misteries, Sicklygurs, Bullock drivers, &c. belonging to the establishment is always kept up. The rest of the Troops are employed in attendance on Her Highness, and on duty in her districts and there is a band of music attached to the Foot Body Guards, which attends at the Palace. The last return of the effective Military establishment amounted to 4,558 men, exclusive of Sebundies or Provincials, of which there are about 900 men in all the Provinces.

The establishment for Invalids is worthy of notice. It consists of no less than 420 men, or about one-tenth of the whole amount of the effective strength a sufficient proof of the interest taken in her Army, and her old and faithful servants; but I have besides to add a list of 305 widows of Soldiers who enjoy pensions.

The Civil establishment consists of four Divisions or Departments: the Revenue; the Military (which is also the General Pay Office) the General and Miscellaneous; and

the Personal. All these are managed by Mr. Dyce Sombre. There is also a Court of Justice or Adawlut for criminal cases and appeals from the district Officers: an appeal lies from this Court to Her Highness direct.

There are ten different districts which have a separate Revenue and Customs establishment and the whole income amounts to about 10 lacs annually. The district of Sirdhanah is very fertile and well peopled. The staple products, sugar-cane, cotton, wheat and maize. The purgunnah of Shikarpore, of the Company's possessions, is the only district to be compared to it in the Meerut Division.

The above hurried notice will bear me out in the encomiums I passed on Her Highness's character and government at the commencement of this letter. Certain of your readers may be led to suppose it the effusion of some interested writer. Being unknown to Her Highness, as well as every one of her Officers, I cannot charge myself with influence of this nature, however much I may have been dazzled by the pleasing and striking contrast here presented, to the disgraceful misrule without a redeeming quality so common in Native States. I have made many inquiries into the statements I have made and satisfied myself of their truth, neither have I formed my sentiments on the fleeting observations of passing travellers. Those who are capable of judging rightly, form a knowledge of Her Highness's principles and acts, will allow that I have done her no more than justice.—*Delhi Gazette.*

REMARKS ON ASSAM.

The following interesting memorandums were furnished by M. Hagan, in Assam, to Captain Jenkins, the Governor-General's Agent there, by whom they were forwarded to the meeting of the Agricultural Society, on the 13th instant:

"I have the pleasure of sending a few remarks on Assam, which I hope will give your friend a general idea of the province. Should he, or any one else, be thinking seriously of giving the province a trial, I shall be most happy to answer any more minute inquiries he may wish to make previously to visiting it himself. The last is of course the best way of ascertaining what could be done. When I was in my last trip opposite the Singoree hill, I could have shown him a *chur* containing some 50 square miles, out of which he could pick and choose 15,000 bigas of as fine indigo land as I have ever seen in

Bengal, and opposite the *chur*, on this side, and across a sootee of the Burhampooter, navigable almost all the year, as many bigas of land fit for sugar and indigo also.

"I have only mentioned what I am confident would have an immediate success. I have said nothing about safflower, which grows very well, but the cultivation of which has been nearly abandoned, and which the ryots would resume on getting a market for the produce; and of the hides and horns of buffaloes and deer, which they would not throw away if they knew that they could get something by them. Indigo seed, which sells at 8 Rs. and 10 Rs. in the Lower Province, would be very profitable to the Assam ryot, could he dispose of it at 2 Rs. In short, I think, a man who would settle in Assam, as a manufacturer and trader, would find that country to be a mine, which the

deeper worked would yield the more ore, and in greater abundance. The Assamese have another kind of indigo, which is different from the common cultivated sort, with leaves 2 inches broad, which is not grown from seed, but from cuttings, and which no doubt is common also about Gowahutty (a species of *ruellia*).

"The sugar cane is cultivated in almost every village of Assam, each ryot having a small field of it. They seldom cultivate more than is necessary for their own use, and only manufacture it into *goor*. The process of making sugar or spirits is unknown in the province, but these articles are imported from Bengal. Although the cultivation of the cane is less carefully attended to than in Bengal, it grows much superior. I have seen a few fields where more trouble had been taken than is generally the case, which appeared equal to what I recollected of the Mauritius kind.

"The Assamese begin to prepare their lands in October, and go on ploughing occasionally, till the time of laying it out for planting, which is generally in April. Some of them sow opium on the land. The canes are cut in February and March, the rattoons a month earlier. The ground is laid out in furrows six inches deep and one foot apart; cuttings from the top of the cane 18 inches long, are laid down in them at a foot distance from each, and two inches of soil are lightly drawn over them. Each ryot having only a small field to attend to, they generally wait until after the first showers to plant it: in June the field is levelled, after having been well weeded. In August when the cane is two or three feet high, the earth between each row is raised at the foot of it; after this the field is very little attended to, beyond driving off wild animals; the leaves as they decay are left to fall off themselves.

"They use a different method from the Bengalees in extracting the juice; they crush the cane between hard, coarsely-made vertical cylinders worked by half a dozen men or a buffalo. The cylinders are about a foot in diameter and three feet in length. Several ryots join in making the necessary apparatus, and working their fields; and the whole is transported successively to each man's field. The rent of sugar land is eight annas per *poora*, (more than one English acre.) Cuttings for a *poora* of land cost four or five rupees. Few ryots cultivating the sugar cane for sale; the *goor* made in Assam sells dearer than the Bengal; being from two to five rupees per maund. Sugar imported for 12 and 13 rupees the maund; rum at two or three rupees the gallon. The

consumption of the two last articles I think considerable and on the increase, especially that of rum; the hill people who surround Assam preferring it to spirits of their own manufacture; besides whom there is a large class of people in Assam who use it (including all the Bengalees). The manufacture of spirits is not farmed in Assam as in Bengal.

"Indigo is cultivated in small quantities by the Assamese. The following description of its culture and manufacture will show that the accompanying sample is no criterion to judge by, of the quality which the land might produce. It is sown near the ryot's houses, on high lands in very small patches, in the month of April; they cut in August and tie it up in small bundles, leaving it to soak or ferment for five or six days, exposed to the sun, in large earthen pots. They then take out the bundles and mix a large proportion of lime with the water to make it deposit the *fecula*, which they dry on pieces of cloth. The way they dye with it is by mixing it up with a solution of potash made from the plantain tree, and with the residue of fermented rice. It would be a great thing for Assam if indigo seed were exported as an article of trade. One *poora* of it can yield eight or ten maunds in a very ordinary crop, if some one could be found to take it. A proclamation to the ryots would induce them (next year, it is too late now) to sow more of it for the seed—this year even they would collect more of it. The seed looks to me of the kind produced in the upper provinces, the one most in demand in Bengal. The plants are yet too small for me to judge of their difference, if there is any.

"Although the natives do not make use of the large *churs* of the Burhampooter to sow indigo, owing to the little of it they require, I am confident these would be as valuable in that respect as those of Bengal. I have seen *chur* lands over which no inundation had gone for several years. Lands high enough to be worked in June and July could be procured in any quantity. Upon the whole I should consider Assam similarly situated as Rungpore and Mymensing.

"Any European attempting to form an establishment in Assam should not confine himself to any single line; a small indigo factory with a small sugar plantation, would reduce the expense of both considerably, as he would thus be enabled to have always on service a certain number of workmen. People employed as "servants" (that is continually) cost in Assam $\frac{1}{3}$ less than those who are only employed as they are required; these can be had at 1 r. 8 as., the former one rupee. Besides these two

ways of procuring workmen, there is a custom in the country which would prove highly advantageous to a European manufacturer; the people giving themselves out in bondage for a certain time on receiving a small sum, there is only their food to furnish and this with a little management would only cost 10 or 12 annas at the utmost. Salong and Cachary families (tribes resembling much the Boomeahs of Burdwan in strength and habits) may be engaged for 10 and 15 rupees for 4 and 5 years,—their women and children work in the fields.

"Besides sugar and indigo, the manufacture of coarse paper would, I am certain, prove very profitable. The consumption of it in the province is daily increasing, and there is not a single sheet manufactured in it; the little they used under the former rule they got from Bhootan; it is much inferior to that of Bengal, which is the only one now in use. The price is 50 per cent. above the retail price of the latter province.

"For a European possessed of a moderate capital, and who would be on the spot to look after his business, an establishment in Assam of manufacture and trade, offers, I think, but few chances of failure. In the manufacture of sugar, indigo and paper he would have in Assam the following advantages over Bengal: no competition to fear for many years, cheaper labour and materials for building, with single exception of lime,* that is where stone lime is absolutely

* Note by Capt. F. Jenkins. As we have now discovered lime in two of three situations, I hope we shall soon have lime as cheap here as at Sylhet, or from 13 to 20 rupees per factory maund.

required, for otherwise shell lime, he can make himself. The highest tax on lands, is on those cultivated for rice; still it is only Rs. 1 8 per *poora*, (about 3½ Bengal beegahs) that on *chur* lands and the very highest (where cotton and sugar-cane are grown) is only 8 as. per *poora*.

"The articles of foreign export in which he would have no fear of native competition, or at least could compete with them in, are lac, mooga silk, long pepper, gold, ivory, his being able to export direct to Calcutta would I think make up for the greater aptitude which in general natives have over Europeans in trading in the mofussil. These products find their way to Calcutta after having passed through the hands of several people. The import articles that he could deal in are trifling, with the exception of salt; this last has been so adulterated in passing through the hands of several people that he would find it advantageous to import it direct from the Company's golahs; he could pay most of his out lay with it at a profit. Although my account of Assam may appear favorable, I am certain that any person coming to make inquiries on the spot, would find that I am rather within than above the mark. I shall, however, close my remarks by saying, that from the remoteness of the province, the peculiarities of the people, I am of opinion that to a person employing an agent, however industrious, instead of being on the spot himself, success would be very doubtful."—*Bengal Hurkaru*.

TRISTAN D'ACUNHA.

The following memoranda, of the interesting Island of Tristan D'Acunha, were collected by Captain Henniker, of the barque *Funchal*, who touched at that place in December last, on his route to Port Jackson. Captain Henniker's recommendation of this island as a place of refreshment for water is worthy the attention of ship masters.

"The island, Tristan D'Acunha is now (1834) inhabited by 41 souls, viz. 7 men, their wives, and 27 children. The oldest inhabitant, Mr. William Glass, is, by common consent of the others, styled and obeyed as Governor of this little colony; he was a corporal of artillery, and was one of a party sent by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1816, to garrison the island. The troops received orders to evacuate the place 12 months after, when Mr. Glass, with his wife, and 2 soldiers, obtained permission to remain on the island. One, however,

soon tired of the solitude took an early opportunity of leaving the place; the other, (probably) from want of his accustomed stimulants, society, and spirituous liquors) became deranged in intellect, wandered into the woods, and was there found a corpse, Mr. Glass was joined occasionally by seamen, deserting from the whaling and other ships, that called for water, and others came from the Cape of Good Hope with their wives, on representation, by the crews of vessels calling of Mr. G.'s state of happiness and independence. Several of the unmarried ones, tired of the solitude and hard labour, soon left the island again, so that there were seldom more than 6 and 7 adult males resident at one time; two of the last arrivals are now married to the eldest daughter of Governor Glass, and a daughter of one of the senior inhabitants. They all term themselves Englishmen—5 are actually so—2 are Ame-

ricans. Six of the seven are joint proprietors of boats, and at all times visit vessels that arrive, and assist them in watering, &c. &c., the other man has no share in what the six thus obtain from the shipping,—he appears excluded in consequence of his having settled there rather against the wish of Governor Glass and the senior inhabitants: although excluded from participation in the boat, he has a good house, clears and cultivates his land, stock, &c., and associates amicably with the others, still he feels his isolated situation and would fain leave it. Mr. Glass assured me that there were now as many on the island as could maintain themselves comfortably, and they had no wish to have their numbers added to, except by the increase of their respective families.

They appear to be principally employed in breaking up and cultivating the land at the base of the mountain, and can supply shipping with about 50 to 60 ton of potatoes, annually; they formerly attempted to cultivate wheat and other grain, and it grew well, but they were so repeatedly annoyed by the failure of crops from effects of heavy gales of wind, and after heavy rains, occasional shoots of earth and rock-stone from the mountain, that they abandoned the attempt, and now confine themselves principally to potatoes and all kinds of vegetables, and rearing pigs, poultry, sheep, and black cattle, but they occasionally suffer great losses from the stock straying amongst the mountains, and falling over the precipices, &c. &c. Pigs and poultry also suffer much from cold, during heavy gales of wind and rain, as also their fruit trees, and, indeed, all articles of agricultural and horticultural produce. They have good gardens attached to their dwellings, and grow apples and peaches, and some gooseberries; their pear trees grow well,—blossom and fruit forms,—but almost immediately blights and falls off.

It has lately been much recommended as the most convenient place of call for vessels bound to India and New South Wales that might be in want of water and stock—those so recommend it, stating, that plentiful supply *may at all times be depended on*, and at the following prices, viz. milch cow and calf £8, sucking pigs 2s 6d. each, grown pigs 10s a 12s each, potatoes 8s. per cwt., beef 3d per lb., sheep 15s. a 20s. each, fowls 18s. per dozen, and geese 5s. each; this Mr. Glass informed me was correct as an average rate in times of plenty, but now (December 1st, 1834,) he did not care to sell a single head of stock of any kind, or at any price,—and vegetables, onions or potatoes they had not one for their own con-

sumption,—their growing crops not being fit to dig; and he assured me, it was often the case, that during the spring they had more to spare, and, they were even so improvident in autumn, that they had disposed of the whole of their crop to shipping, thus leaving nothing for their own winter consumption. It must also be remembered that they do not often kill bullocks for their own consumption, therefore, a vessel requiring fresh beef would have to take a whole bullock, or nearly so. Their potatoes, I understand, are excellent, and keep well, but I had not an opportunity of proving them. I supplied them with a few superior Kentish potatoes for seed, and also, some very superior onions of a kind that will keep well at sea. Their reason for not wishing to sell me stock of any kind, was the great losses they had suffered by an unusually severe winter, which had destroyed their poultry, pigs, and sheep, and no less than 26 head of cattle had been lost by straying and falls from precipices and rocks. Water is at all times good and plentiful, and should a vessel require only water, Tristan D'Acunha is decidedly to be preferred to Rio Janeiro, or the Cape of Good Hope,—that is, in point of time saved on the passage.

The dwellings, and out-houses for stock, &c. are all concentrated and form a kind of village, (near the beach,) about the centre part of the north side of the island; they may be easily seen from a ship's deck, on approaching within five or six miles, with the peak bearing south, or south by west, per compass, but are not very conspicuous—being built of the stone of the island, and thatched with what *they* term tussic, (a description of reed or grass.) When first seen from the westward, they much resemble bee hives.

The climate appears good, as no natural death has occurred on the island since the first establishment of Mr. Glass. The inhabitants are all professors of the Protestant religion, the Governor officiating as clergyman. The following is a copy of a letter lately published in one of the Cape papers. I showed it to the parties whose signatures are attached, they confirm its authenticity, but its publication has, as yet, produced no applicants.

[COPY]

"We the undersigned, being three of the senior principal inhabitants of the island of Tristan D'Acunha, do hereby agree to furnish any respectable middle-aged couple (as man and wife) who are willing and capable to undertake the office of Schoolmaster and Mistress, with house and all necessaries for their subsistence, as well as to present them every year (at Christmas) with a tenth part of the amount sale of our produce so long as the Schoolmaster and Mistress shall conduct themselves with propriety, and choose to remain with us. And we

do further agree, that any persons sent to us with a certificate of good conduct, and necessary qualifications signed by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, or by Admiral Warren, (the naval Commander in Chief) shall be considered by us as eligible to the situation; and their passages to this Island paid to the Master of any Merchant Vessel bringing them, immediately on their arrival, the sum of passage money having been agreed upon by either the Governor or Admiral before mentioned."

W. M. GLASS, Governor.

RICHARD RILEY his \times mark

JOHN TAYLOR his \times mark.

Signed by us at Tristan D'Acunha, this 17th day of January, 1834, on board His Majesty's Brig of War *Forester*, in the presence of Commander Booth, R. N.

The geographical position of this Island, has, apparently, been pretty accurately ascertained, by late observations taken on shore near the village; the cascade, or watering place, I believe to be in about lat. $37^{\circ} 6' 30''$ south, and long. $12^{\circ} 3'$ west of Greenwich.

With the wind from N. N. E. round by north to W. N. W., there is a heavy surf generally rolling in on the north side the Island, precluding the possibility of a ship's boats landing to procure water; it has, therefore, been recommended by Captain Herd, of the barque *Rosannah*, that a ship should work off and on to windward of inaccessible Island, until the wind changes to W. S. W., or any where southerly, which it seldom fails to do within 48 hours, as south westerly winds are the most prevalent of any near the Island, but with a moderate breeze and fine weather, to any direction, a ship may stand down for the village, which, with a moderate commanding breeze, may with safety be approached to within three quarters of a mile, Mr. Glass would then come off with a whale boat, and, at least, could give a stranger much information respecting the facilities for watering. The surf, having a much worse appearance from the vessel, and presenting to the eye of a stranger, much greater difficulty and danger in landing, than actually exists. Should your casks be becketed ready for rafting, Mr. Glass and crew, if the weather is moderate, will undertake, with the assistance of the ship's quarter boat only, to tow them on shore, fill them, and tow them off again, the ship working off and on, keeping to windward of the watering place. Iforsburgh, in his Directory, gives directions for anchoring, but it is the opinion of all the inhabitants, (and decidedly my own) that no ship should anchor unless compelled so to do, as the water is deep, and bottom foul, and by no means good holding ground, and frequently during a calm, or previous to a shift of wind, a heavy swell precedes the northerly or

north-west breeze, and would prevent a ship getting her anchor in time to obtain an offing,—a most deplorable example of this occurred in October 1817, when His Majesty's brig of war *Julia*, of 16 guns, was at anchor near the cascade, it fell calm, a heavy swell preceded the northerly gale, and she was driven on the beach and almost immediately parted in two, near fifty of her unfortunate crew were buried on the spot by the few survivors; and Mr. Glass erected a wooden cross over them,—parts of the wreck are now to be seen, and were pointed out to us.

Should the wind be the southward of west, I should prefer sending the casks in the long boat, as by rafting them, should a strong breeze set in, or the wind shift suddenly, there is great risk of losing the casks.

I adopted the following plan, viz., when about 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to windward, or westerly of the village, I hove the ship too, hoisted out the long-boat, and stowed her with butts, and two or three good gang casks well becketed, and a good anchor, warp, and buoy and buoy-rope, the latter a very necessary precaution, as you may probably lose your boat's anchor, by neglecting it, then stood in with the long boat, towing a stern till nearly abreast the village, when Mr. Glass and whale-boat's crew (who had previously boarded us) took her in tow. The long-boat was anchored without the surf, the gang-casks landed by the whale-boat, kept filled by her crew, and hauled to and from the long-boat by small raft lines parbuckled in and started till all was complete; the ship standing off and on till, as per signal from the shore, the boats were ready to start, when we stood in and picked them up, thus we got our water with little trouble, as not one of the long-boat's crew had occasion to land; the inhabitants not only towed our boat to and from the ship, filled our casks, &c., but remained and assisted us in hoisting on board both water-casks and long-boat, for all which attention and labour they made no charge, but left it entirely to ourselves to pay them with what we could best spare. Tea, coffee, sugar, and slop-clothing, they most prize. Tobacco, flour and biscuit, they obtained more readily (and could purchase cheaply) from the American whaling ships that frequently call. In return for what few articles I gave them for their trouble and attentions, they presented me with many dozen fresh eggs, much new milk, several pounds fresh butter, and a sucking-pig or roaster.—Fish are very good and plentiful here, and form a principal portion of the diet of the inhabitants."—*Sydney Herald*.

REMARKS ON THE CLIMATE, SOIL, AND CULTIVATION OF PENANG AND PROVINCE WELLESLEY.

[Continued from page 275.]

CORN.—These rites and games being over, the cultivator in easy circumstances either sits down in listless contentment, or, and it is the most frequent case, he betakes himself to one of the many active occupations always open to his enterprize.

He may hunt the elephant for its ivory, and the rhinoceros for its horn and hide, or catch wild fowl, of which there is a regular gradation from the quail and partridge up to the argus pheasant and peacock. The preserving of king fishers' skins with the feathers attached, forms, when they are plentiful, a distinct employment. These are exported to China, where they are used for embroidering dresses. The value of good skins here is about forty dollars the hundred. The Tennasserim ones are said to be best preserved.

The birder having caught a *burong rajah pakaka*, or king-fisher, he places it in a cage, having a trap-door, on the bank of a stream, or simply ties it by a leg to a peg and suspends a thin net over it. The noise it makes soon attracts others of its kind from their fishing perches above the water, and one of these soon becomes a victim to its pugnacious curiosity by the falling of the trap door or by being entangled in the net. The Malay man kills the first bird and substitutes the newly caught one, which by its cackling speedily seals its own fate and that of another dupe, and this trick is carried on so long as birds remain.

The ryot in the interval alluded to, as also in that betwixt harvest and seed time, turns wood cutter frequently, and floats down the Praya or Pry, and the Muda rivers, from the forests of the interior, large rafts of bamboo, timber for house building, and spars for ships.

These spars are often seventy-two feet long by eighteen in girth, and when of this size, are sold for about sixty Spanish dollars each. A *kayoo krangi* wood rudder for a junk of five or six hundred tons burden, costs in its rough state about 100 Sp. dollars. The varieties of timber, the produce of our woods, will be enumerated in a subsequent part of this paper.

The cutting and making of artaps gives a livelihood to numbers. Dammer-rezin, dammer-oil, rattans, and dragon's-blood, are sought for with considerable personal risks from wild beasts. The eggs of the *pinnuyoo*, or sea turtle, and the *tuntong*, or river turtle, are eagerly searched for and sold at the rate of half a dollar the hundred. Those of the latter species are preferred being the least fishy of the two. Many parties, consisting of twenty or thirty men each, proceed up the coast to the islands where the *sarang burong*,

or edible swallow's nests are obtained, and become sub-renters during the season—(from December to the middle or end of March) of some of these; but as they too often neglect to enter into written contracts with the Chinese who farm the Island from the Honorable Company through the Commissioner in Tennasserim, they become frequently involved on their return in disputes and litigation. The birds' nest swallow, which is very small when robbed of her first nest, builds twice again at intervals of about a month, the quality of the nest deteriorating each time, which is an additional proof to that derived from its anatomical structure, that this bird is supplied with the materials of its nest from a secretion in its own stomach.

While the able-bodied men are thus absent, the women manage affairs at home, assisted by the old men and children.

The Malays go frequently in boats on petty trading expeditions to Phoonga near Junkceylon, and the intermediate ports to the northward, and to the Perak country to the southward, and push also a petty but lucrative bartering trade up the Muda river to the vicinity of the Pulei and Kroh tin mines, lying in the mountain chain of the peninsula, and which are worked by large parties of Chinese, chiefly Penang people.

Many amuse themselves by building boats, to which task they allot perhaps a couple of hours a day only. Some of these boats are beautiful models, but having no keel, and rather sharp bows, they do not sail well on a wind. The bottom is formed either out of the trunk of the *gigum* or *chinggie*, which are both very durable woods. The tree is split and bent by means of fire, a few planks surmount this, and the gunwale and upper part is framed of the pith of the *loombar* palm tree. A good boat of this sort costs about 30 dollars when of one coyan's burden.

The most settled ryots cultivate tobacco and indigo chiefly in December, January, and the succeeding dry months. The owners of cocoanut gardens find enough employment in collecting and selling the produce. A few find work as day labourers, at from 8 to 10 cents a day. During the rains the paddie fields and ditches, which last contain generally running streams, swarm with fish. The women and children, as well as the men, catch these with the long light rods before described. The bait is a frog, which is made to play on the surface of the water; children may be seen handing a *haroon* or *kaboose* of several pounds in weight. This occupation is a very idle one for the men: a man can hardly catch more than five or six cents worth a day; they are so cheap.

The Malays strike the porpoise or *loma*, and *ray*, a skate, with the harpoon, having a

a long coil of rope attached to it. The porpoise is chased during the day, but the skate at night, when it is attracted by the glare of torches to the surface and easily struck, as it attains to a large size, especially to the northward amongst the islands; here they are rarely above five feet in diameter.

There is a small species of whale occasionally seen near these shores called by the Malays *poch*, but they do not venture to attack it.

It is chiefly to the use of many coarse kinds of fish that may be attributed the modified leucæ and other cutaneous disorders with which many Malays are afflicted, and which no doubt become hereditary afterwards. Some of the most unwholesome will be here enumerated.

UNWHOLESOME AND POISONOUS FISHES.

- 1 *Parce Kubbas*—Electrical skate.
- 2 *Parce Kalawar*—Fasciated ray.
- 3 *Parce Kubbas tinshin*—Torpedo ray.
- 4 *Yoo tokay*—Zebra shark.
- 5 *Ikan Koaching*—A fish which seems to possess the character of the European angler.
- 6 *Ikan Krappoo*—It will kill a man; seems to be the marbled angler.
- 7 *Buntal Kumbong*—Pyramidal horned trunk fish.
- 8 *Buntal Panjang*—The snouted horned trunk fish.
- 9 *Guddimi*—The remora. This fish is deemed by the Malays to be a powerful manure for fruit trees.
- 10 *Kachang Kachang*—A sort of mackerel.
- 11 *Tallang Raya*—The Madagascar mackerel.
- 12 *Tudong Priyoo*—The southern trachichthys.
- 13 *Giritang*—*Merra holocentrus*, or rufous scorpena; very poisonous.
- 14 *Ketang*—The chatodon; very poisonous; there are three species.

Fishing stakes afford nearly exclusive employment to numbers of Chinese and Malays. They are run out from the beach, or placed on sand banks and shoals. A large one costs about from 80 to 100 dollars. Penang is cheaply and plentifully supplied with fish. Having warned the stranger against the unwholesome kinds, it will be but fair to acquaint him with the names of the approved sorts. The Malays, it may be observed, always prefix the generic term *ikan* or fish to the specific name.

- 1 *Ikan Ledah*—The sole—*jeeb ka muchee* (Bengalee.)
- 2 *Siblah*—A sort of plaice or flounder—*pleuronectes solea*.
- 3 *Trobo*—Indian sable fish, or clupea.
- 4 *Sinangin*—The Bengal ressia—*muchee*—the robal—*polynemus indicus*.
- 5 *Oobi*—Whiting—*scienna*.
- 6 *Kiddera*—A smaller fish than the herring, but possessing somewhat of its flavor.
- 7 *Billana*—Small fish.

8 *Joonpool*—The common mullet—*mugil cephalus*.

9 *Kappas*—About 5 inches long, white and esteemed.

10 *Groot groot*—Small fish.

11 *Tumbreh*—A sort of carp.

12 *Siyakup*—The *bekti* of Bengal, apparently a species of the labrus. There are two sorts; one being yellowish.

13 *Pakookoo*—A rock fish.

14 *Jinnahar*—A fine large fish.

15 *Sinnahoong*—A species of cyprinus or carp; a large fish.

16 *Bawal Chirmin*—The white pomfret.

17 *Bawal Tumbak*—The black pomfret—*hulwa mahi*—the stormateus argenteus.

18 *Nior nior*—A small fish.

19 *Loolee*—Bombay ducks.

20 *Korow*—Appears to be a species of cyprinus by nai; not much prized; grows to about 3 feet in length.

21 *Jarang gigi*—Wide toothed.

22 *Puting dammer*—A sort of whiting.

23 *Badakang*—The silure; not much prized.

24 *Iboo or Iboo ikan*—A sort of broad guiniad, about 15 inches long, chiefly found in rivers.

25 *Chinchoda*—A species of fistulari; hard flesh.

26 *Tumbun bulook*—Five inches in length.

27 *Mingoolong*—A sort of pike.

28 *Blalang*—The flying fish.

29 *Parce down*—Seems to be the eagle ray.

30 *Parce lung*—The kite parcee; seems to be the guttated ray.

31 *Aloo aloo*—A species of sturgeon.

32 *Killewas*—Eared trunk fish apparently.

33 *Poochook*—Silver trichure.

34 *Toda*—Sword fish; hard flesh.

35 *Layer*—The Brazilian dory.

36 *Tudong tumpang*—Seems to be the bilobate sparus.

37 *Sa-sumpit*—Jaculator labrus: this fish is eaten by the Malays.

38 *Billang*—A species of labrus.

39 *Tangiri*—The scer fish—seomber.

40 *Lobun*—A species of mullet.

41 *Kerong*—Seems to be the dragon weaver—*frachinus draco*.

42 *Gillima*—Not much prized.

43 *Similang karang*—Eel shaped platylacus: the flesh is rather too soft. It inflicts a bad wound with its fin spikes.

44 *Boolan*—A sort of razor carp.

45 *Lampam*—A sort of bream.

46 *Poomun*—A sort of silure: it is scarce.

47 *Ikan oolar*—The eel.

48 *Harooan*—The kaboose, Bengalee sow-lee muchee; a fresh water fish—soft.

49 *Ikan timah*—A thin silvery fish, called *wallee meen* on the Coromandel coast.

- 1 *Kuttam battoo*—Common large crab.
- 2 *Kuttam renjong*—A crab having small pincers, and large flappers.
- 3 *Tirtip*—Small kind of oysters ; the common sort.
- Tiram*—A very large sort ; is a very large oyster.
- 4 *Kuppah*—Maetra.
- 5 *Rames*—Variegated razor—solen variegatus.
- 6 *Oodang mangkara*—Large lobster shrimp.
- 7 *Oodang*—Shrimps ; common.
- 8 *Oodang gala*—Long legged shrimp.
- 9 *Blankas*—Scorpion crab.
- 10 *Blitong, or Sipoot pootar*—Trochus scalarus.
- 11 *Mintarang*—*Pholas orientalis* ; is found in mud.
- 12 *Sipoot gayam*—Transparent razor.
- 13 *Pinnoo*—Hog billed turtle : may be had from the Bunting Islands on a few days notice.
- 14 *Sipootkapoor*—Pod razor—solen segumer.
- 15 *Gayam*—Transparent razor—solen pelucidus, is found in mud.
- 16 *Krang*—Banded cockle : cockles in general sand.
- 17 *Kapis*—Gaper—*mya arenaria*.
- 18 *Kechau*—Whelk.

Although it is in one sense a fortunate thing for the people that they have so many resources against illness, there are also disadvantages attending it. The prolonged absence of heads of families exposes the females to temptations, which their faulty education and the custom of the parties marrying at an early age, and often without previously having seen each other, does not always fit them to resist. Fidelity is, however, a more common virtue than might, under such a condition of society, have been looked for ; and one of the reasons undoubtedly is that, although perhaps equally jealous as an Indian husband can be, the Malay does not immure his wife or deny her the privilege of going abroad, or conversing with his sex.

But if tolerant, he feels too in a degree proportionate to the abuse of his indulgence, and frequently resents that abuse by killing the offending parties. Such acts should be viewed with reference to the education of the Malays, and especially of those who were born beyond the British territory. The respectable Malay is highly sensitive to slights and premeditated insult, and he fancies, perhaps rightly, that no law can compensate the injury sustained. His feelings are therefore but too apt to lead him not merely to a criminal, but absurdly criminal excess. Thus it has sometimes happened that a Malayan couple having been formally separated by mutual consent and by order of the *Tuan Khalie*, or native Judge of matters of caste, and the woman having married another man, the first husband has murdered both him and her. In

such a case it is probable that he had had his suspicions of her former infidelity confirmed. Under Malayan rule, murder, unless coupled with treason, has generally its expiatory price, and can without much danger be perpetrated by a rich man. A native of India will on the contrary sometimes kill himself to avenge a similar wrong. He imprecates his blood to lie on the head of the offenders. If they be of a similar creed with himself, he is avenged in the terror the imprecation inspires.

Notwithstanding the vices, piracies and faults which have been attributed to Malays, but in far too sweeping a manner, and when true to any considerable extent, only so of isolated classes existing under circumstances favorable to the unchecked expansion of evil passions, there is in their character a something as the late Sir S. Raffle has expressed it “ congenial to British mind,” and which certainly, with that due tolerance of their habits and prejudices, which it is not difficult to extend towards them, leaves a more favorable impression than that received by an intercourse with the better cultivated but more crafty fawning natives of India.

It has been observed that Malays are not a pastoral race. Few of them keep any sort of cattle except buffaloes. The settlers from India are the chief graziers. They rear cattle for the dairy : the cattle for slaughter being imported chiefly from Keddah and Patany.

The Grazing Farms in the Province contain about 2,000 heads of cattle, chiefly buffaloes. Penang is the only settlement in the Straits where cattle can be readily and cheaply obtained ; an advantage of which the Commanders of H. B. M. ships-of-war are well aware. The Malays eat Buffalo flesh in preference to that of the cow, the predilection arising perhaps from a remnant of that ancient superstition which prohibited the use of cow's flesh. During the Rangoon war the only fresh animal food procurable at all for the troops for a long while was the flesh of the buffalo. The officers received the same rations of it as the men, and considered themselves happy in getting it. The heart and tongue are by no means a despicable ration for any one. About 400 buffaloes are annually slaughtered. The consumption of cattle (bovine) on Penang and by the shipping is about 300 head. Perhaps about 400 buffaloes are slaughtered yearly.

A good grass fed ox costs from eight to ten dollars. A heifer four, a calf three and half. But the butchers' retail rates are ; for an ox weighing 300 lbs. at eight cents. per lb. and one dollar for skin and horns, twenty-five dollars ; for a heifer 9 drs. ; for a calf from 6 to 7 drs.

The value of a good draft buffaloe varies from 9 drs. to 13 drs. and of a good draft ox from 8 to 12 drs.

Cattle (bovine) are bought up in droves beyond the frontier at an average of six dollars the head.

The black buffalo is the most prized both for draft and for slaughter. The Malays do not eat the white buffalo on account of its colour

Its colour is a white, tinged with reddish brown.

Milk cows cost from 6 to 15 or even 20 drs. according to the quantity of milk they yield. The very best cow will not here—unless partly of the English breed, give more than two chupahs daily, and then for two or three months only. The chupah is about one quarter and 1-16th of a gallon.

The calf must be placed beside the cow, or it will not yield its milk, and when a calf dies the dairy man (for there are no dairy maids) stuffs the skin and sets it up, so that the mother is fairly deceived and continues to give the usual supply.

The flesh of the buffalo is salted in large pieces by the Malays by being soaked for a night in strong brine, and when dried forms an article for provisioning native prahus. Salted ducks eggs forms another in great demand, especially by junks. The Malays salt these as they do the meat, but the Chinese mix a red unctuous earth with the brine, which no doubt stops the pores of the shell and preserves them better. They are put into this mixture at night and taken out during the day to be dried in the sun, which is in fact a half roasting process in a tropical climate. The Malays make the average value of a primeslaughtered buffalo when the meat is sold fresh to be thus :

	Pice.
300 Cattles (400 lbs.) of flesh at 4 pice per c.	1,200
200 Cattles of clarified fat at 5½ drs. per picul	1,100
Head and Horns	30
Offal and Bones	40
Hides	60
	2,430
Deduct original price of the Buffalo ..	1,200
Profit	1,230
or Drs. ..	1,175

If the carcase be salted and dried, the meat sells for 8 pice the cattie, and of which there will be about 180 catties equal in value to 13 drs. 75 pice, so that the profit on the whole in this instance exceeds that in the former by 2 drs. 30 pice.

The Chinese who, as the Beach Street lounger would express it, cleverly *bones* every thing profitable from a pound of ivory or tortoise-shell to a morsel of the vilest garbage or dirt, buys up all the buffalo bones at about 1 dr. per picul and exports them to China, where they sell, it is said, for from 3 to 5 drs. the picul. They are pounded by the indefatigable agriculturists of that country and applied as manure.

As it has been once or twice proposed that ghee should be made here to supply troops, the following calculation may not prove useless.

One hundred female buffaloes will give yearly one with another 9,125 guntangs of milk in all; which on the spot would sell for 16 pice the guntang, or for the whole the price will be 1,460 Spanish dollars. But the milk is commonly adulterated with one fourth part by measure of pure water, a fraud which owing

to the very rich nature of the milk of this animal is not easily detected. The profit by the fraudulent sale is therefore 1,825 Spanish dollars on the spot. When carried to market, which it always is in this adulterated state—its value at 6 pice the chupah, or 24 pice the guntang, will be 2190 Spanish dollars. The profit after deducting wages and expences, or the market sale of the pure milk would be 1230 Spanish dollars, that on the fraudulent sale 1595 dollars. As matters now rest, the milkmen are rogues to little purpose, for the demand being greater than the supply, and enjoying as they do a sort of monopoly, they could make as much profit by selling pure milk only and raising its price.

If ghee be made, then the produce will be one chupah of it for eight chupahs of pure milk, or one picul by weight of ghee for every 60 chupahs or 15 guntangs by measurement of milk.

One hundred female buffaloes will yield 76 piculs of ghee in a year, which at the bazaar rate for the superior sort here, will be equal in value to Spanish dollars 1,140. The butter-milk is of little value, and is most frequently given to the buffaloes to drink, that which is sold generally covers the cost of minor expences. All expenses being deducted, the profit on the above quantity of ghee will be as nearly as possible Spanish dollars 900.

The ghee obtained from 100 buffaloes would suffice for the rations (adopting the present rate at which such are issued) of 337 Sepoys. Each native soldier is supposed to consume 30 chittacks of ghee monthly, and there are 1,600 in a picul. It is obvious from the above statement, which it is believed will be found pretty correct, that until a much stronger competition shall take place than now exists, the prices of butter and milk will continue too high to admit of ghee being largely manufactured, the profit on the sale of milk alone, exceeding that of ghee on the scale here adopted, by Spanish dollars 330.

Buffaloe butter finds comparatively a limited sale, that made from cow's milk being preferred, although that sold to the shipping under the latter denomination is a mixture of the two, or merely *dyled* buffaloe butter.

The quality of the ghee here and to the Eastward in general, is owing to the richness of the pasturage perhaps, so superior to that brought from India, that sepoys frequently exchange their rations of the latter for a lesser quantity of it.

A guntang of rich cow's milk here yields about 20 Sicca Rupees weight or ¼ seer of butter, which is sold for 40 cents. Cattle are subject on this peninsula to violent murrains, which sweep away great numbers. These are luckily not of frequent occurrence.

Since Keddah became a dependency of Siam, no reliance has been placed on it for supplies of any sort, nor has any inconvenience been felt on that account from the period when Province Wellesley received an accession to its inhabitants of one half at the least of the population of Keddah.

The closing of the port of the latter country in former times used to put the good folks of Penang on short allowance of rice, beef, and poultry, so that the securing of these supplies became one of the stipulations in a treaty with Siam.

The above Province supplies Penang yearly with upwards of 1,20,000 poultry. Common poultry are sold at from 8 to 10 Spanish dollars the hundred; geese at from 40 to 50 pice or cents each; ducks at six for a dollar; a few turkeys and guinea-fowls have been introduced. The sale of poultry alone by sending back about 10,000 Sp. drs. yearly amongst a frugal population is in itself no small stimulus to industry to increase production of foreign articles.

Goats are not greatly encouraged owing to their destructive propensities where there is cultivation.

Sheep have not been fairly tried. The climate is perhaps too wet for them, yet they might possibly thrive on those dry plains where the soil is sandy or light.

Game abounds in the woods, but is rarely brought to the market, because there appears to be no great demand for it.

There is no scarcity of wild hog or the elk. There are two species of the wild ox or bison. The birds are snipe, (which sportsmen of course have for themselves and friends) whistling teal, grey plover, and curlews, which are seen on the mud flats in very large numbers, the red partridge, blue pheasant partridge, with red legs and red plume on its head, the common jungle fowl from which the tame variety has been obtained, the pagar, — a splendid bird, having a brownish crimson plumage and rather larger than a moor fowl, — the large kwang or argus pheasant, and the small sort having its back spangled with eyes, — the *muragh*, or the peacock, having a magnificent plumage suffused all over with a light golden hue, — the *ayam-ayam*, a large water hen, not web footed, the red and black quail, stock doves called *pergam*, equal in size to a bantam fowl, green and yellow and white wood pigeons, which with the *pergam*, feed on berries, especially those of the various kinds of Indian fig tree, besides many other tropical birds. The *plandok* or cheurotin of Buffon, or hornless deer, about the size of a hare, is plentiful; like all the animals and birds above enumerated it is only found in the deep forests.

GRAIN OR CORN—EXPENSE OF CULTIVATION.—No uniform system of culture has yet been adopted owing to the varying quality and condition of the land.

The most approved system is of course that which includes the free use of the plough. But some years must elapse before all the land shall have been sufficiently cleared of stumps and roots of trees and other impediments to admit of its being generally employed, even now many lands fit for the plough are

cultivated in the less efficient manner employed by the Malays on new lands

Cultivation by the Plough 20 Orlongs of Forest Land, First Year.

Clearing at 20 drs. per orlong	400	
5 Buffaloes	45	
3 Ploughs	15	
2 Harrows	1	
1 Roller		75
2 Ploughmen and one assistant for 80 days' work; should the land be very stiff and not well flooded, the cost of this labour will be enhanced by 1-th. The land is ploughed four times, and harrowed thrice	24	
Preparing 1 orlong as a nursery for rice plants	1	20
1 Cart (light construction)	15	
80 guntangs seed paddy	3	
Planting at 60 cents per orlong	12	
1 Watchman, who also cleans, weeds, and looks to the supply of water, &c. &c.	15	
Reaping by the sickle or punggau. If by riggun it would be 10 per cent	8	
15 days treading out the grain by buffaloes, and winnowing it, (the former operation is made at night,) and 4 labourers	6	
Carrying home and housing	5	
Granary	25	
<i>N. B.</i> A Granary costs for this quantity of grain about 25 drs. and will last 5 years only; being of light materials.		
Mats, baskets, bags (these cost about 2 drs. and last 3 years)	2	
Loss by accidents	2	

Total of 1st year, drs. 579 95

Second Year.

Expenses as before, only deducting for first cleaning of land for buffaloes, carts, Ploughs, &c. &c. granary and bags

Total expenses for two years, Drs. 655 95

PRODUCE.—When the land is of good quality, and well suited to the plough, then the *net* annual average produce of one orlong with another will hardly be less than 480 guntangs of paddy, or 250 of rice, in favorable seasons.

The crop from 20 orlongs will therefore be 12 coyangs of paddy, at 35 drs. per coyang

For the two years therefore the case will stand thus:	
Two years produce 24 coyangs of paddy at 35 drs. per coyang	840
Total expenses of cultivation for that period or 2 crops	655 90

Deduct interest 84 drs. averaged at 15 per annum, and quit rent 30 drs.

Net profit drs. 70 10

Were the paddy to be converted into rice, the profit would probably be sometimes diminished by about 15 Sp. drs., as the cost of unhusking and winnowing the paddy would amount to 75 Sp. drs., being 1 dollar the cooncha, and especially as paddy and rice do not always bear the same relative value in the market. The price of 35 drs. has been assumed as that which has for very many years back been deemed a fair average one. Whether it will continue to fall or rise, will depend on events which it is not easy to foresee. But the probability is rather in favor of enhanced prices in the coyang. At the end of the second year the clear profit by the above estimate is 70 Sp. drs. after the capital has

been returned, and interest on all charges have been deducted. For every subsequent year therefore we have

12 coys of paddie at 35 drs. per coy-	
an drs.	420
Expense of cultivation	76
	<hr/>
	344
Quit rent and interest	15
	<hr/>
Total profit, drs.	329

This will be a profit of 16 dollars an orlong after deducting interest on the the outlay.

It will be borne in mind that the highest present rate of productiveness has been stated at 600 guntangs of paddie an orlong, which would admit of a net profit on one orlong of 20½ Sp. drs. It is probable that a failure of the crop may be looked for once in ten or twelve years—for in these regions there is evidently a cycle of season although the cause is not apparent;—and those of the intermediate years will fluctuate in quantity as is the case in most countries.

Having now shewn the return which,—on an average of soil with the most approved present practice, and with every natural obstacle to cultivation surmountable by industry removed, it is possible to obtain in favorable seasons, it remains to describe the modes of cultivation which from want of capital, from local impediments increased by that want, and too frequently from indolence in the cultivator, are adopted by the majority of the ryots. The original cost of *clearing* it will be held in mind is always *presupposed*.

By the Tujam or Perang.—20 Orlongs.

Seed time.—Hire of coolies with tajah	
to cut bushes and destroy weeds drs.	40
Samai or plants	10
Planting at 60 cents an orlong	12

Total Sp. drs. 62

Harvest.—4 men watching from seed time to harvest. 8

Reaping with the ringgam at 10 per cent. paid in kind on the spot 42

Carrying home and housing at 6 per cent. 20

Cost of granary estimated at 5 drs. annually 5

Total Sp. Drs. 137

Quit rent averaged as before 15

Interest on outlay 8

Produce averaged as before—value.... 160

Yearly net profit after recovery of capital—Dis. 260

PINDIYAN OR IJAH KARBAU.—In this method of cultivation, the ryot hires a herd of buffaloes and turns them into the flooded land. They are there driven about until all the weeds and grass are fairly trodden deeply under the mud. The hire of a herd of 50 buffaloes amounts to about 1½ Sp. drs. a day, and they will prepare 2 orlongs daily. The expense is Sp. drs. 30 for the 20 orlongs.

The other expenses must be calculated as before. The saving in labor, compared with the tujah method, will not perhaps exceed 10

drs. but the gain by a larger crop will perhaps be considerable. The expense of tending a herd of 50 buffaloes if kept for the above purpose would be 75 Sp. drs. a year. But when carts come into more general use as roads are extended, the combining of other employment for buffaloes with agriculture will no doubt be introduced more universally.

OOMAH.—In this dry cultivation the jungle is cut down and burned, and holes being immediately made in the virgin soil with a sharp stake, four or five seeds of paddie are dropped into each, but are not covered with earth. This cultivation is often mixed with that of Indian corn, sesame, cucumber, melons and gourds, and pulses. The cost of clearing and cultivating one orlong will be about 12 Sp. drs. the first year, and for the third year (the second being unproductive) about 10 drs. The average produce for the first year is reckoned about the same as that of samai land. It falls off afterwards, as neither the plough or manure are applied.

The Malays cut with the ringgam on lands where the sickle might be used. In addition to the reason before assigned for this expensive process, namely that the grain does not, from being mixed perhaps, ripen all together, they object to the sickle because a good deal of grain is lost by falling out while being cut. There may be some truth in the first objection, and its cause might in time be removed. In regard to the second, the loss by shaking is a mere trifle compared with the enhanced expense incurred by rejecting the sickle.

It appears therefore that by judicious management capital expended is returned within the second year, the seasons being propitious, leaving a balance of profit in the cultivation of 20 orlongs of about 70 Spanish dollars. But it is obvious that were the bare capital to be recovered, and no more within such a short time, the speculation would be a very favorable one where capital had no other more advantageous outlay.

RENT.—Ample as the above described profit may be considered, yet the money rent of land is not always proportioned to it. We have been viewing the proprietor and ryot as one person. Disjoin the two and the state of the case is disproportionately altered.

The highest rate of money rent as yet does not exceed four Spanish Dollars an orlong (1½ acre) the average being about 2½ drs. But when the rent is paid in *kind*, its amount is frequently nearly doubled. Money rent is almost invariably paid in *advance*, while rent in kind is paid after the harvest. In the latter instance a poor tenant can give no other security than that of the expected crop, unless indeed he mortgages his land. To this subject I will revert hereafter. But a proprietor will best consult his own advantage by taking a far less usurious one.

A ryot's labor for six months were he only to employ himself in his rice cultivation would be about 13 Spanish dollars' value. But he is not confined entirely to it, for his

family can watch it while he is employed in other labor. In fact he hardly feels this part of the cultivation to be any expense. Should the proprietor of good land get one third of the gross produce value as rent, then he would receive under the ploughing system 140 Spanish dollars for 20 orlongs of land, and his tenant would have 201 dollars after deducting the wages of labor. Under the taja method his rent would be the same while his tenant would get 143 dollars, assuming that the rate of productiveness is the same in both cases, the difference in profits arising from a saving of labor and not from increase of produce. In both cases the landlord would receive a disproportionate share of the produce of his land while the tenant would have high profits.

Under such a rate of profits, arising too from small outlay of capital, on the part of the farmer, the landlords it might be said have a far larger share in shape of rent. But although it is highly probable that his rents will rise, it is also pretty certain that the risks attending cultivation will cause that rise to be slow. Perhaps, if prices of produce do not fall much, or labor become dear, he may hereafter be able to obtain a third of the gross produce as rent.

The foregoing remarks rest on ascertained data, but from the nature of the country and the population they may not always be invariably applicable.

If four dollars be taken as the average money rent per orlong of good grain land, the corresponding number of years purchase would be on an average about six years. An average of prices will not determine this point, for they will depend on the capital which confined profits in other channel may compel the holders to invest in land. If this were to be the rule then instances could be adduced of sales at ten years purchase. The competition for fresh rice land is now so great, that the disposable quantity will most probably within a very few years have been given away. The Malays take the best land first if conveniently situated, but otherwise they take that which is most easily accessible if it will yield a return for the labor to be bestowed on it. It will not perhaps be until all the remaining lands yet lying under jungle shall have been occupied and cultivated that the true value of grain cultivation to the several classes concerned, the landlord, tenant, and labourer will be fully ascertained.

But as advantages might arise to the public, to individuals, and to the revenue could any thing certain be known regarding these two important points of rent and price, it will now be my endeavour to explain how far some of the broad principles of Political Economy seem to bear upon them, and to what extent inferences for the future may reasonably be drawn. To those who view the science of Political Economy as only strictly applicable to large and populous nations, an attempt of this kind may appear superfluous. But in reality the principles of that science, if just,

ought to adapt themselves more or less to all the gradations in the scale of nations; and the very circumstance of a territory being limited in extent, being situated within the range of active trade, yet having a population of a decidedly agricultural bent, would seem to point it out as a fair test of some at least of these principles.

By tracing their effects on a small scale, we shall always obtain speedier results. England and China are perhaps the two nations which have pushed cultivation the farthest with reference to the powers of the soil; yet both contain large tracts of waste land. In a small territory, with a strong tendency in the people to increase, the cultivation may in a comparatively short space of time be urged on until it shall be checked by a deficiency of cultivable land alone.

However incomplete this attempt may be found to be, still it is presumed that even a European Political Economist might be glad to view the degree in which his principles are likely to apply in the diversified regions of India beyond the Ganges, and especially to any one of these the population of which enjoys the benefits of British law and protection, adhering at the same time to its own peculiar customs, religions, and rights of inheritance.

Amidst the mass of conflicting opinions and systems which have been advanced with the view of unravelling the intricate web of human affairs in the advanced stages of society, we have yet some plain and original principles on which the mind by reverting can repose as if on the massive base of a splendid superstructure. Had the science of Political Economy dated its birth from the period when mankind first relinquished the crook and the bow for the plough or the spade, we should not perhaps at this day have often been wandering in the mazes of speculation, or been condemned frequently to doubt or reject reasonings which, however apparently impressed with the stamp of truth, have not been tested by experience.

But instead of this, it began like the science of geology by broad assumptions, which could not be easily refuted or proved to the letter, because they were not the fruits of induction from undoubted data, furnished by experience; and it has only been by the most painful investigation of comparatively recent effects that the present age has been able to elicit some sparks of truth.

When we revert to the first stage of society, we find mankind existing chiefly as hunters, or shepherds. Neither of these conditions was favorable to the arts, and the latter one only touched occasionally on the regions of science, without being much enlightened thereby. The soil was a gift to both, but of different value to each. The hunter required a wider range, and the precariousness of his means of subsistence tended to keep population at a low standard. Having satisfied his pressing wants, and other tribes being then in as low or nearly as low a condition as his own, his artificial wants were extremely limited and

could be supplied by himself. The shepherd roamed over a more limited space, and the soil became of more value to him than a larger tract to the hunter, because not only could he secure food at all times, but generally in such plenty as to allow of a surplus, which last generally went to increase the number of his retainers under the patriarchal rule.

But the tribe of hunters and the tribe of shepherds from the nature of their avocations could never settle long enough in one spot to admit of any accumulation of exchangeable capital, for then wealth being all nearly of a like nature, and at any rate not very exportable, there could be no inducement to any interchange of it. In process of time, however, some artificial wants would be created by the natural restlessness of the human mind, and as the shepherd or more rarely the hunter could not consume his surplus game, or cattle or milk, skins or wool, he would be glad to save himself the trouble of manufacturing those articles, which besides food he began to find conducive to his comfort. After a while these wants would increase, and as a new class of men would now have been created by this appropriation of surplus food, and as a constant state of locomotion joined to increasing population and to circumscribed limits arising from the growth of neighbouring tribes, would be inimical to a full enjoyment of these new conveniences, he would begin to settle down and to cultivate the soil. Here, then, mankind would have reached the second stage of improvement in wealth, and he would now for the first time have been separated into two distinct classes, the supplies of food or necessities, and the supplies of luxury or convenience. But still these two classes would not be able to live far apart, for although the first might dispense with luxuries, the second could not dispense with food, and in the more rapid progress which society would afterwards make, it could only be in a very few detached spots favorable as emporiums for commerce that a population could exist wholly by an exchange of luxuries for food of foreign growth, nor in any stage of the advancing society might it be safe for a such a population to depend on such a supply, for, as before observed, the consumers of these luxuries might dispense with them in a time of scarcity, and thus deny food to the suppliers of them. Nature which has so bountifully given to man the ground to till, has ordained that every country shall not produce the same species of food. Hence it would happen that, except in cases where countries were near to each other, and peopled by similar races, the various kinds of food yielded by the different regions on the globe would not beyond their respective boundaries possess much, if any, exchangeable value, not even should the intrinsic value of any one species of food, whether corn or otherwise, be decidedly superior to any other species, because nature has likewise so ordained that the population of any given country, with extremely few, if any, exceptions, prefer the grain or food which it yields to that of any other country, and cannot be easily induced to substitute the latter for the former,

even allowing that it were of a better and more nutritious kind, and that it could be cultivated instead of the food to be displaced, and it is plain that if the latter could not be done the attempt at substitution would fail.

But as each nation would from its soil, or geographical position, or otherwise, possess distinct natural productions independent of the principal one of food, hence these would become one of the mediums for commerce, and whenever the cultivators by the addition to the supplies of luxuries and articles of convenience produced by this increased supply to them of food, should have created a greater quantity of such artificial objects than the population of the given country absolutely required, then the surplus would become exchangeable for foreign luxuries and objects of convenience.

After men had reached this third stage, capital would for the future oscillate betwixt the producers of food and the suppliers of artificial wants and luxuries. When food became so cheap as to lower profits, capital would go to manufactures, and when by competition here an over supply was created and prices fell, capital would be withdrawn. There would be a constant tendency to an equilibrium; the balance alternately inclining more or less on one side.

Those who have seen society in the most favored spots on the globe reach a high state of refinement, and have also visited nations and tribes in all the stages of civilization, betwixt that and the lowest condition of the human race, may not feel disposed to dispute the position that the cultivation of the soil is the basis on which rests all the real wealth, and much of the moral wealth and happiness of the human race.

The pillars of the fabric may be lost to view amidst the lofty spires and buttresses which they support. But should these pillars be removed by the agency of man, he will, if he perishes not in the ruins, be compelled to reconstruct the whole.

Political Economy in short seems to resolve itself into an endeavour to trace the causes which tend to create the oscillations of capital just adverted to, and to apply a force which shall restore the equilibrium of profits, or the rate of profits, which by the natural laws affect the soil or supply of food, ought to be obtained.

But Political Economy is one of the most difficult of sciences, because it is not purely an exact one, and because it imposes the task of exploring the whole range of human knowledge and intellect, the political and moral, as well as the material world. Its grand principles even could they be demonstrated to be truths, and many of them are valuable ones, can in a great majority of cases, be only deemed abstract truths, which either become known too late to be of use or cannot be used, or when applied to the actual affairs of men, are apt by a thousand causes to be deflected from their proper application. If one were required to cast a large stone down a chasm,

he might or might not have the power in the first instance to lift it. If he had and did throw it in, then it would be a physical truth that the stone if left to itself would reach the bottom. But in its descent it might be impeded by jutting rocks, might rebound from side to side, and be perhaps arrested in some cavity, or if it did reach the bottom, a volcanic power might at once eject it to its original site.

In the like manner the true principles which if unchecked would regulate the amount of national wealth are turned from, or retarded, or stopped in their natural operation by the conflicting currents of human affairs, by various political, moral, and intellectual influences, and by the imperative agency of physical causes on all these.

In the succeeding observations it is of course assumed as a truth, that the State becomes in the first, both lord and proprietor of all waste land from the period when the territory is ceded to it, or comes permanently into its possession by right of conquest.

After much discussion regarding the best site for a settlement in the Straits of Malacca, the Government at length fixed on Penang.

It was taken possession of, and the British flag was hoisted on the 7th July, 1786, consequent on its cession to the H. E. I. Company by the Raja of Keddah. The Island was then but very thinly inhabited.

The insecurity of the harbour, owing to the pirates and banditti who lurked on the main land opposite to it, induced the Government to obtain a cession of a part of it from the same Raja. This took place on the 1st July, 1800. It was then termed Point Wellesley, which not being a very correct designation for a line of coast, was subsequently changed to Province Wellesley. At this period it may have contained 1,500 inhabitants, including a very few Chinese.

In the month of November, 1821, the Raja of Ligor invaded Keddah with an army of seven thousand men, and took possession of it for his liege lord and master the King of Siam.

It would be foreign to the present subject to enter here into any detail of the causes which led to that occupation. Its effects were to place the British relations in this quarter on a new footing, and to pour into Penang, but chiefly into Province Wellesley, a large body of Malays who naturally preferred British to Siamese protection.

Immediately after the above event, the then Governor, the Hon'ble Mr. Phillips, took prompt measures for securing to Penang all the advantages which were expected from a settlement of the coast or province alluded to, and placed as he now is in an honorable retirement, it will no doubt be gratifying to him to find that his endeavours have not been thrown away.

When the invasion of Keddah took place, the population of Province Wellesley did not exceed 5,000 souls.

It is now (January 1835) as under.

Malays.....	42,488
Chinese.....	2,255
Chuliahs.....	549
Bengalese.....	579
Siamese.....	490

Total 46,361

The agricultural portion of this population is 42,000, including sugar growers.

The remainder consists of Traders....	300
Artificers.....	216
Weavers (Women).....	500
Day labourers and poultry collectors and vendors.....	600
Boatmen.....	960
Fishermen.....	500
Wood-cutters, &c.....	754
Dealers in cloth, &c. and hawkers..	531

4361

But it should be kept in mind that a great many of the agricultural class, as before observed, are shop-keepers, trade, and otherwise employ themselves betwixt harvest and seed time, and also occasionally work as day labourers.

The males exceed females in the whole population by 2,111, which is mainly owing to the few females amongst the Chinese, where the males are nearly as 5½ to 1 of females; and to the excess also of males over females amongst the Chuliahs and Bengalees. The sexes are nearly on a par amongst the Malays, the males only exceeding by 112. If the reports of deaths are correct, they have been 404 for the past year, including accidental ones, which have been unusually numerous. This would give nearly one in the hundred.

There are three large villages, consisting on an average of 300 houses each, and also numerous smaller ones, averaging from 20 to 50 houses each.

But the ridges of light dry soil, which stretch along the country, present in some places for three or four miles in length continuous villages, composed of houses, with a garden surrounding each.

The average number of persons to a house is very nearly 5½.

There are 21 bazaars, 28 mosques of a slight construction as yet, 59 native schools, in which from 500 to 600 boys are taught to read the Arabic character and get the Koran by rote.

It is probable that this foolish system of instruction, although it is useful as mere discipline, will in time give way to a better.

There are in the Province 321 large and 850 small boats.

The births have not been given, as there is some doubt whether all have been fairly reported. In fact, it will perhaps be some time before correct inferences as to increase of population can be drawn from native returns, most especially as to the average duration of human life, which is a main element in such computations.

The remaining population of Keddah may be 20,000, although probably it is considerably

less. But agriculture and population are fast retrograding there under the rule of a people for whom the Malays entertain feelings of contempt and hatred.

And here it may be asked, how has it come to pass that this peninsula has not been fully peopled, for if the British possessions be excluded, it is believed that the remaining portion, including the Siamese provinces of Keddah, Ligor, Sangora, Daloong and Patani and the Malayan States of Caantan, Tringunoo, Perak, Salangore and Johore does not contain above 150,000 souls, as an indigenous population. There may be perhaps from fifteen to twenty thousand Chinese, who are seldom permanent settlers. Tradition, history, and actual observation for the present would sufficiently prove that there are but few obstacles opposed in this region to the increase of the human race.

Keddah and Patani were both populous countries before they fell under the Siamese dominion, and were population to advance from this date over the whole of the tract in question at the same rate that as far as returns go it appears now doing in Province Wellesley, it might be fully peopled in an assignable period. The cause of the depopulation it has suffered can easily be traced to the despotic and barbarous rule of disjointed as well as concentrated native Governments, which inevitably tends to shorten the mean duration of human life by debasing the moral, and weakening the physical energies and capabilities, to foreign invasions, including those of the Portuguese, to constant internal predatory warfare, to the diversion of trade into new channels, and into more expert hands, to changes in religion, and lastly to a circumstance, without which, some of these causes might not have so widely operated, the facility for emigration afforded by the numerous rivers and creeks which intersect the country.

It may safely be predicted of this region, that its regeneration will never be effected by a native Government. However just the principle of population defined by Malthus as an abstract one may be, and he himself only states it as a conditional one, the checks to its operation here would be sufficiently consolatory to the mind of any person disposed to hold that principle in an absolute sense. As no condition could be supposed more desperate and hopeless for man than increase in his numbers, until he had overpeopled the whole habitable globe, so has nature wisely rendered such an event impossible, and it behoves man to strive to spread himself over the earth so that his numbers may not be diminished.

The case as regards the Malacca peninsula might not indeed be deemed quite hopeless, were it likely, which at present it is not, that European protection will ever be extended to its inhabitants in the mass. European colonization, in the strict sense of the term, would, it is imagined, be hardly contemplated under any circumstances, when it is considered that the climate, although salubrious, would not

admit of Europeans labouring in the fields; but in a confined and local sense, it exists already. Capitalists, whether agricultural or mercantile, are the proper Straits colonists. Europeans, in any number, without capital, would be an evil. Slavery when it did exist in the Straits, was of little or no advantage to capitalists, although free labour was high; the latter being generally preferred, and it would have certainly been no boon now had it not even been abolished, since labor has fallen to about two-thirds of its former price.

It may here be as well to remark, that with reference to the above respective dates of cession of Penang and Province Wellesley, and to the Provisions of the new Charter of the Honorable the East India Company, Europeans it appears may settle on the former without a licence; but that a licence is required to settle in the latter. Many Europeans nevertheless are proprietors of land in that province.

RENT, PROFITS AND LABOR.—It is clear that the State or Government had the power at the period alluded to, of taking, had it so chosen, the whole of that produce which was surplus to the cost of production, meaning thereby the capital expended, with profit thereon and the wages of labor, as its share in the capacity of landlord alone. Even admitting that fertile waste land could have been had for a very trifling price or for nothing, still it is certain that the fertile land then in cultivation, or which might be cultivated, would yield a rent; and in fact the former did yield one equal to 1-8th part of the produce on the richest soil. It required capital, and was a work of some time to clear the natural forest, and the cost and trouble of clearing good and poor land was alike for each. But even if the ryot received in perpetuity land which could not and did not pay any but a nominal rent, then he was a manifest gainer, even allowing that the cost of clearing only repaid him for his mere labor and trifling outlay, for the land became of exchangeable value from the moment it was vested in the occupier, and it might in time be so improved, or external circumstances might so affect it as to cause it to yield a rent which would increase that exchangeable value; and if the ryot could get good land, paying rent at the above rate of 1-8th, which would secure to him one half of the actual produce, he might not feel disposed to go to a distance in quest of waste land. Rent on the best land at the period was just one half of what it is now.

The Government might then have taken what was thus detached in shape of rent on the richest soils, and a decreasing proportion of what might have been separated on all lands of an inferior description, down to the land which merely returned the costs of cultivating it; and could not, therefore, until highly improved, afford to pay any rent. Such a moderate rate of rent would, if not counteracted by external circumstances, have stimulated rather than impeded industry and population.

As it happened, the mass of the emigrant population were pressed for the means of subsistence, and the question of rent was hardly attended to by them. They would have gladly, at least for a while, have cultivated the land on such conditions alone as would have allowed them nothing but a bare subsistence.

But although the power existed, it might not have been deemed prudent by too early an attachment of rent to run the risk of discouraging a people who were new to our customs and laws, or of checking those first and ardent agricultural endeavours which could alone generate a capital on the soil and keep up the stimulus for the future. The backwardness of cultivation previous to the period in question, was not so much owing to a want of capital as of inclination to detach it from the more lucrative paths of commerce. The new cultivators were located on certain conditions, the chief of which were, that they should clear and cultivate within a given period, generally two years, and after this receive a grant in perpetuity at a quit rent to be fixed by the Government.

Thus the humane intentions of the State were seconded by the confiding disposition of the people.

Many of the lands so located were subsequently for a while granted to the occupiers at the nominal rent or quit rent to 20 cents of a dollar, which could not repay the cost of collection, and which for the average of rice lands is equivalent to only 1-75th part in the hundred of the gross produce value.

If rent was given by tenants as above stated when the richest land only was cultivated, and when plenty of fertile land was lying waste, and could have been had for a nominal rent, it is a clear proof that here at least it was not required for the separation of the due proportion of rent from wages and profits, to wait until all the fertile land had been occupied and cultivated.

We are here to prevent confusion throughout this branch of the inquiry, treating of grain land only.

Thus, too, although land equal in fertility to that which has been already cultivated is still lying waste, rents have nevertheless increased. As far as consumers are concerned, it matters little who are the producers, or whether the owners of the soil are the landlords or the labourers, nor to the classes of convenience and luxury whether they are paid from the rents of the landlord, or the profits of the labourer, tenant and landlord combined in one individual.

By a reference to the first part of this paper, it will be seen that the ryot under the old Keddah Government paid a quit rent equal on an average of present price to about the 1-8th part of the gross produce value, besides indefinite exactions.

A tenth of the crop is the nominal rent exacted by the Indo-Chinese Buddhist Governments in conformity to their religious code,

which came originally from India. But all the people of these countries are subjected more or less to forced service, which sometimes reduce them to a state little short of absolute slavery.

This rate of ten per cent would scarcely ever have here exceeded four rupees an orlong, on the very best description of soil, which is just one half of the actual money rent, and one third of the actual rent in kind now paid by tenants or farmers to independent proprietors of land.

When from the advances of money which had been made by Government to the poorer ryots, and the extension of cultivation, the population had a clear course before it. It became necessary to make arrangements for securing to the State a fair proportion of what might separate itself in shape of rent. Those who came under the final settlement of lands already cleared and cultivated, could have no reasonable cause for dissatisfaction, because others had been so fortunate as to receive land nearly rent free, although they might perhaps have a claim to a proportionate release from any other possible assessments.

As it turned out, the greatest portion of the loans of rice and money which had been humanely made to the emigrants by the Government, was applied to other purposes than cultivation, and was lost. That a capital has been generated on the soil by little else than the mere labor of the ryot, is a fact which every day's experience now proves, in the increasing intensity of the demand for waste land without much reference to its quality, where that is not very poor. When population was deficient, land excepting the richest, or that very favorably situated, could be had for a mere nominal rent, or really for nothing; but the case has materially altered, when instead of having 5,000 persons of all ages to feed, there were 15,000 persons.

To have given land then for nothing would have only taught a population to set little or no value on what had become really valuable, and would have called forth no more exertion than was simply required to supply a pressing demand for food; thus depriving the community of that surplus produce which would naturally be otherwise created, and the State of that fair portion of general rents required for the public expenses. The benefits on both hands were reciprocal, and could not be disputed without one of them suffering. One great advantage was derived to the future prosperity of the Province in the facilities afforded for making a pretty equal distribution of the lands. The allotments have varied on the average from 2 orlongs, which a man with a wife and household of perhaps five or six persons can cultivate, up to 40 orlongs; a quantity which some of the respectable ryots, who had many debtor servants and larger households can manage.

There could not be much to apprehend from such a low division as the first, for although its tendency would apparently be to a still more minute sub-division, owing to the increase of

the population and to the Mahometan law of inheritance; yet the first cause would be counter-acted by the checks opposed by the application of new capital, by improvements in cultivation, and by individual extravagance; while the second would, as it every day is, be obviated and its effects evaded by the custom of not parcelling out small landed properties amongst the heirs-at-law, but of selling them in whole and dividing the proceeds.

The ryot who should content himself with raising no more produce than he and his family could consume, would be rather an unprofitable member of society. But this could not happen amongst a large number, for as capital flows in from other places, or is created successively on the soil, so will the inducement be to sell the grant or a lease, be increased, and more substantial proprietors and farmers be substituted. The ryot who can realize 20 dollars for an acre of land removes to a waste spot, clears the jungle himself, and pays the increased rate of rent without difficulty.

It is, indeed, to be apprehended from the late rapid investment of small capitals, some exceeding two thousand rupees, on land that by the time when no more waste land will remain available, the causes already mentioned of increasing capital on the one hand, and of extravagance, improvidence, and indolence on the other, may induce a more unequal distribution than might be wished; and that the small class of proprietors who combine in themselves the functions of land-lords, farmers, and labourers, will insensibly melt down and merge in the mass of tenants and labourers; and when no more capital can be advantageously employed on the land, the probability is, that wages and profits will be low and rents high, and as the cost of cultivation compared with produce, owing to the general fertility of the soil, here is now, and is likely to be, in future small, so rents will bear a pretty equal proportion to the increase of produce derived from the improvement the land naturally receives from regular cultivation alone.

It is necessary to attend in an investigation of this kind to the distinction which exists betwixt dry and wet land; one which is peculiar to those Eastern countries where rice constitutes the principal vegetable food of the people. There, although as before noticed, some kinds of that grain will grow on ground not exposed to be flooded, still in a country with a limited territory, and an increasing population, such cultivation cannot be depended on for a constant supply of grain, while it generally involves the serious objection to its utility, that under it land is allowed one, two, or three years to recover itself. Whether hereafter the profits of cultivation will admit of the plough being applied to dry land with the view to a rice crop, seems extremely doubtful.

With few exceptions the Malays decline to cultivate dry land permanently, unless it be conjoined with flooded rice land; that is, land which is or can be flooded during the rains. In the latter case the dry land is formed into a

campong or garden, with the owner's house in the centre, and in it he plants cocoanuts, plantains and other fruit trees, sugar cane, indigo, tobacco and pulses, and sweet potatoes. The proportions in which these two descriptions of land have been occupied may be about one of dry to ten of wet. It is the want of flooded rice land which is now drawing away to Province Wellesley many of our Penang Malays; and probably the remaining quantity may serve to meet the demand for a moderate period. When all the wet land shall have been located, there will yet remain several tracts of dry land, unless more capital shall have been employed on it than hitherto, for the raising of produce adapted to foreign consumption.

The condition of the Chinese sugar planters in the Province clearly evinces, that neither they or any other class of native cultivators have the means of speculating extensively in the cultivation of such land, without the support of mercantile or other capitalists.

It is not improbable that by the time when the present population considered as mainly an agricultural one, shall have increased to one hundred thousand souls, or a little more than double what it now is, a period which will be shorter or longer, more perhaps, according to the rate of increase by emigration than of that by births, the whole will have begun to press on the means of subsistence; unless, and it is a very probable supposition, an increased demand for luxuries and conveniences and accumulated capital may have begun to detach a larger proportion than at present of the people from agricultural pursuits. This process is in fact begun, and as there is already a quantity of grain produced surplus to that required to support this actual cultivating population, and it is believed more than sufficient for the support of the non-agricultural portion also, every increase in the quantity of produce will afford of a separation of this latter class from the former in a greater ratio than that at which population is increasing, which would seem to be a sign that the people are becoming more easy in their circumstances, and will probably become more so as the mass becomes still more advantageously distributed. In the event of an unrelieved pressure taking place, the surplus population will be obliged to cross into the adjoining territories of Siam or of Perak.

That men who have never been broken to the yoke of servitude under the Malayan rule, will emigrate willingly cannot be supposed; but if necessity compels a choice, Perak will be preferred. At this very period a large party which had been allured by the fertility of the land on the south bank of the Krian river, just beyond the Honorable Company's boundary, are preparing to return and to abandon the lands they have cleared for the greater safety enjoyed here.

* Such, however, is the power of habit over the human mind, that should Keddah ever revert to Malayan rule; an event which as things now rest is highly, and perhaps, happily im-

probable, the old despotism of its chiefs would be forgotten amidst the early associations which would be re-called, and part of the *tail*, or older portion of the emigrants might return. It is now thirteen years since they fled with their families, and the rising generation can have little attachment to a country which a large portion of it never saw, and the others left at too early an age to feel much interest in its fate. They would soon feel the difference in the protection to life and property afforded by the new rule compared with the security derived under the British flag.

So long as numbers of cultivators here go, so much as they do, on a borrowed capital, it will be impossible for them to give that rent for land which the latter ought reasonably to yield by the employment of unfettered exertions, nor can they be expected under such circumstances to become improvers in the mode of cultivating. The extravagant or improvident habits of many of these men, as well Hindostanee as Malayan, have reduced them to this necessity, one from which numbers of the farming proprietors are not even exempt.

It is to be regretted that they do not find persons willing to lend at a fair rate of interest, especially as they can always give the security of the land. But pressed for money, they are glad to take the first that is offered, heedless of having to pay 5 per cent per mensem interest for it. The lender either receives his capital and interest back in cash or in produce.

If the borrower were to pay back both at the end of the harvest, he might still go on prosperously. But the lender, if a cunning Hindoo or Jawi Pukan, allows him too often some delay, until he brings him completely in his power, and then pounces on his estate. There is an excellent Regulation of Government, that all mortgages shall be registered to give them validity; yet strange to say, it is every day evaded by both mortgagee and mortgagers, partly from those careless habits of business unfortunately pervading our indigenous classes, and partly from a great dislike to attend at the Court of Judicature for the purpose of registry.

In nine cases, perhaps, out of ten, there is no deed of mortgage made out; the lender merely taking the grant of the borrower as a sort of nominal pledge, and calculating on the simplicity or ignorance of the latter for his not requiring its restoration until he has paid his debt. In this way titles are lost, or made away with, and much mischief done. In such transactions the lender frequently receives one half of the produce raised by the farmer.

But a cultivating proprietor could afford to give at the rate of 60 per cent per annum for capital for a period of five or six months only, provided the land was good.

It may be suspected, however, that this high interest could not be paid for many successive seasons without detriment; and profits and rents being in a fair proportion, no tenant

could afford to pay it at all, and if he did pay it, he would probably very speedily yield up his estate to his creditor. It is a rate which no respectable mercantile speculator can pay, and under every view its payment may be considered as the mere expiring endeavour of the spend-thrift or the insolvent.

The native lenders on interest are chiefly Jawi Pukans, Chinese and Hindoos.

It is forbidden to the Mahometan to take interest for money, and this fact no doubt prevents him deriving advantage from the Saving Bank lately established at this settlement. Although it may be doubted, whether, if no prohibition existed, he would avail himself of this philanthropic institution so long as he could obtain 20 per cent per annum without risk, and 60 or 70 without any very great risk. His religious scruples are purely jesuitical, and never prevents him when avaricious from becoming a hard and griping usurer, the term payment, or a certain quantity of produce, being synonymous with that of interest.

When all the best and middling land shall have been cultivated, then the competition for profits will keep the latter down, and combined with improvements in cultivation will most probably raise rents.

It will appear from the statement of cost of cultivation before given, that much rent is lost by faulty agriculture; and it may be added, without involving a contradiction, by improved methods of cultivating, for in this latter case the landlord has not been taught by competition to see his advantage in a rise of rent through its operation. The increased proceeds in money, if not in both produce and money, by such improvements are so much added to profits and stock; but the stock as yet forms only a small part of the whole appliances to the cultivation of the soil. These profits, too, must increase if the price of produce rises, without a corresponding rise in wages or price of stock.

It may require more capital to keep pace with improvements, but rents will most likely rise eventually, because profits will probably be higher. If rents and profits combined are now about two-thirds of the gross produce on the richest soils, without the farmer having sunk any capital worth mentioning on the land, then nothing but a want of competition can prevent a land-owner from taking two-thirds at least of such combined rents and profits in shape of a money-rent, or even the whole of these, provided that in these cases he chooses to run the risk along with the cultivator, of bad seasons, floods, droughts, &c. &c., and to permit him to repay himself his third-share out of the standing crop under all circumstances, or as far at least as the crop will allow of, and at a valuation corresponding to, the average yearly price of grain.

But such a system would be doubtless injurious in the end, by cutting off those surplus profits which are the spurs to increasing cultivation and improvements in it, and which give the only chance for improvements being generally adopted, until the whole disposable

land having been cultivated, a pressure for food will force on improvements as a thing of course. It would be hazardous to attempt to fix the limit of agricultural improvement here, since the term is hardly known beyond the partial application of it in the manner described before, as that in which the plough is used. In this latter case the produce was very moderately estimated at 600 guntangs on the best land; but as a sort of general rule for present purposes, the quantity of 640 guntangs has been assumed as the highest rate which *ryots* allow under ordinary circumstances may be obtained from one orlong of land; but no correct information can be got from either land-lord or cultivator. Actual experiment has therefore been resorted to, or rather minute investigation of the ripe crops, and the results have been so far satisfactory as to prove that double the above quantity at least, or about 5,424½ lbs. could be raised on one orlong, provided the whole field could be made *equally productive with the portion submitted to test*, and this would, if only double, be equal to 187½ bushels, or 139¼ bushels by measure to the acre. It may be observed that the grain was not selected out of a field for examination, but was taken in the straw at random. But cultivation is subjected to so many accidents, that although granting the possibility of such a rate of produce, we yet require facts to shew that it can be extensively realized, or even a near approximation to it attained by judicious management. It has been before observed that a bunch of rice is raised from six or seven seed plants: bunches may be seen at this moment in Province Wellesley containing forty or even fifty stalks, with an ear to each, and from six to seven feet high, and the average number of rice grains to an ear has been found to be about 250, and 360 have been counted in a single ear; yet great fertility is often a negative advantage, when not accompanied by a disposition in a people to employ the leisure conferred on a large portion of its numbers in procuring the luxuries and conveniences of life; and when want of demand for these prevents it becoming a source of increasing wealth, which last will be of course the greatest where a high degree of fertility exists, along with such a distribution of the people as shall create the most effective demand for produce.

These particulars have been here stated more as subjects of natural history than with any desire that they be considered by the agriculturist of other than detached facts from which no general inferences ought as yet to be fairly drawn, but which are perhaps useful as shewing that he has not in all probability called forth all the whole latent capabilities of the soil, or devised expedients to prevent the fertility even already developed from being checked by extraneous circumstances.

There are strong reasons for supposing that no improvements will ever be followed by a much higher degree of productiveness than that which is exhibited by the most fertile land when first thoroughly rescued from primeval forest. Unless the increase of pro-

duce were to be considerable, it would not, it is plain, be worth the while to go to the expense of improving. Hence some of the best land which has been upwards of fifteen years under annual cultivation, continues to yield such heavy crops that the owners or farmers do not find it requisite to give it any other than the usual dressing by plough and harrow.

It is only to inferior soils that improved modes will apply with a certainty of corresponding profits.

Had the soil here been poor, it would still have been cultivated through necessity, if not choice; but there would have been few or no rents, nor any surplus produce or surplus capital, still the population would have advanced so long as land remained to give away—but it would have been little better than a pauper one. If the best land should be found incapable of being profitably improved, the rents will of course not rise unless the price of labor and stock fall, or the price of produce rise, or these three contingencies happen at once here. Rice land, even of the best quality, depends for its fertility here on a sufficient fall of rain on drainage, distance from jungle, embankments and other appliances.

The number of ears of grain, however, are not exact indexes of the produce. Thus 113 ears of the rice called *mayang srati* gave one English quart and 13 ounces by measure of paddy, while 193 ears of the sort called *biyong* only gave 1 quart 4 ounces; again 176 ears of *pattest* rice gave 1 quart 6 ounces, while 196 ears of the kind named *mayang pinang* yielded 1 quart 4 ounces only.

But if improvements do not increase the produce on the best lands, they will assuredly do so on all others in cultivation, until a regular and known gradation of soils, rents, and profits is established; and if the former cannot be improved, which is by no means here asserted, they can at least be prevented from deteriorating.

Fortunately the poor soils compose but a small part of the whole, and the very worst description, excepting what is absolutely sterile, may, by judicious management, yield a return, at least for labor, if not a profit.

In fact, the present profits of ordinary husbandry here are owing to the bounty of nature chiefly resolvable into the price of labor engaged on the land; and at the rate at which a ryot can live, he can obtain even from poor land a return ample when compared with the labor bestowed on it. But as before remarked, this arises from his not being entirely dependent on rice cultivation.

Were profits and rents to be estimated at the rate of wages absolutely required to maintain the population stationary, there can be little doubt on referring to the foregoing estimates, that these profits and rents would be much higher than has been here allowed. But fortunately from the demand for labor being considerable, and resources being at hand to counteract any relaxation in the intensity of that demand, the rate of wages is such as to

admit of a surplus for conveniences; and if the labourer would not relax his efforts, but save when he might, then labor would rise because competition would be diminished.

It would not be advantageous to the State, to the actual proprietor holding under it, or to the cultivator, were the latter to take poor land for a long period, or even for a moderate one, at an invariable or fixed rate. In either case he would not improve the land, and would probably leave it in such a condition that it would yield no rent.

It is in favor of the supposition that poor land will rise in the scale of productiveness, and in value, that the price of the instruments of agriculture or stock, and the quantity of additional labor required for improvements on it, do not perceptibly exceed what are wanted for the cultivation of land of medium fertility. The chief increase of expense will arise from manuring; so that if wages should fall at the same time, a rent will necessarily be separated. Thus it should seem that with a very trifling additional expense, poor land will be cultivated without materially, if at all, affecting the rents or profits on good land; but while produce continues to increase on good land susceptible of improvement, the rents may not be actually proportioned thereto, although the landlord will, without doubt, if prudent, be able to obtain a larger share of the produce than he before had.

Descending from the highest to the lowest description of the rice land, and assuming that the average rate of money rent for the best land is 4 Sp. dollars an orlong, or about one-sixth of the gross produce value; and that in kind two conchas, or actually one-half of the gross produce, we shall have the following scale.

Lands of the best description—Money Rent, &c.

1 Owner's or landlord's share according to present custom in money, per orlong, including quit rent	Sp. dis.	4
2 Tenant or cultivator .. .. .	.....	12
3 Labor and stock .. .. .	.....	8

Sp. Drs. 24

Rent in Kind, &c.

1 Owner's or landlord's share at <i>pauah</i> , i. e. one half the produce, that being the standing crop on the ground, which he has to cut and carry away	Guntangs of paddy	320
2 Tenant's share .. .. .	.....	107
3 Labor and stock .. .. .	.....	213

Guntangs 640

Land of medium quality—Money Rent, &c.

1 Owner's or landlord's share, and as above ..	Sp. Drs.	3
2 Tenant's share .. .. .	.....	7
3 Labor and stock .. .. .	.....	8

Sp. Drs. 18

Rent in Kind, &c.

1 Owner's or landlord's share, and as above ..	Guntangs paddy	240
2 Tenant's share .. .. .	.....	27
3 Labor and stock .. .. .	.....	213

Guntangs 480

Third rate Land—Money Rent, &c.

Owner's or landlord's share, or as above ..	Sp. Drs.	2
Tenant's share .. .. .	.....	2
Labor and stock .. .. .	.....	8

Sp. Drs. 12

<i>Rent in Kind, &c.</i>			
Owner or landlord's share ..	Guntangs	160	
Tenant's share none .. .. .	.....	..
Labor and stock .. .. .	.....	160	
	Guntangs	320	

Poor Land.

Labor at 10 pice per day and stock, &c. Drs.	8
Return in produce	Guntangs 200

Scarcely repaying the outlay; but as before observed, poverty or other reasons will induce ryots to value their own labor at a much lower rate when employed on their own account than when sold to another, so that it might be difficult to fix the exact limit where cultivation would cease.

By the Malayan method, on which the above scale is grounded, we have a rate of rent in kind and profits combined, which it is believed no land can yield in England.

In some cases the landlord gives a *nali* or the tenth part of a concha, about half a dollar's value, to the cultivator, who then clears and plants. The young crop is then marked out into two equal portions. Each party takes one, and each watches his own; cuts the crop and houses it.

By this method the landlord may perhaps obtain a little more than one-third of the gross produce value.

In other times the landlord gives an advance of four or five guntangs for seed to the cultivator, on whom devolves all the charges of cultivation; when the crop becomes ripe, it is equally divided while standing on the field, and each party cuts and carries away his own half.

The risks of cultivation are the chief causes of such differences in the money rents and rents in kind. It is probable that these risks being diminished by improved management, the landlord will be able to get more, and that his share will bear an increasing proportion to the whole produce.

It is possible that land which yields only 100 guntangs will be cultivated. But this does not prove that the necessary price ought not to be higher than the amount of labor bestowed to obtain this quantity, any more than that the price of potatoes over Great Britain should be regulated by the rate at which an Irish peasant can afford to cultivate them.

The cost of raising two hundred guntangs of paddy on one orlong of poor land, together with that of transporting it to market, will be found pretty nearly to coincide with its average bazaar price, although the latter is not the effect of the former, but accidental, and is constantly liable to variation.

It has been before observed that the present average interest on capital sunk on good rice land is about 20 per cent received as rent in money; but it is clear from the rates above given of rents in kind, that many a cultivating landlord may now actually receive on the best lands, in favorable seasons, as much as 80 per cent clear profit, while on the third rate land, he may realize 30 per cent., and that his rent in kind, should he not cultivate, will in the first

instance give him 60, and in the latter case, only the same 30 per cent.

These rates are not, except in the above item of 80 per cent., higher than have been known in Great Britain, where even 60 per cent. has been realized under very favorable circumstances; although it cannot fail to be remembered that in the latter case the capital embarked is much larger than that employed on rice cultivation, which is as yet a mere trifle, and entails no loss to a tenant at the end of a lease: but here a medium of 40 per cent. might be assumed so long as landlords could get one-half of the crop and seasons proved favorable.

A landlord here should not say that he ought to have any fixed proportion of the produce as his rent, for that last will only be the part or share which he can obtain under existing circumstances, so that taking due care, his tenant does not injure the land; he cannot further help himself against any slackness in competition unless he farms the land himself, with all its attendant vexations.

To realize the rents in kind above stated, a landlord must consent to run all risks with a tenant, including those of his death or failure to cultivate, and be prepared to guard against fraud, which unless he resides on the spot, may swallow up a large part of the rent.

The terms on which leases or grants for 20 years are now given by Government for waste rice land are so moderate, that very considerable scope is allowed for realizing profits, and the Chinese have even embarked on the cultivation, for as before observed, the ultimatum proposed as yet, after a sufficient number of years allowed for recovery of capital expended, will not exceed one half of the rent actually now received by independent landholders for the best soil. The Chinese, and perhaps the other classes too, will, in various ways bring the surplus to contribute to the public prosperity and revenue.

The Chinese are so systematic that next to European skill, their labors may be expected to bear the stamp of judicious innovations in cultivating.

In such a new country landlords will consult their own interest best by leasing their newly cleared lands for a few years at first, at progressive rates of rent; the last year's rent being calculated at a rate somewhat less than they might in a sanguine mood expect.

The present custom with land owners is to grant annual leases (with a few exceptions) which not only checks improvement and lowers profits and rents; but if the land be not very rich, tends decidedly to deteriorate it; for the tenant cannot afford to embark any capital or stock in the cultivation, and therefore makes the most he can with the least possible outlay of capital and labour.

The landlord must in the end be fully reimbursed for his relinquishment of high profits for several years after first occupation to his tenant, provided the land is capable of being improved so as to yield them, for these high

profits will entice capital, which when once fairly sunk on the land cannot be removed, leaving the landlord a greater gainer.

In some parts of China the owner gets 60 per cent. of the produce, the rate of wages being about 8 cents of a dollar. Two crops are taken, and each individual bunch of rice is manured during its growth. The labourer occasionally gets 50 *chee* or brass coins (1,050 nearly to one Spanish dollar) and his food as daily wages. The Chinese assert that in this way an orlong would yield one coyan and 160 guntangs of paddie.

Rents in England are averaged at one-fifth of the gross produce. The average money rent here at present for all land, agreeably to the statements which have been before given, is nearly one-fifth. But it is believed that the rate of profits in the latter instance is much higher than in the former; but the tenant and his family are also the labourers, so that he with some items of expense deducted, actually receives all but the rent.

But Adam Smith has laid down that a larger proportion of produce should go to the landlord in rice than in corn, that is, meaning wheat countries, owing to the difference in the cost of cultivating each.

In this paper, rice has been considered as corn, for what are we to understand by that term, but the indigenous grain food of any particular country.

It is not desirable that very large capitals should be here invested in grain land by a few individuals, as from the limited extent of territory this might become a sort of monopoly; and because, if carried beyond a certain point, consumption would be checked and population retarded, nor can it be desirable that too minute a sub-division should take effect so as to place land in the hands of those who cannot afford to improve it; but in other kinds of land, the more capital which can be embarked, the greater will be the stimulus to industry and to population, and the greater the benefit to the State and to society.

As matters now rest, the lessee for a period of five years of cultivated land, might easily recover his capital as well as profits, provided the rent was moderate; yet the landlord would reap in the end the benefit of this capital in as full a manner as if it had not been withdrawn. In fact, it would remain with the land.

It is plain that in a lease for a much longer period than five years, say for 20 years, the tenant might, without any considerable outlay of capital, and by an increase of prices, without an increase of wages, derive an enormous profit, and the landlord none.

But short leases of two or three years, although they give all that the land under the actual condition of produce, prices and competition can yield as rent, is in effect only killing the "the golden goose" and shutting one's eyes to what it would lay if carefully tended.—*Prince of Wales' Island Gazette.*

(To be continued.)

THE INLAND CUSTOMS.

If the Spaniard showered a thousand blessings on the head of him who first invented sleep, the somnolent *employés* of the Company should render all due praise to their special benefactors, Mr. Trevelyan and his works, for the powerful and yet harmless nature of the narcotic qualities they yield to the lover of horizontal refreshment, and to the jaded mind of men in public life. Like Blackwood, we are never prone to brag of our own labours in the cause of our readers; but we may be allowed on occasions of extraordinary exertion, to confess an honest pride in the extent of our zeal; as for instance, in flaying gone through a work like Mr. Trevelyan's *Inland Customs*, the intricacy and dullness of which would baffle almost Mr. Curnin's perseverance. Bruce hailed not with more glowing pride of spirit, and weariness of body, the sight of the rising of the Nile, than we did the appearance of the colophon of the Deputy Secretary's labours, and the resting place of our weary literary pilgrimage. The pains of child-birth, however, did doubtless endear even Calaban to Sycorax, and our own labour has, in the same way, invested this uncouth literary bantling with a merit in our eyes others may fail to find for it in theirs.

Still, of the contents of this work, it is not too much to say, that "what's new is not true, and what's true is not new;" and the *Meerut Observer* describes the style, with its usual felicity, in a remark, that the author had the happy art of saying in twenty words what other people do in two. It is rumoured, however, that having read the maxim of some sensible man, "how to write a book on a subject, is the best way to make yourself acquainted with it." Mr. Trevelyan naturally accommodated the nature of his researches, rather to the extent of his own acquirements, than to the demand for information of an elementary class, by the public, for there is not the simplest axiom in the theory of taxation, and the *Vade Mecum* of Writers' Buildings, which is not enlisted in the cause of the Custom's Code, with as little conscience as Falstaff pressed Bullcalf and Feeble into the state service.

Indeed, we cannot but feel that this work on the *Inland Customs* has, on the whole, done as much harm as good. When the reformation of the system was first taken up by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, he designed the abolition of the *Inland duties*, with the exception of salt, and perhaps one or two other articles, and proposed as a compensation for the loss of their net revenue, to lay the amount on the maritime commerce of Calcutta. The Court of Directors entirely concurred with him, and recommended the drawing up of a regulation, based upon the views of the talented Holt. Financial pressure, however, prevented the plan being carried into effect, and the country has, in consequence, continued to be subjected

to an evil, which bears the same relation to other public annoyances, as love does to the minor miseries of life, and this, every one knows what the poet tells us, is whipping, hanging, and drowning all in one.

Mr. Trevelyan, however, more anxious to get credit for devising a new scheme, than to exert the official influence he once possessed in stimulating the sluggish energies of Lord William Bentinck's mind, to an active advocacy of the plan, cut and dried by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, has devoted the chief part of his labour to disfigure this masterly scheme, in order to make it pass for his own. Instead of laying the whole burthen of the net proceeds of the *Inland Customs* on the sea-borne commerce of Bengal, he proposes to lay the present net amount of *Inland duties*, on all goods crossing the western frontier,* from the Hills to Mirzapore, and on all exports from Calcutta by sea, minus the amount of drawback allowed in the existing schedule of duties. His future ways and means are estimated as follows.

Collections on the Frontier Line.

	IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.	
	St.	Rs.	Rs.	
Seharunpore	43,290	.....	53,716	
N. D. }	1,23,266	.....	1,24,721	
C. D. } Delhi.....	2,26,821	.....	81,507	
I. D. }	1,28,361	.....	20,926	
Agra Division.....	11,00,495	.....	2,02,980	
Bundelcund	2,00,000	.....	1,00,000	
Allahabad.....	52,472	.....	32,944	
Mirzapore.....	99,648	.....	68,494	
Calcutta.....	"	"	6,75,224	
	19,74,353		13,60,517	

Now, as in the year 1831-32, which Mr. Trevelyan takes as the basis of this estimate, the salt duty at Agra amounted to near eight lacks of rupees, and as that at Delhi is probably two more, we may deduct from the above statement those two sums, and the Calcutta export item, which at once reduces the total gross collections, realizable from the frontier line, to about sixteen lacks in round numbers; and which sum, after paying for all European and native establishments on the costly scale lately adopted, with miscellaneous expenses, will probably be reduced to about thirteen.† And is it for this petty

* The following extract from our author's work, shows the exact position of his proposed frontier line of chokies:

"That a frontier line of Custom House posts be established as follows. Commencing at Rajgurb in the Deverah Doon, along the line of Ali Mirdan Khan's Canal, the Najafpur Lake, the Sonah Hills, and the Ferozpur, Bhairpur, and Dholpur frontiers, to the Chumbull and along that River to its junction with the Jumna. Thence the line should be carried down the right bank of the Jumna, to a point a few miles west of Allahabad, where it should be connected with the Touse, and following the course of that River and of the Behn after the junction of the two, it should terminate in the jungly tract south west of Mirzapoor."

† This is of course a mere guess. In modifying, however, the old uncovenanted establishment with a view to infuse more efficiency into the system, the Western Sudder Board have alone incurred an annual expense of about one lack and a half in the formation of the frontier line, over 250 miles from the Hills to Muttra. We may safely, therefore, assume that the cost of the whole line down to Mirzapore, will not be less than three lacks. To this too, we must add the cost of the Covenanted branch—say

sum that the whole trade of the central and western frontier, from Badshall Mehall in the Hills, to Mirzapore, is to be consigned over to the blighting influence of our present system of Inland Customs, though acknowledged on all sides, as in an incalculable degree, more burdensome to the subject than productive to the state? The chief part of the trade of the great entrepôts of commerce in Upper India, Delhi, Coosee, Muttra, Agra, Kuchowra, and Mirzapore will be brought within the proposed cordon. These places are the centre of the river and inland trade in our up-country staples; and thus commerce will continue to be clogged almost to their very gates, throughout, indeed, the most wealthy and enterprising part of the Agra Presidency. If such a scheme as this is to secure for its author from the Calcutta press the name of an indignant advocate of the claims of the people of India, well may they say, as soon as they have been taught Shakespeare, call you this backing your friends. The extent of the proposed line cannot be less than five hundred miles, with a breadth of at least eight miles, and over that whole space will the pestilence of this *Upas* tree, of India range. No management or talent will enable you to relax the rigour of the present system without diminishing the revenue. The power of search, the exactions and corruption, the grievous delay, necessary and wilful, the insolent exercise of low and ill-paid authority, the interruption of communication by the shutting up of ferries and routes, the distress and ruin resulting from seizures and confiscation, the diversion of trade to channels less impeded, the enhancement of the price of goods in consequence of these checks and annoyances, and worst of all, the demoralization of the habits of all parties connected with an ill-defined and oppressive measure, are certain evils, which no one can attempt to remove or mitigate, in carrying the new plan into effect. They are all curses inherent in a vicious system. We must either submit the happiness and prospects of a large and wealthy tract of country to their unrestrained influence, or we must annihilate the whole of the Inland Customs, transit, import, and export, on all goods, except salt.

one lack more. It will be said, however, we presume, that this establishment is kept up in great part to prevent smuggling in salt, and that, as that duty must be levied at all events, it is unfair to debit the frontier line with the cost of an establishment, which must of necessity be kept up to protect our Bengal Monopoly. We ourselves, however, think that were the whole Inland Customs to be abolished, the expense of assessing the foreign salt might be reduced to a very small sum. No establishment would be required below the Chumbul, if the Tahseeldars were invested with the powers of a preventive service in Bundelcund. Above this point, two deputy Collectors at Delhi and Agra, with a moderate establishment placed under the Superintendence of the Tahseeldars, would be sufficient to put down smuggling as effectually as the locality of the places of production and consumption admit of. The Salt *sair* should be either abolished or farmed, or what would be better still, Noh, Boravee, Maudour, and one or two other large melnalls might be let in a united lease, *saut* and *sair* free passes being granted for all salt *band sile* exports from each melnall, and the rest should be put down in toto. We look on the proposition for levying the duty on salt manufactured in the Doab and Agra villages by excise, as a proposition, to the merits of which Lord William Bentinck forgot to do justice, when as Commander-in-Chief, he told a Medical Officer, who had been President of a Committee on himself, that he had seldom, if ever, seen a public document bearing upon the face of it greater absurdity.

But not only is Mr. Trevelyan's plan twin-brother to the present disgraceful system, but some of the sources of its productiveness are considerably overrated; it will actually raise some of its revenues from the purely transit trade, it will throw a double burthen on all those articles imported from Native states, which may subsequently be exported from the Calcutta Custom House; and while it opens a wide door to smuggling, it must increase also the difficulty of efficient superintendence and control over the working of the Custom system.

The estimate given above is chiefly framed from the register kept by the Custom officers in the different districts, of all dutiable articles which crossed the Jumna and Ganges, during 1831-32, within the limits of each jurisdiction. All these goods are assumed to be exports and imports. Now from the manner in which the register is drawn out at Agra, and we may presume that a different system does not exist elsewhere, the four following classes of goods are embraced in it.

1st.—Passed from the right bank of the Jumna into the Doab, goods which had paid a duty of 2,15,966 Rs.

2nd.—Ditto from the Doab into the jurisdiction of the Agra Custom House, ditto 1,17,060.

3rd.—Passed on boats from the right bank of the Jumna to the eastward of Allahabad, ditto 8,81,529.

4th.—Imported to the right bank of the Jumna from the eastward of Allahabad, ditto 85,920.

Now in these four divisions, only those goods which may be the growth of foreign Native states, or which may be exported from the Doab beyond the frontier, will be brought actually under the assessment of the new line. Four-fifths of the cotton which pays duty at the Agra Customs House, is the produce of Delhi, Agra, and the Doab. The silk and cotton piece goods from Moorshedabad and the Doab, the fine and coarse sugar from Ghazee-poor, the Tat-putee tobacco and groceries from Mirzapore, the timbers from Rohilcund, are not available for Mr. Trevelyan's estimate in respect to that large part of these goods, which is consumed in the Agra and Muttra districts, and the Doab. In the same way, the quantity of cotton piece goods produced in Jusswantnuggur, Jullaysur, and other parts of the Doab, the cotton yarn spun in the villages around Agra, the Agra gold and silver thread, the refuse indigo, for native consumption, oil and oil seeds, and all which appears in the Agra Jumna Register for 1831-2, is all taken credit for in the figured statement of Mr. Trevelyan, though in fact the largest part of these goods were produced and consumed within the Company's provinces. We have gone into a laboured calculation on the subject, and we are fully convinced that after deducting 7,84,735 for revenue on salt which crossed the Jumna, and about 3 lacs for the pure transit trade, which will not cross the frontier, the net proceeds of the Agra collections on the new line cannot, at best, be rated on the basis assumed by our

author, at more than two lacks and a quarter. If, too, Mr. Trevelyan's estimate is framed in the same way, in regard to Delhi, it is obvious that the cotton, oil seeds, sugar, and other articles of the produce and manufacture of British India, which are exported thence eastward, or absorbed in the local consumption of the large and populous tract of country about Delhi, will pay no duty at the new frontier line. As below Agra the Jumna itself becomes pretty nearly the frontier line; the objection now urged does not apply to the estimate of the collections of the remaining Custom Houses.

In support of our second objection, we have to remark, that as the proposed frontier line is to be 8 miles in breadth, and may be assumed to be 500 in length, the transit trade of 4,000 square miles of the country will be consigned over to all the annoyances; the existing system of Customs has been everywhere condemned, for inflicting on the country. The part of the line, too, above Allahabad, is thickly studded with small and flourishing marts, the prosperity of which must soon be expected to decline, from the withering influence of the Customs system, and trade will resort to places more fortunate in their position, on the outside of the cordon. Moreover, the three large and important divisions of the country—Bundelcund, Rewaree, and Hurriana, are treated as foreign states, the whole of their transit trade with British India will be brought under taxation. The quantity of cotton produced in these districts is very considerable, and will be burthened with a tax of 8 annas per maund, while the Agra and Doab produce will be free. The system proposed makes no compensation for the exaction of that impost from Cotton, in exempting these districts from paying duty on their imports from foreign States, because they are called on to pay for every article of British Indian produce they may import from the country beyond the new line.

At present, it may thirdly be observed, the trade of the country is brought under taxation, by Customs Houses and chokies being stationed at the greater part of the large towns and mercantile routes. The iron merchants of Agra will not smuggle iron from Gwalior or Dholpoor, because he cannot hope to be successful in running it without seizure through the gauntlet of the Meerut and Ganges chokies. The Shahjehanpoor sugar merchant is restrained from attempting to evade the Ganges chokies, by the knowledge that he can scarce hope to escape seizure at Agra or Delhi; but this check upon check will be removed when the frontier line is established. A narrow tongue of land, eight miles only in breadth, will be all the country within which seizure can be effected, and how easy it will be to run goods either way across this, over a line five hundred miles in length, is too obvious to point the attention of the reader to. Once across the line, and the duty is saved for ever. Besides this, the difficulty of working efficiently and mildly the new system will be great indeed. At present, Agra, Muttra, Delhi, Furrak, Kuchoura, and other towns on

the Jumna, are the chief marts of the frontier trade, and the Custom House stations. Goods, therefore, are weighed on being stored in the owner or agents' ware-houses, and if on subsequent dispatch any difficulty arises as to weight or rowanahs, it is adjusted at the door of the merchants. But under the system of our author, the preparation of rowanahs, payment of duty, and weighing, will all be removed from the places of residence of the mercantile community, and on every west-ward dispatch of goods from the chief mercantile towns on the Jumna, the owners will have to leave their homes to journey to the residence of the Customs or patrol officer on the frontier, there to wait till his goods are weighed and passed, while his counting house or shop remains closed at Agra, Muttra, or Delhi. This is a most serious evil in its ramifications of annoyance, waste of time, and labour, increase of expense and transfer of business of the most important character from personal superintendence to the management of gomashdahs and agents.

Lastly, Mr. Trevelyan, in his estimate of Calcutta dutiable exports, has taken credit for duty on several articles, the produce of countries westward of his frontier line, and which will thus be subject to both duty on import and export. Cotton from Tonk, Dholpoor, Jaipore, and the adjoining countries, is imported to some extent into Agra; and hides, safflower, shawls, and saltpetre also will form part of the imports across the new frontier line. Now, whatever part of the cotton, hides, shawls, safflower, and saltpetre, or other goods, the produce of Native states above Allahabad or Bundelcund, Rewaree, and Hurriana, may be purchased by the European or native merchant for consignment to Calcutta, with a view to the export, will be burthened with two duties in the place of one.

We feel quite sure, that on a fair consideration of all these circumstances, our readers will pronounce a system of frontier customs as expensive, clumsy and unequal—that is short, it offends against every principle of the science of taxation. As the Agra Presidency has not been represented in the newly-formed Committee, we do trust that the Calcutta Press will stand up for the rights of the Western Provinces, and save our best interests, and the happiness of our people, from being made the victims of Mr. Trevelyan's crude and absurd scheme. Were the subject not of such paramount importance, we should enjoy a rich laugh at the manner in which this writer has attempted to run down Mr. Holt Mackenzie's plan. "The only serious attempt, however," observes Mr. Trevelyan in his report, "which has been ever made to get rid of the transit duties, was in 1825, when Mr. Holt Mackenzie took up the question in communication with the merchants of Calcutta. The resource which was then principally calculated on, for making up the deficit, was the foreign trade of Calcutta; and to this limited way of considering the subject, the failure of the attempt is mainly to be attributed. Sufficient pains do not appear to have been taken at that period, to treat the subject as a whole,

and to separate what is properly of the nature of internal duty from that which is yielded by the entire foreign trade, whether it be the maritime trade which uses the port of Calcutta, or the trade with the Native states which crosses the western frontier. The foreign trade of the western provinces, with the Native states in the interior, was left entirely out of the account with the exception of the single article of salt."

The plan for raising the whole of the net revenue of the Inland Customs, (except the duty on salt, which must be kept up to protect our Bengal monopoly,) from increased duties on the export and import trade of the Presidency, is simple in the extreme. Judgment of course would be required in framing the schedule of duties, so as to render the check to production and consumption as little as possible. Much, however, has already been written on the subject, in the Calcutta prints. Some members of the Committee just appointed, (and super-eminent Mr. H. M. Parker,) are men of high qualifications for the task, and with the aid of a man like Mr. George Prinsep, the whole anomalous system of the four presidencies might be reduced into one simple Tariff, for all British India, over a campaign tillin party.

The *Calcutta Courier*, whose Editor unlike him of the *Hurkaru*, takes up questions connected with economical science, in the inverse ratio of his ability, has at length given us a few remarks on the modification necessary in the revisal of the system. This suggestion seems to us perfectly sound; to levy an export duty only on those articles of which we possess a monopoly, and to lay the chief burdens on our imports.

But whatever may be finally determined on in that respect, we do trust that the Inland trade, frontier and transit, will be both emancipated from the fetters with which it is now confined. We raise our voice against the continuance of any parts of the old system, though worked under the superintendence of a Board, able and effective as the western one is,* and we solicit the aid of our contemporaries, provincial and metropolitan, in denouncing the cruelty and injustice of any attempt on any ground to rescue so miserable a source of revenue from merited destruction.

* To show the extent of misery the system must inflict even under its present improved management and superintendence, we shall merely quote a letter of the Board of Revenue to an Officer employed on the new frontier.

Allahabad, October 3, 1834.

Sir,—The Sudder Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces have had before them your report of seizures for the month of August last, and they observe that several of the entries which it is unnecessary to enumerate, indicate inattention to the spirit of S. 14 R. 9, 1810, which runs as follows. "It is moreover hereby declared that the articles enumerated in the foregoing section are to be subjected to the duties specified therein, as *merchandise* only. Second hand articles, or articles which may be in the possession of individuals evidently in private use or consumption are not to be subjected to any tax." The Board observe that numerous articles such as one chittack of raw silk, 2 pair of shoes, 1 cotton piece, 8½ seers of wool, &c. are subsequently released, while others as insignificant, viz. 1 matchlock, 1 chorpoo, 1 pair of shoes, &c. are to remain in attachment. The whole of these seizures being in direct violation of the spirit of the Custom Laws, and having a necessary tendency to irritate and exasperate the community who are subject to them.

The above remarks in review of Mr. Trevelyan's work on the Inland Customs, were directed, the intelligent reader will not fail to have observed, more immediately against the system proposed by our author and the state of things referred to therein, as that existing previous to the late modifications of the Doab and Rohilkund Custom Houses. But this system now in the course of completion by the Western Board of Revenue, was reserved for a separate notice, for though based on Mr. Trevelyan's principle of levying duties only on the western land export and import trades, its line is essentially different, and other parts of the plan filled up in a more effective and productive manner.

The northern part of the line of frontier Customs Houses, under the charge of Mr. Money, stationed at Seharanpore, extends from the Hills to the parallel of Panecout, one line of posts being on the Jumna, the other on the Doab Canal, the extreme post on that line being Tindhun Bridge. The Board have, too, lately proposed and secured the re-establishment of the Rohuk line of posts crossing Hurrianna, abolished in April, 1833, and intend, that the second line shall be removed from the Doab Canal to that of Alli Merdan Khan west of the Jumna, and the Deputy Collector now at Seharanpore shall be posted at Kurnaul.

The line of country immediately under the superintendence of Mr. Smith, the Collector of Customs at Delhi, extends from Kurnaul to Dunkeewur on the Jumna, some distance below Delhi, and may probably be increased in that quarter. For the second line, the Delhi Canal has been taken.

The Deputy Collector stationed at Horal, has charge of the frontier line from the parallel of the Nujufghur Jheel to Koilah Ghaut, including the town of Muttra, which jurisdiction is about 80 miles in length.

From Horal and Cosee the frontier itself becomes pretty nearly the first cordon of posts, and the Jumna continues the second line. This arrangement holds along the Bhurtapore, Keroulce, Dhoulpore, and Gwalior countries, down to the junction of the Chumbull with the Jumna at the *Puchnuddue*. This narrow tongue of land varies in its breadth from about twenty miles above Muttra, and about thirty miles in the direction of the Bansce Paharpur Hills, to about ten miles below the Utungun, where the Chumbull gradually gains upon the Jumna, till the meeting of their waters take place, off the Etawah district, and the jurisdiction of the Cawnpore Customs House.

Below the Chumbull, we learn that the frontier line will run by Calpee and Banda to the Hills west and south of Mirzapore, so as to cross the Saugor road and meet the Ganges at Chunar. A line it seems to be thought, will then be established by Jaunpore, Azimgur and Gorukpore, to prevent salt evading the special duty and being smuggled into the country beyond Ghazceporc. The formation of this line will enable the authorities to abolish the transit Customs chokies, with which the Saugor and Nerbbudda territories are studded, and will bring under contribution

the khinkhaubs and other imports into Lucknow from Benares.

The arrangements regarding the preventive service are complete from the Hills to the Chumbull. It is superintended by European patrol officers on a salary of 300 rupees a month. Of these two are in the Scharunpore; four in the Central Delhi; three in the Horal; and five in the Agra Division; each officer's beat being about 30 miles in length.

Of the Ghats on the Jumna and the corresponding bridges and fords of the Canals, three classes of posts have been formed, two of which are called open and unclosed. The first class of chokies is open for the transit of salt and every other article. The second class of chokies is open for the transit of all dutiable articles, except salt, shawls, and indigo, which are limited to the chokies of the first class. At each path way, ferry ghat and ford on the two lines, where there is any probability of illicit traffic being carried on, a small post is stationed, and no dutiable goods whatever are allowed to pass those posts, which are strictly preventive.

The Noh Salt Mehall is under a separate European superintendent, the Boraree Mehall is managed by the patrol, in whose beat it is situated, and the Doab salt villages are placed under an European officer.

The expense of the above establishment, exclusive of the allowances of the covenanted officers and sadder native officers, exceeds two lacs of rupees.

Under the orders of the Board of Revenue, the duties intended to be levied under system of Reg. 9. 1810, will only be taken on articles passing to and from the two cross chokies of the cities of Delhi and Agra, while the interference of the preventive service beyond those jurisdictions, is directed to be solely confined to salt of every kind, shawls, cotton piece goods when more than 5 pieces or 10 Rs. in value, sugar when more than 5 seers, tobacco ditto 20 seers, iron ditto 1 maund, alum, gullmasfur or safflower, dry ginger, salamoniac, assafetida, indigo, gota kinaree, copper pice, when more than 100; and spices, hur buhera, amlas, coriander, sonf, ajwain, yera, white and black pepper, peppul, cinnamon, nutmegs, tejpat, saffron, peplamoond, mushk, kalce jerce, camphor.

Such are the chief features of the plan which has been introduced on the north western frontier, under the superintendence of Messrs. Blunt and Smith. Hitherto, however,

Government has not been favourable to the abolition of the Barcilly, Futtayghur, Allahabad, Benares, and Ghazeepore Customs Houses. Till this has been effected, the merits of the Board's plan of a north western frontier system of import and export duties cannot be properly tested.

On the whole we must say, that we consider the proposed plan as a great improvement on the system introduced by Reg. 9. 1810; and which, with a native, like that of the *Picus Indica*, soon spreads its roots in the direction of every mart of commerce or mercantile route. The shackles of commerce on the left bank of the Jumna will at any rate be removed; and this a positive gain to the country at large; while as far as Delhi, Agra, Bundelcund, Mirzapore, and the trade embraced in the belt of land, which it seems intended to select for the line, in the Central Provinces, they will suffer no other additional evil beyond what they did ere the new system commenced, except inequality of taxation, with respect to produce produced within the two frontier lines, and exported westward. In closing these hasty remarks, we feel that we should not be doing our duty, were we not to add the mite of our praise to the commendation, so deservedly lavished by the Board of Revenue, and we presume by Government, on Messrs. Blunt and Smith for the unwearied zeal and great ability displayed by them, in drawing out the details of the new plan, in organizing the preventive service, and in superintending the working of the new system. We can vouch for smuggling being put down most effectually, and the annual accounts will, we are sure, exhibit a most important increase in the Agra and Delhi Customs Houses.

Having said this much, we must, in praise of a system as good as a measure can be, which is replete with every curse that can possibly be inflicted on the trade, the comfort and the feelings of the inhabitants of the most important section of the inland trade, we must repeat our fervent wish, that the whole of the new and old system, except as regards the duty on salt, may be made one neck of, and put an end to, at once. We trust that every well-wisher to the prosperity of Upper India, will join us in a "*bellum ad internecionem*" against this vicious system of taxation, and force the absolute necessity for its destruction on the convictions of those, who from hasty consideration, or other cause, may have been inclined to laud and uphold it.—*Mofussil Ukbar*.

ON CAPITAL AND ITS DIFFUSION IN INDIA.

LETTER I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

"The great misfortune of a country is an indigent tenantry. Whatever be the native advantages of the soil, or even the skill and industry of the occupier, the want of a sufficient capital confines every plan, as well as cripples and weakens every operation of husbandry."—*Hume's Essays*.

SIR,—Whether we look to the more remote, or to the later periods of Indian History, we shall find two circumstances which always equally strike us; namely, the extreme riches of

Indian Courts, and the extreme poverty of Indian ryots. But, if the sum total of the capital so amassed be taken into consideration, we shall find that it will appear comparatively small, when we bear in mind that it often embraced nearly the whole circulating medium in the country. A few millions formed an enormous treasure, in an extent of

territory far exceeding most European kingdoms. Strange as it may appear, excess of wealth in one class is not only not incompatible with excess of poverty in another, but in fact generally accompanies it. Those who witnessed Parisian magnificence, in the reign of Louis XVI., could, with difficulty, be brought to believe that the French provinces were even then bowed down with a load of misery. Despotism is indeed favorable to the accumulation of wealth in towns, and proportionably, unfavourable to its exhibition in the country. Personal property is much more secure from the hands of a conqueror than landed; and should domestic tyranny render one's residence unsafe, it is much more easily transferred to the dominion of a more friendly or less faithless prince. Moreover, in towns, the wealthy league together, and this forms a powerful aristocracy; a single member of their body may not be injured with impunity, and should the sovereign be heedless of their pretensions on other accounts, yet, there are so many occasions in which their pecuniary assistance may be either useful to him, or dangerous if afforded to a rival, that he would not readily wish to deprive himself of a support at once so weighty and so certain. I say so certain, because it is generally found that they who, if not ill-treated, are most interested in maintaining the order of things established, are men who, from the magnitude of their riches, have most to dread from the licentiousness of revolution. They must, in fact, either be held in consideration, or completely ruined; there is no medium. The nature of their property is such, that it is difficult to seize upon the whole of it, and if a part only be secured, they will merely be converts from peaceful subjects into bitter and irreconcilable enemies. In the provinces the matter is different, there they may be crushed singly, and separately, without finding much sympathy from any but their immediate dependents. Accordingly, we find in most despotic capitals abundance of hoarded precious stones and metals, and we find a proportionate deficiency of circulation throughout the surrounding lands. The very excess of such unproductive accumulations is in itself a proof of the absence of freedom; for if more productive property enjoyed equal security, it would undoubtedly be preferred. But, in arbitrary government, the whole fountain of justice is so utterly poisoned by corruption, that the proprietor of capital is afraid to embark it in any speculation which may, by possibility, end in a law suit. Thus, commerce, whether in landed or in other commodities, is almost totally debarred him; and if any trade be carried on, it is usually in the hands of a few monopolists, quite at the mercy of the minister, and who consequently are obliged to reimburse themselves for the risks which they incur, by extracting enormous profits from the pockets of the inhabitants. Those who from the moderate size of their capital, are unable, or from other causes are unwilling to embark in these schemes, have no other alternative than to hoard specie. But this is not a sort of trade that will enrich a kingdom. A small

stock with immoderate profits may possibly be for the interest of a few individual sharers; but the largest possible stock engaged in commerce, even if producing the smallest possible profits, will prove most beneficial to a state. Government securities which, in well regulated states, are at once so safe and so profitable a means of investment, are there unknown; or even, if notes of a something similar nature have been issued, they are either totally neglected by the judicious, or taken only on such terms as at once prove their instability. To entrap the public creditor, or, in other words, to swindle him out of his coin, is in some parts of the world considered a first rate manoeuvre; though princes soon find that little is to be gained by it, as the real sum, which they obtain in future for their bonds, is always decreased exactly in proportion to their faithlessness, or perhaps rather more, as a man may generally get credit for more vice than he possesses. The consequences of this must be ruinous. Where money is obtained at an easy rate, and expended on proper objects, a consequent improvement in the nation will often take place, sufficient to enable it to repay the loan in more auspicious times without inconvenience; but, as with private estates, money so raised and so expended may be of the greatest service, so, as with them, cash raised at usury, and squandered on luxury, cannot fail to bring destruction, unless the country be rescued from its fate by some wiser and more provident person. Another source of public poverty, in despotic states, is the exposure to sell of lucrative offices. If the salary of such offices, with the perquisites, be not more than sufficient to compensate an honest man for the labour and responsibility of the situation, it must be quite evident that the sum paid to obtain them, must either be a gross extortion in the sovereign, or it must be given for some unrighteous purpose. And is there then no unjust imposition levied by the purchaser of place, &c.; and do not arbitrary monarchs connive at such enormities either that they may themselves more profitably bleed the leech when he shall have sucked his fill, or for fear that the competitors might value at but a secondary premium the scanty emoluments, which barely rewarded them for their pains? Have millions never been assigned as the fortunes of those whose salaries could never have amounted to thousands? and if so, from whom were they wrung? not probably from the powerful, but from the humble tradesman and peasant, or from the humble mendicant, for, even the profits of mendicancy have not proved too mean a prey for these harpies: harpies, they are most truly, and perhaps the poverty which they gratuitously occasion, is not less injurious than their interested spoliation. But not only these direct impediments to the honest employment of productive capital exist in despotic states, but other more indirect evil consequences ensue from the absence of sufficient liberty. Works of magnificence, use, or profit can seldom be undertaken in such states by any but the ruler, or his favorites. The insecurity of other subjects would prevent

their laying out large sums in such manner. If the work proposed were calculated to improve an estate, an extortion in the shape of a tax would probably absorb all the profits; if it were one of mere comfort or splendour, it is probable that fear of jealousy, envies, or some such petty passion on the part of the despot would at once prevent it; besides, the betrayal of superfluous wealth which it must occasion,—a betrayal most especially to be avoided by all who value their lives or the little that remains of their liberties, in those countries where the law is too weak to protect them, or the sovereign is too powerful, and too infatuated to respect them. If, then, all these means of honestly raising a fortune, or of serviceably investing one, which exists among wiser nations, be taken away, how is it to be supposed that the constant and regular circulation of capital, (as necessary to the health of a state, as that of the blood is to the welfare of the body,) can be kept up? The employments of agriculture, building, and trade are in Europe, the most general of obtaining and expending wealth; but in Asia, the profits of the first of these are too often reduced to a bare subsistence, the second, though occasionally patronized by a monarch, cannot meet with that steady and universal support which is necessary to ensure its progression, if not to arrest its decline; and trade, except the paltry huckstering of powerless individuals, is carried on at too great a disadvantage, to enable its followers to preserve that rigid integrity and regard for their country's happiness, which must ever form the richest capital, and the firmest support of the commercial man. In fine, whatever fortunes are made by farming, are made by extortions from cultivators, rather than by fair industry; and whatever is secured by trade, is accumulated either directly or indirectly by the loss of the public, indirectly by a nefarious purchase of a monopoly, or, directly by loans at usurious interest, guaranteed by the power of practising speculation *ad libitum* on the poor and powerless inhabitants of the district. To rise, therefore, in the world by fair means, was long in India impossible; can we wonder

that a perpetual course of iniquitous rules should have nearly banished the sparks of virtue from the native breast? Ambition is a passion so firmly implanted in the human soul, that nothing can totally eradicate it. The virtuous man is ambitious to shine by his virtues, the vicious by his vices; the end of both is the same, but the roads by which they seek it are different. It depends a great deal on those in power to give a proper direction to this feeling; they may make it prove of the purest and most exalted nature, or they may turn it to rankness and corruption. God made the feeling, man must conduct it; but, whichever direction is given to it, it will always continue to exist; and when the only road to power and distinction leads for any considerable period, through iniquity, vice will lose its hideousness to the eyes of the candidates, and virtue will cease to be regarded. This responsibility of the sovereign has, unfortunately, weighed lightly, or been altogether unheeded by too many of those who formerly held sway in these regions, and long, to all appearance, are their late subjects destined to feel the evils arising from the wickedness they implanted. But the longer we are masters here, the more thoroughly this will be eradicated; and if the generation we found on our arrival were too deeply imbued with a faith in tortuous conduct, we may at least hope, that the succeeding race, when they shall have discovered that "honesty is the best policy," will not prove deficient in truth or disinterestedness than our own countrymen. The ambition which now leads them to error, will then conduct them in the path of honour; and they will find that, independently of the gains of honesty, it is not without a more secret but pleasing influence; and what is more to the purpose of my subject, they will no longer emulate each other in speculation and avarice, when they find that the legitimate paths of profit are open to them, and that the prayers of their inferiors, the honour of their equals, and the esteem of their sovereign, are the noble rewards of a LIBERAL AND BENEVOLENT EXPENDITURE.

LETTER II.

When I last wrote to you, my letter was on this subject, and it is my intention to address you on the same till the whole shall appear to have been exhausted. The form which I use, and the limited space which you can probably afford me, must necessarily make my remarks seem somewhat desultory; but my only remedy for this, must be to state my opinions on each point as fully as need be, so that every thing worthy of attention will eventually have been offered to your notice. The subject, in fact, is of the greatest importance to all in India; for though the agricultural tenantry is the only species mentioned in the quotation, yet I shall include the whole population, whether devoted to agriculture or commerce, under that denomination. The interests of the trading portion of the commu-

nity must be deeply affected by the state of the actual labourers of the soil. These constitute the most numerous portion of the public, and till Asiatic manufactures shall have so much improved as to compete with those of Europe, among these only must a vent for the commodities of the Indies be looked for.

One of the greatest foes to the increase of the capital of the landholder is payment of rent in kind. At first view, nothing can seem fairer than this arrangement: a certain portion of the crop is abstracted, and if the government gain a disproportionate advantage in times of plenty, it at least shares with the peasant the losses of scarcity. But, however fine this principle may appear when confined to theory, nothing can prove more baneful when it is put in practice. Where

a bare subsistence is the only reward of the cultivator, such a measure may perhaps be necessary; but if there be any who imagine that it is the interest of a ruler to deprive his subjects of all but the necessities of life, I hope that at least I shall convince them, before I have concluded this series of letters, that both a pecuniary and every other motive demand that he should not remain a king of beggars and savages, longer than he is obliged to do so, and that the sum of his wealth should not consist in a few thousands buried in his treasury, but in millions and billions fructifying in the hand of his subjects.

Excessive taxation, or such as trenches upon capital can never be the parent of wealth to either a sovereign or a people. The former may indeed squeeze the last shilling from the tradesman, but, by so doing, he will reduce him to the state of a mendicant, and so forfeit every profit which he might have shared with him, had he permitted him judiciously to employ his little capital; and moreover, he is at the expense of guarding against, or punishing the crimes of one, who might, by the adoption of wiser measures, have proved a support to, instead of a drain upon, the nation. The law is a most expensive agent, and whatever be thought of its terrors, the most violent terror will ever be that of a man who has property to lose, and who, not reduced to a mere animal supply of food, has tasted too deeply of the luxuries and pleasures of life willingly to encounter the hardships of want, or the dangers of rebellion.

If, then, I say, it be not a professed object to ruin the tenantry, (which God forbid should ever enter the brain of an Englishman,) payment in kind I shall shew to be a most injudicious method of taxation.

First, we will suppose that the year has been a fruitful one, that the crop is heavy, and that it has been successfully gathered in; we will imagine, (though I believe it is generally more), that the government share is one third of the produce. Here, we have a labourer who works the whole ground, and is at every expense of tilling, reaping, &c., giving one third of his crop annually as rent. I will not say anything about the increase of toil and expense which must take place upon getting in a heavy harvest, over that which gives a light one; the proportionate increase in the two thirds which still remain may be a sufficient recompense for that. But after the corn has been gathered, what is the consequence? The agent of Government demands its share and it is paid. This share must be immediately converted into money, in order to be remitted to the treasury where it is required.

There are few who are ignorant of the nature of the national sales, where the article in question is often disposed of at far less than its true value, where the monied dealer may make thousands by a bargain, and the poor one may see property knocked down at such a price, as will enable the purchaser to re-sell it at a sum, which must put down all honest competition, and in consequence, be the ruin of those who are unable, from circumstances, to keep their goods till the others so cheaply

obtained shall have been disposed of. Every man who knows anything of trade will at once confess, that where the ruling power turns merchant, all private capitals must withdraw; how much worse then must it be for those who possess no capital, but are obliged to live daily on their daily profits? When the sovereign becomes a cornseller, and a cornseller without reserve, the price of all corn in the country will be at once reduced to about the sum which he is able to get for his; a sum which may do very well for him, who has been at no cost of cultivation, but which may not even replace the expenditure of the unfortunate tenant. In other trades the dealer may buy in season, and sell in season; the corn dealing capitalist may purchase cheaply in a period of plenty, to retail to enormous advantage in time of scarcity; but the farmer must labour at all seasons, with nearly equal expense, to raise produce, which, by the necessities of his prince, may be rendered valueless. This is no fanciful picture. It is a picture which is daily realized, and which must of necessity be realized where the farmer has neither capital nor credit to enable him to make his sales at the most opportune moments. An evil, slightly approaching to this, is felt even in England, where men have merely the wealth of their compeers to contend against; but, from the greater facility there existing of procuring loans at reasonable rates on good security, it is much mitigated, and those, who in their first outset are indebted for their success to the pecuniary assistance of others, are thus, in time, able to amass sufficient property to be able to dispense with extraneous succour. But even there, the instances are not few in which small farmers, (who nevertheless are unmeasurably superior to any in this country), are ruined by the fluctuations of the seasons alone, when left to their own resources. It is this which gives such an immense advantage to the tenant of a large tract of ground. While his poorer brethren are selling their crops for what they can get for them; he is able, by his credit, to keep his till the cheaper produce of the neighbourhood shall have been consumed, and to make his own bargain.

But if the principle which I am decrying be ruinous in a fruitful year, is it not, if possible, more destructive in a barren one? In the former, the largeness of the crop may in some measure compensate for its cheapness, but in the latter the only dependance of the husbandman is on the greatness of the sum which he may be able to obtain for what has proved so deficient in quantity. But here he will infallibly be disappointed. When the Government share once comes into the market, adieu to all his hopes of wealth.

An average year's produce may be taken as the average quantity required for a year's consumption. Were it less, more land would be occupied; were it more, some now tilled would be suffered to lie waste. The Government share then may be supposed sufficient to supply the public four months. This will be sold for far less than the cultivators would expect for his portion. What then is he to

do? Either to make the most of his wreck, or to wait four months, in expectation of better times. I need not say what the *coombie*, without a pice in his pocket, and perhaps with a large bill at his bunya's, will do; indeed, what he must do; for, as the bunya is interested in causing ruin to others if it bring riches to himself, he will not fail to take such steps with his debtor as must throw the harvest into his hands, at any price he chooses to allow for it.

And is this the way in which capital is to be

acquired by the tenantry? Is this the way in which that want, which, Hume says, "cripples and confines every operation of husbandry," is to be obviated? Is this the way in which a people can advance to prosperity? Is this a way in which a Government will find its road to wealth? No, it is not. But, the true road will be found, by a proper application of that maxim, that THE SUREST FOUNDATION FOR THE POWER, RICHES, AND GLORY OF THE SOVEREIGN, ARE THE WEALTH, PROSPERITY, AND HAPPINESS OF THE SUBJECT.

LETTER III.

In my last, I endeavoured to shew the mischief attending the payment of rent in kind, increasing or decreasing each year according to the largeness or the scantiness of the crop: in the present letter I shall consider a payment something similar, in its nature and effects, but differing from it in this, that instead of a portion of the crops being received by the Government, a sum of money is taken in its stead equivalent, at the time of assessment, to the market value of the produce itself.

But before I enter upon the subject, I think it would be as well to state the immense difference which should exist between the conduct of an ordinary landlord in letting his land, and that of a landlord who is at once the owner of the soil and the sovereign of the state. To the former the actual condition of his tenantry, (provided his rents be kept up to a high standard), may matter little. He may, if he find the clamours of the poor, or the outrages of the discontented, unbearable, reside in another quarter, and so save himself the annoyance which would otherwise considerably lessen his enjoyment. In saying this, I take the plainest view of the matter; I take an instance where selfishness is the only rule of conduct.

In remarking on what the proceedings of people are, and what they should be, I do not care to strain to better mankind; I would not endeavour to make them more generous, but merely shew them what their true interest really is. If every man, both in power, and out of power, will fairly consult that common, though often perverted and generally abused rule, and will follow it implicitly, he will find, if he be not an idiot, that it will lead him to every thing excellent, and if his career should unfortunately come to a different termination, he will discover, upon reflection, it is not because he has steadily trodden in the prescribed path, but because the gratification of some momentary, perhaps illegitimate desire has, in fact, led him astray from it.

The self-interest, I said, of the owner of a small estate may, if negligently considered, appear to warrant rack-rent and all its concomitant evils. By adopting these he may squeeze more from his peasantry than were

otherwise possible. If his present renters be ruined, he is in the heart of a kingdom, and others probably will be ready to succeed them. His land may, under this system, bring a succession of misery to a succession of families, but he knows that, if the worst should happen, he will only have to recur to that more benevolent plan which he should have pursued in the first instance. If commotions take place among his people, the state will be at the expense of quelling them. He will derive every advantage from the protection of power, while his payment towards the support of it will be very inadequate to the benefits he receives from it: in short, while he keeps within the bounds of the law, the law will uphold him in his proceedings, however iniquitous they may appear in the abstract. With a sovereign landlord the case is reversed. If his tenantry be destroyed he can find no successors to them; for foreigners will not court ruin in a strange land, of the laws of which they are ignorant,—the climate of which, if not noxious to their constitutions, will be probably far from agreeable to them,—of the agriculture of which they are entirely ignorant, and of the manners and customs of which they have every thing to learn. As to his looking to persons occupied in civil employments within his kingdom, citizens would know nothing of farming, and the man who gave satisfaction and earned a comfortable subsistence in a town, would get little but broken heads if he took service in the country.

If, then, a sovereign landed proprietor of a kingdom cannot change his tenants, he must do his best to content himself with them; the first step towards which will be to make them contented. The small owner of ground may easily, if disliked, retire to a neighbouring country, which, if not so pleasing to him as his hereditary domain, will still be inhabited by his own countrymen, and blessed with a similar climate; but the monarch has no such resource. Where all the cultivators are his tenants, he cannot avoid their presence without abdicating his throne; and if he attempt to force them into submission, the expense of the force, with the utter cessation of payment

of rents in the disturbed districts, will bring him at last to know that a small pecuniary sacrifice in the first instance would have been better than the cost of an army, the desertion of thousands, the loss of the lives of many, and the disgust and ill will of all. It is in vain for a ruler to set his subjects' interests at naught; "a house divided against itself cannot stand;" if he wishes to be beloved and supported at home, and respected abroad, he must act in conformity to, not against the suffrages of his people. In saying this, I do not mean that he must obey the dictates of every mob, of whom one half are frequently knaves, and the other tools: but, by acting in conformity to the wishes of his people,—I mean attending to the suggestions of that part of them which embraces the wealth, integrity, and talent of the nation; those in fact, whose reputation and property are a security that their advice shall not be deficient in wisdom, or in honesty,—if wisdom and honesty exist in the country.

Thus, the conduct of the two proprietors may be essentially different; for the interest of the former may exist separate from that of his dependants, while the interest of the latter is bound up in that of those under him, and ruin or prosperity to them must be ruin or prosperity to him likewise. But regarding what should be the conduct of the petty proprietor I have nothing to do; it is only that of the princely landlord which concerns me.

As this latter must participate in the profits arising from the judicious employment of every atom of capital in his dominions, to increase that capital should be his first care; to foster its growth, not to destroy it, should be his object. By so doing, he may appear to suffer a slight loss at first; but even the temporary inconvenience will be more apparent than real, and he is by it strengthening each day the foundation of wealth incalculable hereafter. Capital is like the goose which laid golden eggs; properly supported, it will annually produce abundance of treasure, but once destroyed, its fruit will depart for ever. We may assume it as a truth, that whatever measure tends to assist the increase of the capital of the subject should at any rate be embraced, and that whatever tends to diminish it be at any cost abandoned. The profits indeed of capital are proper objects of taxation, but capital itself should, like the plough of the labourer, or the working tools of the

artisan, be ever sacred from the grasp of power.

I have said so much by way of preface, that I have little room to devote to the matter itself, upon which, in the commencement of this letter, I expressed my intention to speak: however, I do not think that is very material, for, as in many books, I think here too the preface is the most important part.

But to return to the mark. A great evil, in paying as rent a sum assessed according to the market price of the crop, is, that in order to raise it as speedily as required, the cultivator must either hurry his produce into the market, however unseasonable the moment may be, or he must borrow the money from some banker, to be returned with interest, &c. when a more fitting time arrives. If he dispose off his corn at once, so large a quantity being suddenly exposed for sale will of course reduce the price, and in order to procure the Government valuation, he must necessarily, under this disadvantage, sell more than the Government share. In good seasons, this may not destroy all hope of eventual success; but in bad, what will become of him? If he prefer keeping his crop for a time, he must borrow money to pay his rent; the charges of which, to cultivators in India, are too well known for a person to suppose that any good luck, short of miraculous, could enable them to gain much by this measure. Indeed, the terms are purposely made ruinous by the village money lenders, because they being generally the village corn dealers, know that a refusal to lend will give the power of purchasing at their own price, and granting the favour will soon throw the affairs of the ignorant peasant into such confusion, as will eventually effect the same purpose. The roads are too bad, in most parts, to allow of men's seeking better markets: where the harvest is raised, there, too often, must it be sold; and what profits are made by this trade go into the pockets of the monied bunya, not into those of the poor husbandman. Want of capital is, in the first place, the cause of the mischief, but the plan followed in consequence of that want is such as must perpetuate its existence; and thus, while some Marwaries and other foreigners may, under our sway, acquire an overgrown personal property, beggary and misery are the attendants of the most HONEST, THE MOST LABORIOUS, AND MOST LOYAL portion of the people,—THE LANDED TENANTRY.

LETTER IV.

I have already spoken of two methods of collecting rents, which have been at most periods much in vogue in this country: I would now beg to draw your attention to another grievance of the land-holder, which if of less magnitude than those I have mentioned before, is not in proportion less injurious. I do not know

whether the peasantry deem it real hardship or not; for their ignorance of all but what comes under their actual observation, and the excessive attachment they bear; (in common with all nations not far advanced in civilization) to ancient forms and customs, would perhaps render them more fearful of injurious

consequences from innovation than sanguine of beneficial. But this should weigh little in the scale of reason. Where a nation is decidedly averse to any change, however advantageous it may be deemed by the ruler and his councillors, it should, if concerning only private conduct, be left to itself to adopt it, trusting only to the general good sense, assisted by the example of Government; but, when the alteration is of consequence in a public view, it is the duty of the public authorities at once to exert all their power in its behalf, at the same time taking care that the remedy be not worse than the disease. The antiquity of any existing institution is, no doubt, a *prima facie* evidence in its favour; but had it been allowed to be conclusive, the Reformation in England would never have existed, indeed, the Pagan must still have remained the established religion of the land. The changes in both instances were carried into effect by the more influential portion of the people; and though, at first, perhaps even a numerical majority, composed of ignorant persons, were against them, those were unable to withstand the current, and learnt at last to glory in the creed which they once despised. As it is with religious, so is it with civil matters. The multitude are not always capable of judging of measures in their infancy, even if they had time and opportunity to do so; it is only after the fruits have become visible, that they learn to appreciate the conduct of statesmen, whom they then discover to have been labouring for their benefit.

The evil which I mentioned at the commencement of this letter is, that of allowing certain village officers and artisans to be paid by a contribution in kind from the neighbouring cultivators, of a something similar nature to that of tithe in England, though, from the multitude of claimants, far more vexatious.

The system of tithing lands in Europe stands on a religious basis, and assuredly, would never have stood so long, had it not been viewed by many very intelligent persons as an ordinance rather of the Almighty than of man, and, therefore, a subject in which it would be profaneness in human legislators to interfere. The security also of the Church Establishment has been supposed to be so intimately connected with the continuance of their institution, that the numerous supporters of the former, consisting of the larger portion of the wealth and talent of our native land, have always most strenuously opposed the abolition of the latter. This, then, resting on such a foundation, can form no precedent for ordinary proceedings. But even this, though it be so founded, proves, if carried to extremes, and the tithe be taken in kind, a source of great annoyance to those who are unable or unwilling to perceive that what they now lose in the profits on their land, they originally saved in its price; and that if tithe be done away with, they will have obtained a much more valuable estate than they really bargained for.

But the clergy themselves, (than whom perhaps there is not a more respectable body in

existence,) have never objected to fair commutations for the dues of their respective benefices; by which means they avoid exposing themselves to the ill will of those disaffected to them, and so secure a more pleasant, if not an equal income. Here, however, the case is different; instead of one demand for a portion of the produce there are several. The tenant is moreover usually too poor to enter into any pecuniary arrangement regarding their abolition, did custom sanction such an usage, and the claimants in wealth, wisdom, and respectability, stand most wofully behind the benefited clergy of Britain.

The vexatiousness, nevertheless, of the system to the landlord is nothing to its ultimate effects upon his property. A considerable part of the village population, (for the families of these fee-receivers must be included,) are for some time at any rate, provided with food sufficient, and thus, the necessity of purchasing is superseded. If this be the case, as it certainly is, in most villages in India, to whom is the farmer to look for the sale of his crop? Were a shoemaker to set up a shop in a small hamlet, and were he obliged to present a pair of shoes gratis to many of the inhabitants annually, he certainly might expect little benefit for his trade: so it is with the corn-grower; many of his neighbours are provided by him with present sustenance, and this, joined to the circumstance of his being totally without capital to enable him to keep his produce, or means to convey it to a better market, takes from him the only opportunity he might have of effecting a profitable sale. He has not a fair chance in his business. To give him this, the whole produce of the land ought to remain absolutely in the hands of the body of cultivators; they might then sell their own property, on their own terms; the necessity of food would oblige the purchaser to pay any price insisted on, while the want of money and competition among the growers themselves, would reduce that price to a proper level. The price in fact would be determined by what the producers could afford to take, and not depend on the parsimony or extravagance of others. The cultivator would stand on the same ground as other dealers: the commodity required would have to be bought from one of his class, or people must starve; the class, therefore, would certainly thrive. A bad season would not ruin them, as where all the corn is wanted, competition would have less effect on the prices, and a good one would not injure their future prospects, by too largely increasing the hoarded stock, as the cheapness of the article would have its usual effect of increasing the consumption. In short, the landholder would, then, instead of being as he is now the working slave of the bunya, take his proper station in the social system, and no longer the meanest and most wretched of the people, would become respectable, and rich; the envy of his equals, and the pride and support of the Government.

If you wish to know how these fees are to be abolished, I would say, that I am the last to advocate injustice to any. The present enjoyers

of them have, no doubt, a right to them, and any resumption, without presenting an equivalent, would be the height of tyranny. But allowing this, I think that it would still be very possible to do away with them. Valuations might be made, and the total amount of compensation paid in the first instance by Government, and charged eventually to the renters of the land so redeemed. The manner, however, of redemption is a matter of secondary importance; the principle is the grand point to contend for, that once sanctioned, the settlement of the details would not be difficult.

If it be asked when this measure is to be adopted, I will answer that there is nothing I should reprobate more than sudden and important changes in the condition of any set of men; but, at the same time that I allow that the change itself should be gradual, and almost unperceived by the objects of it, till the entire revolution shall have been effected; yet, I imagine that the principle of the change should either be admitted by the ruler, or rejected, long before it be either possible, or expedient to carry it into practice. There can be nothing more despicable and more dangerous

than a blind and vacillating policy, in which not only the people, but their governors also, are ignorant what proceedings the morrow may bring for them which, these functionaries think that it is "sufficient for the day" to avert "the evil thereof," and instead of acting on a well studied and approved system, make their measures such a piece of unintelligible patchwork, that even themselves cannot understand its meaning. Such conduct is inexcusable every where, but especially in a country like this; for, here are no stormy popular commotions to encounter; here the will of the ruler is the law, and no attempts are likely to meet with opposition, while the religion and condition of the people are respected. I know not a finer field for a philanthropic and intelligent Government than India. There is sufficient employment in the path of melioration for a life; benevolent designs will not be counteracted by an ignorant or designing populace, and, if his actions are not at first understood, their effects will in time be evident to all, and the memory of them will assuredly be most deeply imprinted in the hearts of these, hitherto unfortunate, but always honest and grateful, nations.

LETTER V.

I have, I believe, in my former observations, shewn that under the present system of letting land capital can seldom, if ever, be acquired by the agricultural speculator. I do not say that such acquisition is quite impossible; for a combination of fortunate circumstances may bring wealth to an individual, even in a line in which poverty pursues most of his fellow adventurers. I need not, perhaps, instance the life of a gambler; which, though generally productive of ruin, has in some notorious instances seemed to have lost its nature, and raised, even without any appearance of foul practices, votaries from the lowest grades to an equality in point of riches with some of the most respectable persons. But exceptions are no evidence against a rule; and though among the agricultural classes,—that is among those who live solely by agriculture,—I should not be surprised to hear of one or two who had been able to amass money, I certainly have never met with such myself, and I believe that few others can affirm that their acquaintance with the natives has led to a different result. We daily find instances here of men who having saved a little from the gains of their profession, embark it in active trade, or become what we call sleeping partners in some mercantile house; but we seldom see them laying out their fortunes in land. The class in fact of country gentlemen, which is elsewhere supposed to be of so great weight in the political scale, has here no existence; for the Jagheerdars and other landlords are so cut off from all fellow feeling and fellow interest with their inferiors, and their estates

are so locked up in their own families, that they are ill calculated to supply the place of those to whom they, in the opinion of some, bear some faint resemblance.

This is not the place in which to enter into a discussion as to which of the various institutions which the world exhibits, may abstractedly considered, be the best. The question whether a despotic, or a free constitution, that of Russia, or that of England be the best, forms no part of my present plan. No doubt, as an Englishman, I hold my own country to be the first in existence; but, whether this be a national prejudice, or an impartial conclusion, is a matter of very little import, as far as India is concerned. "Where the tree falls there it must lie." This country has become by conquest subject to Great Britain, and, until it shall have changed hands, by men of that country will it be ruled. To ask, therefore, whether any foreign code of laws would not be a better model than our own to keep in view, in introducing any changes, would be just as idle as to speculate upon the properties of the man in the moon, for, in the first place, Englishmen must, at best, be but imperfectly acquainted with foreign laws and customs; and in the second place, it would neither be very pleasing to the influential men at home, nor very just to the inhabitants of this country, to guide them in a direction, which would only widen the space which at present divides the conquered from the conquerors, and so, make it impossible that they should ever, consistently with the safety of the latter, be admitted to that share in the

administration of their native land which is their natural right, and to fit them for which seems to be the wish of their present protectors. How far that wish may be politic, it is not my purpose to examine; but whatever be thought of it by ourselves, it certainly merits the deepest gratitude of those, who find a prospect opened to them, under our rule, so different to that which was exposed to them by their former devastators.

India is now in its political infancy; or rather, according to the sentiments of Hindoo orthodoxy, it may be said to have completed in powerless and despicable old age under its own sovereigns, and to have received a second incarnation under European sway. The Mussulman invasions carried it a step in advance; the completion of the work seems to have been reserved for us. But, while the learning, elegance, and good sense of the Mussulmans were of great advantage, and their civil polity most respectable, for the times in which it flourished, their bigotry (which was indeed more the vice of the period than of themselves,) seemed to damn up every fount of improvement as soon as it was opened, and made a people shrink with disgust from all intimate connection with them, who might, had the topic of religion been avoided, have taken a pleasure in forming an acquaintance with their literature, and thus gradually imbibed the sentiments of the many eminent men by whom the courts of the invaders were adorned. We have happily followed a different plan, and while among us, little respect is to be acquired by an interested conversion to Christianity, every opportunity is afforded to natives to become acquainted with our publications, and the esteem, which is withheld from the ignorant and mercenary proselyte, is freely given to him who possesses with the faith of Brama, of Mahomet, or of Zoroastet, a desire to investigate the science of Europe and an ability to comprehend it.

You will perhaps pardon this digression, more especially as I believe it to be of some consequence to the illustration of my subject. I intended, by the first part of it, to show that English rulers must, in those measures, which they may introduce for the benefit of this country, not be led away by brilliant theories, but let their conduct be guided by that of their countrymen at home, and make English institutions the model of those they may form for India, modified at the same time by a proper regard for Hindoo laws and Hindoo prejudices: that is, that the constitution of England and the constitution of these territories are the sole matters to be considered, and that he will confer most benefit on his fellow subjects of this part of the world, who shall shew how these principles may be best amalgamated to fit them for the purpose of Eastern legislation.

In England, then, we find, that, whatever respect be paid to the occupation of the merchant, the mere pleasure of a mercantile life is not the only reward proposed to themselves by most of those who embrace it. The wealth

which shall enable them to cut the city and the country, is the object coveted, and when this is acquired, in what manner is it generally used? I think that the whole, or at least a great part, is most frequently applied to the purchase of land. The quondam Mayor, or the worthy Alderman, finds a pleasure in deserting the smoky precincts which, if they remind him of the gold he earned there, may also perhaps recall to recollection the labours he endured, and the lowly occupation he once filled: glad with aristocratic distinction of landed proprietorship, he tastes the pleasures which accompany a new purchase and social elevation. His fortune is safely harboured from the perils of the ocean and the fluctuations of trade; and he feels all the self-satisfaction of one, who has raised his family from obscurity, and laid the foundation of its future greatness. Magisterial dignity, and parliamentary influence fill up the measure of his happiness; and, if he himself may not rise beyond a seat in St. Stephens and knighthood, it is by no means impossible that his issue may enjoy the honours of the Peerage.

But how does the matter stand here. The landed proprietor, (if such a person exist in reality) is devoid of influence and condemned for his poverty; he labours severely, content if he be happy enough to procure food and clothing sufficient for his family; and should his son, through any good fortune, become possessed of money, he will probably desert the meagre and despised calling of his parent, and deem that he has at least risen one step in the scale of professions if he able to establish himself even as the poorest among traders. Instead of the proprietorship being the first in dignity, it is practically the last; cultivation will never be resorted to until all other means of gaining a subsistence have failed. Instead of the retired merchants using his countless coin in the purchase of that which elsewhere confers political and social importance, together with a fair pecuniary profit, he, seeing the deplorable state to which that class is in his own country replaced, prefers burying the treasure which should be fructifying in the hands of mankind, is a positive nuisance by withdrawing so much specie from circulation, and, instead of proving the founder of a family, or the benefactor of his children, his gold is either hidden from their search, or, if after his death, it be discovered, it becomes a fund to be wasted in all sorts of dissipation, and so fills eventually the pockets of the panders of vice, where it is very likely to corrupt the morals, but will assuredly never increase the wealth of the community.

In every well regulated state, to obtain land will be the ultimate object of industry. Were the ground sufficient for all, there would be no need of extensive manufacturing labour; were no land saleable, manufacturing labour would be without the best part of its reward. In such states there is a perpetual circulation of land and pecuniary capital; he, whose land is sufficient, betakes himself to trade; he whose trading profits are ample, betakes himself to the occupation of land. Thus, the landed

proprietor has a safe investment, which he can at any time convert into money; and the retired merchant finds a sure and profitable mode of disposing of his wealth; a mode which, while it yields him a fair interest, places his funds as much at the service of the public to be employed as beneficially as if he in person superintended its increase.

This, though at first to superficial observers it may seem the effect of chance, is not so; but is the accumulated fruit of much wise legislation: such as if often obtained by the

remonstrances of the people, had not perhaps its consequences concealed from the government, which must have foreseen, if it were capable of foresight at all, that, by making real property immeasurably superior to personal, the sovereign's security for the undisturbed possession of his own rights became as immeasurably superior to what it otherwise would have been, as all the fixed land in the kingdom is a better deposit than the great but frequently intangible personalities which individuals may possess.

LETTER VI.

I think that, from what I have said, it will be seen that the agricultural class in this country labour under peculiar difficulties; the principal source of which is a want of capital among them; and, that such measures are pursued, in consequence of this want, as must prevent the evil from ever being remedied by their personal exertions; in short, that they are reduced to so feeble a state, as to be unable to help themselves, and are of course fit objects for the benevolent interference of Government.

Nothing, I believe, can be more injudicious than the intermeddling of power in every little difficulty in which any branch of trade may be involved. Such difficulties are often temporary, and will probably right themselves much sooner, and much better than the Government could right them: but, when a really important division of productive labourers have fallen into such a predicament, that their own efforts have become impotent, and that nothing less than a sovereign hand can rescue them, it certainly is as much both the duty and the interest of those in office to aid them in their necessity, as it would be to defend them from the attacks of an enemy. The state machine may be aptly compared to a clock; the wheels will generally work best when left alone, but still a careful inspector is requisite, as, otherwise, the slightest casual derangement would, instead of giving but momentary inconvenience, prove permanently destructive.

I have before hinted at the impropriety of allowing the monied interest to elevate itself at the expense of the landed; however, perhaps it would be as well to say in this letter a few more words on the subject. I will consider the question under two points of view; namely, under that of financial, and under that of political expediency.

In the first place, of financial expediency. Of whatever consequence the merchant may be, he is only secondary to the cultivator in real importance. The cultivator is the agent of the country in his sales, the merchant is frequently the agent of a foreign purchaser. Moreover, if the latter export, the material he

exports must, in most cases, have been originally produced by the cultivator; if he imports, to him must be principally look for the disposal of the goods he may introduce. I will not deny that commercial men may be of essential benefit to the finances of a kingdom; but I will contend that no very lasting good can accrue from their presence, if they do not invest their gains in real property within our territories, and if, by the manner in which the balance is held between them and the agriculturists, they are enabled to raise by the labours, and carry off from the possession of the latter, fortunes, of which a large share should fall to these, to be expended in improving or in extending their farms.

The corn-dealers and money-lenders are generally Marwarries. Here then we have a set of men, who are by birth almost totally disconnected with our dominions. They are like Jews. All Asia is their country. Where money is to be made, these are their hearths; and should a residence in the capital of some neighbouring potentate offer the inducement of profit, they would thither transport their fortunes, and leave our cities without regret, as they entered them without pleasure.

The landholders, on the contrary, are every where the main prop of the revenue of a state. They have given a security for their good conduct, and for the payment of all legitimate demands upon them. In a country like this, their property is available for the necessities of Government in an almost unlimited degree. Increase in the value of landed produce must doubly increase the wealth of the ruler; because he, not only has the right of taxation as monarch, but is even held, in many parts, to have a proprietary right in the soil. By raising the landed class, he is therefore raising the value of his own estates; while by raising the monied, he obtains but transient advantages. Moreover, the present pays for the greatest share of the taxes; surely then, it is but fair that he should in return receive the largest portion of our attention. The most valuable body must not be treated as the most worthless, even though the members of it be too frequently individually poor.

If we view the matter as one of political expediency, how far shall we find the cause of the farmer more momentous than that of the mere possessor of riches. The latter has no influence beyond that of his coin; and even that he is not likely to be so patriotic as to exert in favor of his sovereign, without receiving a valuable compensation for his pains.

The monied class, as I have said, are mostly of a separate tribe, whose religion and country are very dissimilar to those of their neighbours. The merchants who inhabit the large towns are doubtless respectable enough; but large towns contain neither the most noble portion of the population, nor that which ought to have most influence. I know that many public functionaries have been flattered by the attentions of these persons, and that they have frequently been held, most unfortunately for India, of far more political importance than they really are. They have no stake in the country beyond their personal money, which may to-morrow be lost, as it yesterday was gained by speculation; and, if not precluded from having any weight with their fellow subjects in consequence of professing a hostile creed, are despised by every man of high birth or caste, from the lowness of their origin. I will not argue whether this be just or not, but only assert that it is true. We must always reason upon things as they are, not upon things as they ought to be.

It has been said by many men very well acquainted with this country, and who have filled the highest situations in it, that if ever these regions be lost to us, it will not be owing to distractions without, but to commotions within. I will go farther, and affirm that if ever such commotions effect our overthrow, they will not be the work of the monied class, but that of the landed. A few battalions would reduce the most turbulent city in India; but, how differently would it fare with us, if the whole village population arose in arms against us. From the minuteness of their bodies they

would elude our grasp; with a few paltry opponents in front, we should feel the tremendous effects of thousands in our rear; our supplies would be cut off; and, contending against an almost invisible enemy, we should probably, in the end, fall victims to poison, starvation, or the dagger. And to what party would the few who wore our badge belong? They would be the relatives of those against whom we were fighting. Their wives and families in their native villages would either seduce them from our ranks, or make them treacherous members of them. Whatever were their inclinations, they would be obliged to do this; for, rebellion never fails to secure, as hostages, the nearest and dearest connections of the loyal soldier.

Here, then, is a body of men, whose influence over our army, whenever they choose to exert it, must be excessive. This army alone holds in subjection the great mass of conquered subjects; and it would not perhaps for a moment hesitate to turn its power to the destruction of its employers, if these employers ceased to respect that class from among which it has been enlisted. Those know little of Sepoys, who suppose that their interest in the welfare of the peasantry is trivial. Many, very many of them look forward to their discharge and their pension as the means of enabling them to pursue, in their old age, those rural employments which occupied their youthful hours. By depressing the followers of these employments, you prevent the Sepoy from engaging in them; by elevating them, you encourage veterans in those pursuits, the result of which will be, that thousands of respectable attached soldiers will overspread our realms, who will instil a love of the profession, and a veneration for the British rule into the breast of the rising generation; and will be ready and willing, at any moment of emergency, to train whole armies of volunteers, preparatory to their being regularly disciplined, and organized for the national defence.

LETTER VII.

If, after all that I have urged in behalf of the landholders, it still be supposed by any that interference in favour of that body by Government is quite unnecessary, I would only beg leave to tell such persons that I have no more time to waste in convincing them, and, that, if they have hitherto taken the trouble to read my letters, they may as well in future make a point of skipping over them. Were I to write a volume, I might perhaps be able to address more to them; but, as my efforts only extend to a few short epistles in a newspaper, I must pay some regard to the circumstances of time and space.

But to those who have been good enough to listen to me thus far, and who have gathered both from what I have said, and from their

own knowledge, that some beneficial change in the situation of those who "live by the sweat of their brow" is absolutely requisite, but who nevertheless are afraid of innovation lest destruction should follow in its train, I now turn.

Little attention, indeed, must these have bestowed upon me, if they imagine me to be one of that party who, devoted to the cause of novelty, forget that age is venerable. If there be any fault in my opinion, it is that they lean too much to the opposite direction. I am no advocate of anarchy, and the rights of man as displayed by gentlemen of the *Paine school*. I seek the establishment of property, not its overthrow: I seek to remedy the effects of that anarchy which has for ages desolated

India, not to upraise its dominion anew: I seek, in fine, by endeavours to better the condition of the most important and most numerous portion of our native subjects to inspire the love of order which plenty invariably produces; and, by raising them from their low level to an equality with men of similar occupations in Europe, to enable them to appreciate the constitutional rights which these enjoy, and, at the same time, to prepare them for a rejection of their own superstitions, and the acceptance of Christianity, which must certainly be the consequence of their social elevation, and the increase of intelligence which will accompany it.

I have said before, that I would be the last to advocate sudden changes. Where a change is to be brought about, I confess that it ought to be introduced very gradually; but then, at the same time that I allow this, I contend that the *principle* of even the most extensive alteration must be at once adopted, or rejected, when proposed to a sensible minister. It is my opinion that not only ought the immediate consequence of a measure to be weighed, but even the most distant to which human foresight can extend; when it has been tried, its merits or its demerits must decide its fate. A wise ruler, (if I may dare to say so without profaneness) seems to imitate the conduct of the Almighty; conscious beforehand of every effect of an innovation, even the remotest, he ponders on its advantages and its disadvantages. If the former sink the balance, he at once embraces it. The crowd are ignorant of the intention which produced it, and, blind, perhaps, to the real state of the matter, they, unconsciously, work out the ends which the originator had in view.

In the case of the class whose cause I plead, it will be allowed by those who had accompanied me thus far, that innovation of some sort is necessary. I will therefore proceed to offer a few opinions on the subject, promising, again and again, that nothing need be feared from such novelties as I would recommend, even by the most timorous stickler for things as they are. I will first speak of innovation in general, and secondly, of innovation in this country. Details of the particular species of change which I desire to see introduced here, I shall treat of in future letters.

First, then of innovation in general. I cannot picture to myself any thing more contemptible than a person who would spurn the idea of all change, merely because it is a change. There are indeed reasons why a minister, in England, might be afraid of the discussion of novel propositions in Parliament; because when a theory has once found its way there, it is not easily driven out again, however absurd the majority may conceive it; but the man who would refuse to talk over any new matter in private, would either be a fool, and therefore most unfit for the ministry, or a tyrant, and therefore, if possible, more unqualified. In the former case, he would resemble the quack, who, afraid to meddle

with the drugs of the apothecary, because ignorant of their nature, deals out to his suffering patients, with an air of wisdom, some paltry composition; with which he hopes not to cure them, satisfied if he prove at least innocent of their deaths: in the latter, I can compare him to none better than to Procrustes; for, like him, he has a state bed on which he would measure men of each succeeding generation, and, like him, he would chop off the heads of those to whom providence has given an experience too enlarged, to allow them to bear with comfort a situation, which appeared not uneasy to their ancestors some centuries ago.

If every change were unnecessary and enormous, where would be the necessity for legislators, ministry, and kings. It is not to stifle all change that these are requisite, but to guide it; as a wise architect is appointed to superintend the repairs of a building, which, if either unrepaired altogether, or touched by unskilful hands, would alike fall to the ground.

Every state, in every part of the world, has, in all time, been in a state of change; and, the man who is well read in ancient history would hardly recognize in the condition of a modern nation, the country, of which he had studied the manners under kings of former days.

It is not therefore novelty itself that is bad, but an immoderate rage for it, or injudiciousness in managing it. An immoderate rage for what is new is a great, and often a fatal, error in a statesman; because, change will always press itself upon us fast enough without our anticipating it: and, injudiciousness in the management of it is, at most equally injurious, because, instead of making the necessity a means of remedying some old abuse, it sacrifices to its voracity the most valuable and the most sacred institutions.

So much for innovation in general, and now for innovation in this country in particular. To the attentive observer of mankind, to the historical student, there is perhaps no empire in the universe which will present so extraordinary a spectacle as that in which it is our lot to dwell. Some of the wisest and most useful laws adorn the pages of both the Hindoo and the Mussulman codes; while some of the most barbarous and disgusting transactions are found to blot their annals. Whether the Hindoo and Mussulman laws do really possess that antiquity which their admirers claim for them, or not, is of little importance. Whether they be old or new, it is quite certain, not only that every vestige of what can be discovered of an Indian constitution is therein to be found, but also that not even those constitutional vestiges were respected, in the ages of misrule which preceded our sway over these regions. The Mussulman Bashaw cared little for the cries of the wretched Hindoo, who pleaded laws in their favour, which it would have been irreligious in him to respect; and the Hindoo Rajah felt less for

the ruin of some hateful fanatics, whom he knew to be so powerless at court, that a bag of rupees would easily close against them the ears of Majesty.

Innovations were, in fact, under native princes as common as viceroys. Each successor to office brought with him his favourite notions; and, while some tolerated the religion of their subjects, all proved how much beneath them they held any attention to their civil institutions. We have ourselves been far more scrupulous in this respect than those who went before us; but even with us, the man who peruses Menu and the Koran will find that we cannot claim for ourselves freedom either from sanctioning the alterations of others, or introducing new ones ourselves. I know that our changes have been dictated by humanity, and a desire for the public welfare, and it is for that very reason that I entertain hopes that, whenever humanity and the public welfare shall dictate the necessity of more alterations, they will always unhesitatingly be adopted.

One thing, and one thing only, I think should never be meddled with, except at the request of the people themselves. That one thing is,—religion. It is a melancholy fact, that, the less a nation understand a creed, the more bigotted and pertinacious they are in its defence. Until, therefore, vast improvement shall have been made in the civil and the mental state of the coloured population, no good can be hoped for in sacred concerns, and nothing should be attempted.

When commerce began to introduce riches

into Europe, letters revived. Those books which had been consigned to the dust of ages by the barbarous ministers of religion, were once more opened by the aspiring laity. Improvement in their condition of life caused a desire of knowledge; and, from knowledge—that tree, so vivifying or so deadly according to the use that is made of it, came the glorious fruit of the Reformation.

Such has been the progress of true religion in all ages. It is above the comprehension of the savage; it is despised, because not understood, by the illiterate. The poor man has no time for study, and, until he shall have gained some acquaintance with other sciences, he will not be able to dip very deeply into theology. But, if we introduce gradual improvements into our civil system, such as will benefit, yet offend not the community, they will soon awake from the sleep of darkness in which they now seem spell bound. Many of them will acquire the fortunes, and so contract the habits and feelings of gentlemen; and, when once matters shall have come to this pitch, the perfect toleration which we grant to all religions, joined with the example of their rulers, soon lead them to pursue the studies, and examine into the faith which have made us so powerful. Of the result of such examination no one can entertain a doubt; and thus, that bugbear of the foolish change, if seasonably embraced, and wisely managed, will, instead of bringing with it destruction, consolidate our power on the firmest basis, and cause both the happiness of millions in this world, and their salvation in the next.

LETTER VIII.

One of the first things, (after those concerning payment of rent, &c. which I have spoken of in former letters,) that requires alteration, is the degree of estimation in which the farmer is held: and, as the sentiments of the people will in a great measure be swayed by those of Government, nothing more is necessary on the part of the latter, than to exhibit openly in its conduct a degree of consideration for the landholder, which was foreign both to the Hindoo and to Mussulman rulers.

I have forgotten the exact words of a passage in Menu, which describes the light in which tillage should be viewed; but, the sense of it is as follows: that though many sages have held cultivation to be an estimable employment, yet, the more correct do not; for this reason, that, in ploughing, living things must be constantly destroyed. The Mussulman code, if not quite so severe upon husbandmen, authorizes a tax which must be equally, if not more effectual, in depressing the agricultural classes. I mean the *khaurang*, which it is declared, may embrace the whole produce of the ground, after leaving the

cultivator sufficient for food and raiment until the next harvest.

Among the Hindoos, then, we see a religious prejudice confining cultivation to low caste men, the force of which those who are acquainted with the Hindoo character will be able to estimate. Among the Mussulmans we find a regulation in existence, which must reduce the peasantry to the condition of slaves and prevent their ever rising to a high grade.

If any one will advocate such a prejudice, and such a regulation, he is welcome to do so. I thank Heaven that his pleas will not be much regarded by Englishmen at least. Whether our notions be correctly grounded or not, is of no consequence to the question. It is, at any rate, very certain that we shall never be content to view that occupation with contempt, which forms the pride of the most wealthy and most noble of our countrymen.

Here, we have a wide opening for a reformation, imbued most deeply with a respect for hereditary estates, viewing the time when our fathers first relinquished their landed property

at the commencement of our obscurity, and looking forward to the moment, when our successful exertions in our profession shall enable us to repurchase it as the accomplishment of our desires; taught to look upon the possession of the soil as the qualification for power, and the token of independence, we come to rule over a nation, where we discover the whole scene to be reversed; where religion is arrayed against the sacred occupation of the patriarchs, and where those are looked upon as bondsmen of the crown, who, in our own country, proved our shield against the unwarrantable exertion of the prerogative, and were the founders, alike, of our religious and of our civil liberty.

Whatever be the colour of a people, whatever be their habits and dispositions, the fundamental principles of Government will be as applicable to them, as to those who most widely differ from them. Sentiments are not innate; habits are not born with us. Perjury and speculation are the characteristics of some countries; truth and honesty are the property of others. The subjects of some sovereigns are brave men; the slaves of others are cowards. In some cities, in fine, religion is carried almost to the pitch of moroseness; while, in others, the most disgusting crimes are openly committed, and as publicly gloried in. To what is the difference to be attributed, if not to the laws of the state and the conduct of the magistrate? Was Spartan,—was Roman virtue formerly but a name? or, if it was more, how is it that the present generation in those cities are among the most abandoned upon earth? How is it that the Italian name, once conspicuous for truth, is now, alas! indicative only of falsehood? How is it that Spartan bravery has degenerated into Greek cowardice, and that Italy and Persia, once respectively famed as the strong holds of the religions of Christ and Mahomet, have become notorious as the seats of the most profligate immorality? The physical features of the people in these countries remain the same; while the moral features, instead of being the standard, have become the contempt of mankind.

Whatever be the state of a people, good government and good example will mould them into any form, the alteration may be gradual, but it will certainly be sure. Who, even within our own times, could have supposed that the Hindoo Sepoy, who under Native princes, fled with terror from the sight of our arms, would, in so short a time, have proved, under the happy influence of our discipline, as brave and as laborious a soldier as exists in the world?

Public opinion is a lover of the greatest importance, and the Government is the legitimate pivot upon which that lever should be placed, in order to move mankind to good or evil. Where virtue is esteemed, and honesty rewarded, virtue and honesty will be the aim of every influential man in the state. When Cromwell bore the sceptre of England, Puritanism was the order of the day. When

Charles the Second was restored to the throne, the road to favor lay through the avenues of debauchery.

If, then, our Government wishes to reinstate the landholder in that position which is his natural right, and to maintain him in which is the object of the wisest politicians, it must shew, both in public and in private, peculiar estimation for his possession. Access to officers of a civil description should be matter of right, not, as it is now, a purchased favour from the satellites of office. Whatever be our respect for the character of the merchant, we should show that the occupation of husbandry is not second to it in our estimation. Those landed proprietors, who enter into our service, should see that such proprietorship makes them, at once, more entitled to trust, and more qualified for promotion; and the larger owners should be gratified, as much as possible, by the usages of ceremony towards them, and the grant of such favours as may not injure the public, but will confer importance on them in the sight of their neighbours.

The eye of the native is peculiarly quick at discovering the inclinations of those in office, and his mind is particularly avaricious of their notice. If, then, he finds that the possession of land proves a claim to respect, rather than a subject for extortion, he will not be slow to enter that profession himself, which he sees so much honoured in persons probably much inferior to him in pecuniary means. Those leeches who, in spite of all our precautions, introduce misgovernment and corruption into every branch of the revenue department, will be afraid to pursue their evil courses, when they find that those on whom they would practise them, are not likely to remain unheard; and it is not probable that fear of the underlings of office, which now deters many of the provincials from engaging in tillage, will be very great, when they shall find that those underlings will be counted much inferior to themselves in the state scale. By adopting these measures our power will no longer be based on mercenary soldiers, and mere mercenary speculators; but our administration will be engraved in the hearts of our subjects, and, whenever the evil day may come upon us, we shall be assisted by the prayers, by the purses, and by the arms of those to whom we have proved benefactors.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

FOUNDLING.

MUNNIPORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

My dear Sir,—An account of my late trip, and of the tribes inhabiting the hills through which it led, may perhaps afford you a moment's amusement. I must, however, be concise, as various other matters press on my time and attention at present, hereafter when more at leisure I may probably give you a more detailed one.

On the 6th February, I marched from Munnipore on an expedition against the hill tribes situated S. and S. E. of the Munnipore valley, and returned on the 10th instant. A great part of my route led through a tract of country hitherto unexplored either by Burmese or Munniporis. The results of the expedition are, the capture of seven villages which offered resistance, and the voluntary submission of twenty-one others to the Munnipore state. My reasons for proceeding in immediate command of the detachment of the levy employed on this occasion were, to prevent collision between it and the forces of Kulé Raja, to whose immediate frontier our operations extended, and to check by my presence all unnecessary harshness towards the wild tribes in question, and thereby increase the chances of their submitting to become quiet and orderly subjects of Munnipore. In both objects I completely succeeded.

The tribes inhabiting the country visited, particularly those who have hitherto escaped the yoke either of Munnipore or Ava, are a wild, warlike, intelligent, and athletic race—short in stature, strong limbed, with remarkably high round foreheads, and eyes expressive of firmness and daring. Their offensive weapons are bows with poisoned arrows, spears, and formidable looking daos or swords. They also carry shields of an oblong shape, about four feet in length, and two in breadth at the upper end, tapering very slightly towards the lower one. They wear waistcoats or jerkins of leather which lace at the sides, and afford an effectual protection against arrows to the breast and back, being made, as well as the shields, of the *tanned* hide of the metna, a manufacture in which they have attained considerable proficiency. The Chiefs also wear a cap or helmet made of bamboo frame work, of a conical shape, and covered with bear or metna skin prepared with the hair on—a plume of parrot's feathers is added, but they reverse our custom by placing it in the rear instead of the front of the cap—the rest of the costume is a piece of cloth of about a foot square which they

fasten round the waist with a string allowing it to hang down loose in front, and a “chudder,” blackened with smoke and dirt, thrown loosely over the shoulders. The weight of one of their caps would cause even a broad shouldered European to bend his neck,—they are a protection against arrows and would offer effectual resistance to a sabre cut unless laid on by a scientific and weighty arm. Besides the iruses in war the cap is put to the following:—when two villages quarrel a champion is selected from each to settle the dispute, the mode as follows:—each has his head protected by one of the caps, being free of apparel in all other respects—the first blow is decided by lot, when they proceed to cudgel each other on the head alternately with a tremendous two-handed bludgeon, until one is levelled with “mother earth.” The village to which the defeated champion belongs feasts the other with a metna; men, women and children of both continue in a glorious state of drunkenness for three days and nights. If in the original quarrel however a life should have unfortunately been lost, the above mode of settling it will not suffice, nothing but a life in return will then satisfy their resentment, and they lay in wait sometimes for years until an opportunity offers of gratifying their revenge either on a man, woman or child, after which the villages again generally become good friends.

The cultivation (*joom*) is more extensive than what I have observed it amongst the other hill tribes surrounding the Munnipore valley. Amongst the tribes near Munnipore and those inhabiting the central range, a species of grain called “*moom*,” yams, *kutchoos*, sweet-potatoes and *sersoo* is cultivated. Those bordering on the Kubo valley, in addition to the foregoing, cultivate rice of various descriptions and pronounced by the Munniporis to be of a quality nearly, if not fully equal, to their own: I also observed tobacco growing in most of the latter villages. Regarding their domestic habits and economy I was able to obtain but slight information: the women are perfect drudges, to whom is allotted the weaving of cloth for herself, husband and family, all in-door labour, besides a participation in that of cultivation; the men pass all their time not appropriated to the latter occupation, in war and drunkenness. From what I could learn it appears, that like the generality of the hill tribes in this quarter,

the husband purchases his wife from her parents—should he die before her she becomes the wife of his elder brother, should there be one, if not she remains with his family as a drudge, until her own return the price originally paid for her—her children remain in the village of the father. A wife is seldom or never sought for in the village of which the husband is an inhabitant, but from neighbouring ones. The spots selected for burial ground are the brows of the hills overlooking an open and extensive prospect—each grave is marked by a rudely carved image of wood—on a man's is deposited his war cap, bow and arrows, &c. &c., and on a woman's her implements of domestic housewifery. Feasting and drunkenness for two or three days are invariable attendants on both marriages and burials. One horrible custom prevails amongst them—infanticide under the following circumstances, namely, the death of the mother in parturition or within a day or two after, in such case the living child is interred with its dead mother. Slavery is unknown, or rather unpractised amongst the hill tribes, which, however strange and uncivilized such a declaration may appear, is more to be regretted than otherwise as it would likely be the means of saving the lives of the captives taken in their almost continued feuds: at present, without consideration or compassion either for age or sex, they immediately decapitate all that fall into their hands. An idea of the extent to which this horrible system is carried may be formed from the following circumstance which occurred only 10 days before I started on my late trip. A village of Koong-jacces, a tribe more numerous and savage than any other inhabiting the extensive tract of mountains between Cachar and Kubo, named Moompee, attacked and completely succeeded in surprising one of Anals named Huec-ka, not far from Munnipore, and carried off the heads of sixty-seven individuals, men, women and children.

The stentorian voices of those mountaineers astonished me; on one occasion they occupied the hills surrounding our encampment, and during the night kept shouting to each other from opposite sides, and at a distance to which it appeared incredible that the human voice could reach, still every articulation was heard as distinctly in camp as if at only a few paces distant though hundreds must have intervened. On the same occasion they favoured us by showering arrows on us all night, from which, however, the greatest inconvenience we suffered was being obliged to extinguish our fires, and the night was bitterly cold!

The inhabitants of one of the villages attacked showed considerable tact and judgment in the selection of situations for breast-works on the road leading up to it; and defended them with equal obstinacy and bravery. They only gave up the contest when their positions were turned, though they had previously lost a number of men, amongst whom were their two bravest warriors or leaders. One piece of Generalship of theirs might have involved the whole detachment in serious consequences, had not a sudden change in the wind favoured us, as it was, it caused considerable embarrassment and confusion. On the day previous to our attack of the village our route lay for some miles through a bamboo jungle which had been cut down some months before preparatory to the ground being cultivated,—to this they set fire when we were about half way through and the flames extended towards us with astonishing and alarming velocity; a sudden change of wind, however, checked its progress and enabled us, by clearing a space all round, to avoid, if not the fate intended for us, at least some casualties. This village was famed throughout the neighbouring ones from the circumstance of its having formerly repulsed, on two different occasions, detachments sent against it by the Burmese with the loss of the greater part of the men composing them—its conquest, coupled with the kind treatment of one or two others which had previously come into me, led to the voluntary submission of all that remained.

One important result of my trip, and in which I feel assured you will feel highly interested, is the discovery of the tea plant growing abundantly in numerous places throughout the whole extent of my route. It was pointed out to me by some Shouns who have visited tea gardens on the Chinese frontier, and whom I took with me in consequence of information I had previously obtained of the plant being indigenous in the country about to be visited.

In the two first days' journey from Soogonnoo, the most southern village of Munnipore, I passed through extensive pine and oak forests, the trees of large size, also occasional clumps of a tree called by the Munnipooris "*ooningthuoo*," of which they build their boats, as it is found to last longer and suffer less than any other from water—the present state boat of the Raja is cut out of a single tree of this description, the dimensions of which are—length 84 feet, breadth 3, and depth 1 foot 9 inches.

Yours truly,

F. J. GRANT.

Munnipore, 22d March, 1835.

REMARKS ON THE CLIMATE, SOIL, AND CULTIVATION OF PENANG AND PROVINCE WELLESLEY.

[Continued from page 314.]

CORN.—It has been stated in the account of the value of grain land that the price had risen and in some instances had been doubled; but the actual number of years purchase of land ought not here to be estimated by its price, for, as generally elsewhere, it depends on the supply of capital. But the actual price has also been most materially enhanced by the constructing of the new roads, without which from the difficulty of conveying the surplus produce to market, profit and rent must fall and cultivation be checked. But such has been the rapid spread of cultivation, that several fully peopled tracts are still in a manner inaccessible to pedestrians, and only to be crossed on elephants for six months in the year; prices therefore are here low and produce costs so much to bring to market, and is so insecure, that rents are precarious: these want new roads will in time, it is hoped, fully meet. The sudden rise here has not been owing therefore to increased productiveness in the soil, to higher prices of produce, or to a fall in the wages of labor, but merely to the fact that individuals having small capitals which the state of trade deterred them from risking in it, found it safest to invest the same in land. If the landlord were to take one third of the gross produce, then the average number of years purchase, if so estimated, of good grain or rice land would be about six years, and for the best land five years, reference being had to recent sales.

The agriculturist here will probably lay out part of his accumulations under all circumstances in buying land, but if more than 30 per cent. can be safely and quickly had in trade, it is obvious that mercantile capital will not be largely embarked in it.

The estimated value of the whole grain produce will be more particularly noticed in the sequel. Three of the chief elements of the prosperity of a community have been already developed in our small *agricultural* one, an increase of population. Those yet wanted are a more favorable modification of the moral development of the intellectual faculties, by which last wealth is chiefly created by the stimulus knowledge has given to industry, also high market rates of produce and a more liberal system of cultivation. It is more to this last than to any increase of population or fall of prices of labor that we are to look for rise of rents beyond what they should now be with reference to profits now derived by farmers. Surplus produce will probably for a while outstrip population and raise wages. The labourers of one season will become the buyers of labor in the next, by occupying land themselves; at any rate they will be so many less in the labor market, and this gradual drain on the labouring class will go on until all the grain land has

been cultivated, and unless serious failures of crops takes place will increase the price of wages. Competition then will probably depress the profits of capital employed on the soil, and wages will fall from the pressure of population on the means of subsistence, while rents will absorb more of the surplus of produce over the bare costs of production than formerly, these being of course graduated according to the degree of fertility of the soil.

By the time that rents have thus assumed a definite and tangible shape, divested of the risks and inconveniences now attending their realization, the *farming land-owners* will have risen to the condition of landlords living on rents alone. But if from the peculiar situation of this coast—the capital generated on the soil—or that derived from trade or from the influx of substantial settlers, a larger number of cultivators than there is at present in proportion to the whole population should be separated from the agricultural mass, then the above suppositions may not be verified. In such a population as ours is,—hemmed within a narrow space,—it is greatly to be wished that a fair proportion of consumers, or rather of persons employed in trade or in other pursuits should accompany our increase of agriculturists.

Land in its natural state of tall primeval forest as it exists here cannot be said to yield any rent. But the poorest land reclaimed from this jungle, although it may be incapable of being advantageously cultivated, will yield a small rent as pasture for cattle. There is hardly any natural pasture, so rent is included in the price of all cattle more or less. After harvest the cattle are generally allowed to range the stubble-fields, then dry, free of rent. Yet owners of poor land are often glad to allow any one to occupy it on the mere condition of keeping it clear of jungle, looking forward to the chance of its increasing in value when land shall have become scarce.

The rent therefore which land might be supposed to yield in its natural state, but now yielding only 200 guntangs, cannot be taken into the account. It cannot be expected that land less productive than this will be cultivated at money rent unless through necessity and the fall of wages, two alternatives becoming every day more distant. But land down to that which will only now give 100 guntangs, may, and probably will, be cultivated during such term as it may be given rent free, or perhaps after, at a small rent; because estimating his labor as it suits his caprice, the ryot will repay himself for it in produce, will have the collateral advantages of a land-owner or settled farmer, before noticed, and have the chance of its rising in market value by the application of new modes of cultivation to it.

That large importations of grain into this settlement, where labor other than agricultural can find but scanty employment, would, if that grain were to be sold at a price considerably below the average market price of grain grown here, and to be of a quality equal with, if not superior, to this last, tend to throw out of cultivation to a certain extent such land as could not yield more than 200 guntangs of rice in the husk may be true. Yet if we look to the trifling effects which large importations have already had in reducing prices, and to the inferior market worth of the greatest portion of these imports, compared with that of grain grown here, no reasonable cause of alarm would seem to exist. As no country is exempted from the evil of a failure in its crops, so it is an advantage to have a resource at hand even at the expense of diminished profits. In 1808 there was a great scarcity in Keddah of rice, owing to the murrain amongst the cattle; and in 1822 there was another scarcity. In 1824 and 1830 there were severe droughts. In a limited territory like this, rice cannot be permanently in excess to consumption, since its cultivation did not halt so as merely to keep the population stationary, that surplus would in time go to increase population and consumption. When cultivation has proceeded so far as to leave a surplus over the consumption of the settlement, a thing which may happen, provided a sufficiency of rice land still remains unlocated, but which cannot be ascertained until such land (which is yet under forest) shall have been cleared, and roads opened across it; then, unless the population shall also have been in an equal state of progression, importations will cease, for the competition of sellers will tend to reduce prices. There is always a fall of price immediately after a full crop here, partly because the poorer cultivators are more or less pressed to pay advances made before harvest by speculators, and partly because *new* rice is never in great request by immediate consumers, or it is considered unwholesome. What the respective cost of production is of Java, Tennasserim, and Acheen rice at this moment I have no ready means of ascertaining. Placed here in this order of their supposed market value, the extent to which they can compete in the Malayan market with this coast produce, or what is usually called Keddah rice, will no doubt depend on that coast in each case. Keddah used formerly to export 2,000 coyans of rice; but the average importations from thence in 1820 were about 100 coyans only of paddie, and 50 coyans rice; that country is now fast sinking into agricultural insignificance, although for a while it will probably be a market for our grain to counterbalance the fall of prices here from importations from other countries. In the same year the average annual supply of poultry was 80,000.

It is a theorem with some Political Economists that if the last land taken into cultivation be rich, capital will be scarce and profits high; but this supposes an unlimited extent and choice of land. Here the last lands

which have been taken under culture are of various degrees of fertility, yet capital sufficient for carrying cultivation rapidly on is by no means scarce and profits may be considered high. It is probable that the territory being limited, the last orlong which will be brought into cultivation will be as fertile as the first land cultivated, and that then capital will be abundant and profits on capital and stock small; but this will be the effect of the population having then no more land to choose from.

In a previous part of this paper it has been shown that the population, although chiefly agricultural, is yet supplied with numerous other sources of gain than that derived from the soil. So long as these keep open, and increasing cultivation draws more largely on the labouring class to supply the new ranks of farmers, the price of labor will not fall below, but probably rise considerably for a while above its present average rate.

Were these sources cut off, which is a very improbable supposition, the chances being in favor of an increase to them, the labor market would be so glutted as to reduce the price of labor to the lowest possible scale. For those who now live comfortably, and for natives even luxuriously on the means derived from those sources in addition to the produce of their land, would be thrown for subsistence entirely on that produce.

It is during seed time and harvest that labor is in greatest demand; but improvements in cultivation would diminish the demand considerably. Farmers all over the world have at one period or other been obstinate, prejudiced, or supine, and have but slowly and suspiciously followed in the tract of improvement. If the prudence of a few ryuts who have allowed themselves to be convinced of the superiority of the sickle over the ringgam will be generally imitated, this one improvement or saving alone will materially reduce the price of labor and add to profits, for there are no manufactures here sufficient to absorb the surplus labourers. The unproductive consumers here are those classes variously engaged beyond the sphere of agriculture; but many of these pick up but very moderate subsistence, and if labor were to rise they would become day labourers.

It is impossible that either the demand for, or the supply of labor, can be equable where the chief grain produce is rice, and especially where artificial wants are not numerous. If crops be abundant they will induce a less supply than before of labor, if they fail the supply will far exceed the demand. The will to employ and the will to be employed will not always meet on equal terms. As a taste for luxuries gains amongst the people, time will become of more value to them, capital will be more freely embarked on the soil, labor will fall and profits arise. The natural price of Malayan labor here will probably be in a great measure regulated by the actual demand for it, in *rice* cultivation, without reference to the market price of labor on the Island, {to

which place the Province labourers are averse to go because they have to leave their families behind) which last is dependent on the supply of Chinese and Chuliah labourers. The owners of land of every class generally prefer Malayan labourers in their rice fields.

But if the cultivation of sugar, indigo, coffee and other valuable exportable produce were to increase greatly, or even moderately, beyond the present extent, a constant demand for labor would arise, and this labor would bear higher natural price unless affected by external circumstances, until grain cultivation had reached its extreme limit, and population become in excess, when, should the market price of grain not rise, it would necessarily fall, carrying along with it a portion of profits but leaving the rent untouched.

As facilities for distribution and subdivision of the land have from the first existed, and still exist, the number of small proprietors who can do no more than support a family on the surplus produce after paying quit rent, will bear rather a large proportion to the more substantial landowners.

It is natural to suppose that the capital accumulated by the latter, joined to the necessities of the former, will gradually swallow up these smaller yeomen and reduce them to the class of tenants or labourers, and since capital will probably be then superabundant without the means of employing it further on new soil, the price of labor will necessarily retrograde.

But it is possible that before this can happen increased civilization will have opened new channels for employing the savings of the landlord and farmer. If however this should not be the case, the population will be forced to either remain stationary or to resort to emigration to get rid of its superfluous members.

Women are the principal reapers, or rather pluckers, of the grain fields, but when the more expeditious way of reaping by the sickle is subsisted, men will be most useful. At present a very expert reaper can cut 50 gomeh a day—a gomeh is as many of the upper parts of the rice stalk, with ears attached as may be grasped by one hand. Of this quantity the reaper never receives less than 10 per cent, and often more. But at this rate he will get about $7\frac{1}{2}$ chupahs of paddie, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ of rice, the value of which will vary from 8 to 12 cent. A family of five persons at an average of only 30 gomeh each daily, can, by unremitting labor during the two harvest months at the above per centage, obtain rice enough for six months consumption, or ample food by exchanging a part of this of the usual descriptions for three months, including rice. In this case labor might be considered dear, and so it would be, had the poorer labourer the option of constant work.

A Malay is frugal in his diet. Fish is his chief animal food, and he seldom indulges in buffalo flesh, except on anniversaries, marriages, and other occasions of rejoicing. But he is nevertheless of an extravagant turn and fond of dress. He will subsist easily on a fare which a Chinese, whose habits are grosser,

would consider meagre and unsubstantial. But frugal as he is, he never stints himself in quantity, and could easily be undersold in the labor market by a Chuliah, provided the latter chose to make his stomach the regulator of his demand for wages, for no class of men can here subsist on less than a Chuliah can; and it is this circumstance which makes him, excepting as a labourer, a useless subject, since his savings are rarely spent on the spot but sent to his family in India, while Chinese and Malays spend theirs liberally enough, in whole or in part.

If the Malay would only tax his physical capacity to the utmost extent, he might drive the Chinese quite out of the labor market, and that without his actually performing the same quantity of labour as the Chinese, for the latter could not here long endure any further considerable diminution of his means of obtaining luxuries as well as food.

The price of Chinese labor has already fallen by one fourth part below what it formerly was, owing partly to the diminished capital in circulation, but chiefly to the competition of Chuliah and Malayan labor. The difference in the physical strength of a Chinese and in that of a Malay is less than the moral distinction existing betwixt the two. At present the latter cannot be easily kept to steady monthly labor, and generally prefer low wages paid daily to better wages paid monthly. His surplus wages if not squandered in extravagance, chiefly go to raise up a family, while those of the Chinese are remitted in whole or in part to China to support parents or near relatives, in doing which they rather comply with imperative custom and are actuated by the dread of supernatural punishment denounced against those who neglect the practice than by any strong feeling of affection.

Although the Malay is on the whole frugal in his diet, yet the grain or farinaceous portion of it is of the best description indigenous to the country he inhabits. Were he to be as easily satisfied as the African or native of South America, he might subsist on maize and plantains, here both abundant, and discard luxuries. Whatever might be the abundance of other grain roots, and fruits, a scarcity of rice would be considered in the light of a famine.

In the scarcity which happened several years ago, a great portion of the population subsisted on a mixture of vegetable substances, namely maize 4 chupahs, rice 1, arrow root or sago 2, which afforded food for one day to 7 persons and being 3 cents of a dollar for each. A higher rate of wages would not greatly alter the food of the people, and a larger surplus for obtaining articles of convenience and commerce would remain. An European journeyman labourer might here be subsisted as follows:—

Bread 1 1-3 lb.....	Cents 10 or Rice.....	3
Beef 1 do.....	8 fish.....	5
Fish $1\frac{1}{2}$	2 Flour.....	2
Milk.....	3 Milk.....	3
Tea, Sugar, Salt, &c. &c. }	8 Tea, Sugar, Salt.....	6

So that were he to receive 40 cents a day, the highest wages given to journeymen Chinese carpenters, and which borders pretty closely on the rate of day labor in England, he would have a yearly surplus for clothing, lodging, &c. of about £6 sterling. A day labourer in England is supposed to earn about a peck of wheat in good times daily. An American help can earn two pecks. A common Chinese labourer here can easily enough earn one peck of rice. The peck of wheat is about the average value here of 22 cents, and the peck of rice about 17½ or 18 cents. A Malay can earn nearly half a peck of rice daily. In China it is understood the agricultural labourer cannot earn above 12½ pecks of rice in a month by daily and *uninterrupted* labour.

There can be no doubt that wheaten bread is a more substantial food than rice, and yet the latter is well adapted to the climate and people, and Europeans in the East often insensibly become greater consumers of rice than of wheat.

But wheat requires to be ground and made into bread before it becomes fitted for general consumption, while rice is used immediately after being cleared from the husk.

A reference to Europe prices will shew that a peck of wheat there will probably always purchase one third more of other commodities than a peck of rice will here.

Wheat being thus a much more substantial food than rice, it will exchange for much larger quantities of other commodities than rice will; but the difference betwixt the price of a peck of wheat and a peck of rice is about 4 cents only and sometimes less; the dearness of wheat compared with rice lies in the cost of preparing it for food, while rice after the separation from the husk requires no grinding and baking to make it ready for use. A catty or one-third lb. of fine flour costs 15 cents, of coarse flour 7 to 8 cents. The same weight of rice costs two cents or nearly so, and a catty weight of rice flour 6 cents.

It is of consequence to notice of another species of labor distinct from day labor, and perhaps in some respects peculiar to this country. In 1820 the Honorable Mr. Phillips, then Governor of Penang, by humane and just regulations paved the way for the speedy extinction of slavery; this was chiefly effected by taking as a stepping stone to the final object, the system then co-existing with slavery, of selling service or the debtor servant system as it is here called. When at length slavery was abolished by act of Parliament, the system alluded to remained under the wise restrictions which had been established, and it still continues to operate, but with diminished strength. Wherever a debt is incurred by which the debtor is bound to a certain service, the period of that service is fixed by the Magistrate of the locality, agreeably to equity, and the debt at the expiration of the period is totally cancelled. Formerly a man would often bind himself and his whole family to repay his debt. Now he has not the power to include the latter. No debtor servant's agree-

ment not signed and acknowledged before a Magistrate should be valid, and if the debtor servant be a female and her master should place her in his harem, she is immediately released from her debt.

Persons must have attained to the age of discretion before they can incur a debt of this kind, and neither parents or guardians can contract such in their names. Debtor servants especially the men, as might be expected, are indolent and improvident, and the worst of labourers, still the settlers from long custom do not seem yet quite sensible of their inefficiency.

In a few cases the women as household servants may be useful. The debt of a man and his wife some times exceeds £10, for repayment of which they can give no security but their labour, so that the risk of employing such persons is great. These people are also inclined to theft, and their idle habits too often lead them into the companionship of desperate men, which ends in robbery.

As a system of labour, therefore, it is expensive, dangerous, and demoralizing; it fosters idleness, and represses honest ambition.

The value of such labor can scarcely be put on a par with that of convicts, and the sooner unshackled labor is solely resorted to, the more speedy will be the moral improvement of the lowest and poorest class which alone is affected; the system seems already dying a natural death.

If the labor of a gang of 100 convicts, with the usual compliment of overseers was to be computed, and including only current charges, it could be easily shewn that the quantity of labor which could be obtained from the free labourer at the same cost, would, on the average, be somewhat more than double that derived from them.

The difference arises partly from the difficulty in getting the convict to exert himself, and a good deal from the number of days deducted on which work is not performed, such as Sundays, native festivals, also deductions for sick in hospital, which are large when roads are in progress through swamps and jungles.

It is only when free servants cannot be procured for certain menial employments of the lowest description, as is the case here, that convicts will be employed by private individuals, and even then the expense will generally equal, if not exceed, that of similar servants in India, while the work will be less satisfactorily performed.

The employment of convicts in Province Wellesley has been a great boon to the people, and has contributed most materially to the advance of cultivation and to the increase of prices and rents, in the districts where they have been stationed. But 100 men, all that can be yet spared from the Island, with all the drawbacks above stated, effect but little in a year in an area of upwards of 100 square miles, a whole dry season being sometimes spent in driving a causeway over a mile or

two of deep morass, and a couple of months in erecting a single bridge over a deep muddy ravine accessible to the tide. The population have frequently in their idlest months turned out with spirit to assist in felling the jungle in the line of a new road, and in filling up deep hollows, and are quite alive to the advantages of good roads.

In treating of wages, it may be proper not to omit the consideration of the comparative value of the precious metals.

These are here exchangeable for a much larger portion of labor than in Europe, because they will purchase five or six times the quantity of the ordinary food of the people in the first instance than they will do in the latter.

The difference in the value of gold betwixt the Straits and England may be on an average 7 per cent. in favor of the former, rating the buncal of gold here at 29 dollars value; but it occasionally rises to 32 which would balance Straits and home prices or nearly so. There are no silver mines known on either shores of the Straits which may serve to keep that metal at a higher value comparatively than gold. The market value of pure silver may be stated at about 12½ dollars per lb. Gold is found pretty abundantly throughout the greatest part of the volcanic belt of the eastern archipelago, including the island of Sumatra, and mines of it have for a long period of years been worked on the Malacca Peninsula. The following places in Sumatra yield gold: Langkats, Bulu China, Delhi, Kerdang, Kakan, Jambi, Achin. In this latter portion of Sumatra gold formerly abounded more than it now seems to do, or perhaps the anarchy under which that country has for many years been labouring, has prevented the mines being worked. A good many years ago, as the Achseem relate, a lump of native gold, weighing upwards of one cattie, rolled down from a hill, and a mass of rich ore weighing nearly a picul, was found at a place called Analaboo.

The exportations of gold from Penang seldom exceed 20,000 drs. annually; that from Sincapour is greater.

Mr. De La Loubere observed in his History of Siam, that no vein of gold or silver had been found in that country which had repaid the costs of mining.

A mine was opened many years ago at a place called Khoan Thang Sook, lying on the western shore of the gulf of Siam. But the supply is precarious and would appear to be expensively obtained. In 1805, the Emperor of Siam sent 2,000 men during the dry season to get a supply of gold from this mine for the purpose of gilding pagodas. By washing the sand of a river and the soil on its banks, they, as it is stated by the Siamese themselves, procured 40 catties weight of gold. The matrix appears to be a red earth; but we cannot judge of the cost of its production when forced labor was employed to obtain it. Mr. Crawford states in his History of Siam that the gold found on that coast is 19 carats fine.

Gold mines exist in the country of Patani, lying within thirty miles of our frontier here. They have been abandoned since the Siamese got firm hold of that country. In Penang, further down the Peninsula, there are about 600 Chinese who mine for gold, which is said to be Sambilan Mootoo, or the muth touch. It is sold on the spot at about 21 drs. the buncal. In favourable spots it is alleged that a man can obtain a dollar's worth of gold here in one day. There are 400 Chinese at the Tringano gold mines, where the gold is reported of the 7th touch, and 800 in the petty state of Calentan, where the gold is of equal fineness. There is also a gold mine near Mount Ophir, east of Malacca, which is worked by Chinese, and there is no doubt that gold exists in the mountain of Gunong Cherrie, which terminates our landscape to the northward with such a magnificent effect. In fact, it can scarcely be doubted that this metal is very largely and widely diffused over this Peninsula and the eastern Islands. It is also disseminated through the tin ore which pervades more or less the whole primary formations of the same track. Even with the Chinese the following up of a vein is a thing never perhaps attempted; their operations depend chiefly on muscular force, and shafts are abandoned when their water wheel ceases to drain off the water. Lateral shafts are hardly known.

The Malays collect gold dust by washing the sand or rivers. Thus it would appear that if the price of gold was to be regulated by the labor or cost of mining it, we should arrive at no satisfactory conclusion, since the return which might encourage a Malay would discourage a Chinese, and as the Chinese by greater skill and industry can afford to keep up the price, while the Malay will be glad of a smaller profit.

Besides, the cost of gold as a mere article of commerce, which it is in the Straits where there is no gold currency, would not under any circumstances be entirely regulated by such costs of production. The mines lie in the midst of mountains and in tracts, the inhabitants of which have little intercourse with the coast; so that the gold will be, as it has always been, monopolized by native chiefs and Traders the moment it is out of the mine. The Mount Ophir gold, from a specimen of ore sent here several years since, appears to run in veins through quarters, and as this quartz itself exists principally in the state of broad veins in the primary rocks, we may have some idea of the perhaps inexhaustible quantity of that metal in the regions adverted to. Demand after all must fix the price of gold, and as this has fluctuated greatly, the number of miners have diminished considerably within the past few years, if the information of the Chinese may be depended on.

DRY LAND.—Dry land or land not periodically flooded, being here as yet but little available for grain produce, its value and that of what can be raised on it, cannot be submitted to any known rules. The varying quickness of returns owing to the nature of the produce,

raised, and the frequently still more fluctuating nature of the demand for that produce render the cultivation of dry land more or less inappreciable by any standard of cost and prices founded on the mere price of labor. Although the price of labor for raising many exportable sorts of produce will to a certain extent affect profits, yet the latter must essentially depend on the intensity of demand for them. Labor will enter into the price of some of these, but in many it will hardly appear while the demand is great. High or low wages in such instances are not the causes of high or low prices: but high prices will admit of high wages being given, while low prices will probably prevent wages being given at all. In some commodities—the valuable spices for instance,—prices would perhaps be the same even if rent were not to be paid, because they are in a great measure *natural monopolies*.

While the rent of rice land depends greatly on the produce, that of dry land will be regulated principally by the situation of the latter. Coffee, spices, or sugar are not absolutely necessary to support life. They might be dispensed with altogether without endangering man's existence. The demand for them will always therefore be the cause of their prices, and so it will be of rent.

It has been shewn before that as yet the rent here of valuable produce, such as of spices, cocoanuts, &c., bears an unequal proportion to the original outlay of capital, so as often to induce the proprietors to manage their own estates. This arises from want of competition and capital, from ignorance of the mode of managing the different kinds of cultivation, and in some degree from the fluctuating nature of prices and risks in general.

It is quite clear that until the capital originally expended on valuable dry cultivation, with the customary profits thereon has been recovered, there can properly be neither rents or profits, the apparent profits being only interest on the capital, and that if the demand will not suffice to return this capital, and a fair addition beyond that the pursuit must cease. The risks sometimes are great even when the person running them is the actual landlord and would be increased were he only to be a tenant.

Supposing for instance that a cocoanut or spice planter were to take dry land on a 20-years lease, one third of that period will have passed before returns to any amount come in, and how many years beyond this will suffice to repay the original and current outlay and interest, deducting the produce we may obtain, must quite depend on demand and the thousand circumstances which affect it, while every year reduces the exchangeable value of the tenure until it loses nearly all value in exchange from the uncertainty of the future after the expiration of the lease. The cultivation of sugar and indigo, with some other produce which like these yield quicker returns, are not so much within the scope of these remarks.

In Europe it is dry land, excepting where rice is partially cultivated, which yields the chief food for the people. Here the distinction betwixt the dry and the flooded is so marked that, unless we were to suppose it possible that an insuperable bar could be opposed to emigration, causing a resort to inferior kinds of food to be only obtainable by a double portion of labor on dry land, and thus doubling population without an increase of surplus, if indeed any such surplus produce could then exist, we should be constrained to admit that in so far as regards dry land here the population can never on it press against the means of subsistence. The value of dry land is therefore greatly inferior to wet land in respect to the respective powers of each to yield the mere necessary food of the people, and as it is such food or produce alone which can be expected to maintain a pretty equable exchangeable value in the market, whatever may have been the cost of raising it, so the elements, by which that produce, its value, the profits on it, and rents are estimated, are totally distinct from those which, with a few exceptions only, regulate the prices, rents and profits of dry land produce, that last not being produce absolutely necessary to the existence of man. Under the above view it would appear that there is little probability of much of the remaining waste dry land on Penang, and the territory opposite, being speedily and permanently cultivated without the aid of European, or at least of Chinese, capital and skill.

This reasoning as regards the Island is strengthened by the fact already noted in the description of valuable produce in the first part of this paper, that cultivation of dry land on it was more advanced thirty years ago than it is at this day, although it now bids fair to retrace its steps with accelerated velocity.

JAGONG OR INDIAN CORN.—This grain is cultivated both on the Island and opposite coast, but the greatest quantities on the latter. Newly cleared lands are preferred for it in order to save trouble and expense of manuring, and as it is a rapid exhauster of the soil, the Malays generally intermingle it with the dry rice and pulse cultivation. They are not partial to it as a food, and consider it far inferior to rice. When they do eat it in grain, it is merely as an accidental addition to their common fare, or as a cheap substitute for it when they happen to be out of pocket; yet how many millions in Africa, and even in the Americas, are subsisted on this food.

Jagong is sown in the months of April, May, and June, and sometimes at other times. One sort of the jagong ringan ripens in three months, and jagong batta in four months. The latter is the most productive, and therefore preferred.

If one orlong were to be sown with Indian corn alone, it would contain 1,600 plants.

About three seeds are sown in each hole. The holes are made with a stick, and are about 2 inches deep. The seed produces a bush or bunch of four or five stalks to each

hole, and each bunch yields about eight head of the grain, and will sell on the spot for about 10 or 12 cents the hundred when plentiful, being about from 13 to 15 Sp. drs. for one orlong's produce. One hundred heads yield nearly one and two thirds guntangs of grain. The profit, deducting about eight dollars for clearing new land for seed, and planting, will therefore be from about 5 drs. to 7 drs. an orlong. If land was to be cropped the second year, and the lalang had grown up in the interim, it is doubtful if any profit could be made. Indian corn is considered good food for horses in South America, but it is not here put to any very specific use by Europeans.

BUAH BUAHAN—FRUIT AND FOREST TREES.—

The Mangosteen—Mangis.—The seductive apple of the East, the fruit of this tree, is too well known already to require a lengthened description. The tree is a low, dark evergreen, of a graceful and rather tapering form. The plants are raised from seed, and an orlong ought to contain sixty trees. They bear about the 7th year, and one orlong's produce at one dollar a tree will be therefore 60 Sp. drs. But there are no plantations of this extent, nor is it likely that there will be, since any material increase in the present supply of the fruit would so reduce prices as to absorb profits. Some trees will yield 1,000 fruit. The wild mangosteen grows in the woods and neighbouring Islands. A mangosteen also grows on the Malabar coast, the fruit of which is very acid. But as the climate of that coast assimilates a good deal to ours, the cultivated sort might perhaps be introduced there.

The Dorian, Malayan Durian—Durio Zibethinus.—Curiosity, not taste, first prompts the new settler to attempt this fruit; but although tasting it, as he generally does with a prejudice against it, he not unfrequently ends in acquiring a strong relish for it. With the Malays the desire for this fruit is a passion to satisfy which they will perform toilsome journeys and brave dangers. He who can eat and digest a dorian and not find his liver stirred up by a host of blue imps, may well despise the anti-despotic precepts of a Kichener, a Sinclair, or a Johnstone. The dorian scarcely extends further up the Peninsula than Tavoy Province. His golden footed Majesty of Ava was wont before the absorption of that portion of his dominions to have the fruit transmitted to his capital at Amerapoor by relays of horsemen and by boats pulled by 40 or 50 men. The fruit can hardly be preserved exposed to the air beyond five or six days; the Burmans used therefore to wrap them up in cloth and then coat all over with clay. As the tree is high and wide spreading, no more than 20 can well be planted on one orlong of land, and one half of these will probably be males. Two crops in three years only can be expected, which remark is applicable to almost all of the indigenous fruit trees of the Straits. The fruit is allowed to fall to the ground when ripe. The tree bears about the end of the 7th year, following the rule which also applies to other fruit trees here. It is supposed to live 80 or 100 years. The average produce for

three years will hardly exceed 150 dorian for each tree. The cultivation is limited and could not be much increased with adequate profit, especially as supplies of it are imported from the bordering countries. It may here be once for all observed that the Penang fruit season embraces June, July, and August, and that there is an occasional small irregular crop at some intervening period, and also that the cost of raising the indigenous fruits is nearly alike for each, as are the period when they respectively come into bearing. The prices for all these fluctuate so much that it were useless to make computations. Twenty dorian trees, male and female included, may now yield about 30 dollars produce annually on an average of years. A dorian used, in former times, to cost a rupee, a large one now sells for from 5 to 12 cents.

Nangka—the Jack—Artocarpus Integrifolia.—This fruit, although it has been long known, is evidently an exotic. It cannot be said here to come to the perfection in which it is found in Malabar and Canara, and other parts of India, where during the season it forms a considerable part of the food of the people. Here the fruit is collected twice in a year. From 30 trees planted on one orlong, including a portion of male trees, produce on an average of years to the value of perhaps 30 dollars may be obtained, giving a profit of about 10 Spanish dollars, after deducting costs of watching, collecting, &c.

Champadah.—Is a species of the Jack, but the smell of its fruit is very disagreeable, and it is by no means so sweet and nutritious as the latter. Its value is nearly the same in cultivation as the jack. Large quantities are imported. It is extensively cultivated also by our ryots.

Rambei and Rambutan.—These trees are little cultivated. They are found in the forest bordering on Province Wellesley. The few that are cultivated yield sometimes produce equal in value to a dollar a tree. The rambei fruit is white and hangs in clusters like grapes. The rambutan is red and grows in bunches.

Mamplam Siam—the Siam Mango.—This is a fair enough species of mango, and weighs about 1 lb. at most. It is not very extensively cultivated as yet, as after the 10th year it is very liable to be destroyed by a worm. The risk being great therefore the returns should be large. Perhaps one hundred dollars may be a pretty fair average rate for one orlong of full grown and bearing trees.

Mamplam Tilor,—The Egg Mango.—Is a small yellow mango, with too much of the turpentine flavor, and too acidulous to be much prized.

Machang.—Is a high spreading tree, bearing a coarse mango, the odour of which is quite overpowering to Europeans. It is rather sweet, and is much sought by the Malays, who use it also in its unripe state in curries. Two hundred cost about one dollar, and the profit on an orlong planted with 20 trees may be about

20 dollars. It is subject to be destroyed by a worm called *clara*.

Pisang.—The Plantain and Banana.—No fruit is so extensively cultivated as are the varieties of the plantain. There is hardly a cottage that is not partly shaded by them, and it is successfully cultivated under other fruit trees, although it is independent of shelter. Its succulent roots and dew attracting leaves render it useful in keeping the ground moist during the greatest heats.

The following are the most approved varieties.

Pisang Raja.—Royal plantain, bears in 8 months.

Pisang Soosoo.—Milk plantain; it is luscious, but delicate; persons are not allowed by the Malays to use it in its raw state.

Pisang Amas.—Golden plantain or banana; sweet tasted, but also objected to, and with reason; it is indigestible.

Pisan Aboo.—Downy plantain.

Pisang Killat.—Bears in a year.

Pisang Pait.—Has a bitter rind, but sweet pulp.

Pisang Oodang.—A rich red plantain.

Pisang Gindy.—Is a species lately imported from Madras, where it is in great request. It has this advantage over the other kinds, that it can be stewed down like an apple, while they remain tough.

About 144 shoots of the plantain are planted on an orlong, each of which spreads into a group of six or eight stems of about from six inches to one foot in diameter, which yield each a bunch of fruit, and are then cut down, when fresh shoots succeed. In very rich soils, the tree, or rather plant, will continue to bear for 20 years, but otherwise it is dug up after the 7th or 8th year. The cost of cultivating 100 orlongs of land exclusively with plantains will be nearly 2,000 Sp. dollars until produce be obtained: about 43,200 bunches may be had afterwards yearly, which might give a return of 2,160 drs. or deducting cost of cultivation and original expenses and profit per annum of about 1,450 drs. Independent of the quantity consumed on the spot that brought to the markets in Penang and in Province Wellesley, the growth of the latter district amounts to about thirty thousand loads for a man annually, which may be worth about 9,000 Spanish dollars.

The Malays allege that they can produce a new species of plantain by planting three shoots of different sorts together, and by cutting the shoots down to the ground three successive times when they have reached the height of nine or ten inches. The plantain may be deemed the most valuable of fruits here, since it will in some measure supply the place of corn in a scarcity.

Jamboe Kling and *Jamboe Ayer Mowah*, are handsome evergreens, which bear dark red fruits, having a pleasant subacid taste, slightly

in much demand, and the cultivation is confined; a tree will yield two or three thousand fruits.

Num Num.—the *Cynometra Cauliflora*.—This shrub yields a thin oblong fruit with a flat kernel. In taste it approaches nearer to the apple than perhaps any other truly Eastern fruit does. The shrub is scraggy and resembles the custard apple shrub in some degree. The fruit, however, is attached to the branch or stem. It does not bear until the 7th or 8th year. Its cultivation is confined to one or two gardens, but it deserves more attention than it has yet received. It was introduced from Malacca.

The Lime.—The cultivation of this tree is quite irregular: every campong or native garden contains some trees. An orlong if regularly planted out would yield produce of the value of 140 Sp. dollars: but like other fruit trees its cultivation, if much extended, would destroy profits. The chief market perhaps for this and other fruits is that of the shipping, and the lime might yet be cultivated to a considerable extent with advantage. The wild lime, which is both sour and astringent, grows along the dry sandy beach of Province Wellesley.

Buah Nona.—Custard Aple.—It is too well known to need a description.

The Mulberry.—This tree or shrub thrives easily and grows to the height of 20 feet at least. No attempt to rear the silk worm has been made yet. As the food for it could be raised to any extent without interfering with other cultivation, there seems no reason why it should not succeed as at Acheen, where the natives understand its management.

The fruits brought from the woods of Moratajam, Province Wellesley, are the *Dookoo*, but inferior perhaps to that of Malacca, the *Sittool* which grows on a high, wide-spreading tree. Its colour is a light yellow, and its internal seed-vessels resemble those of the mangosteen very closely. The taste is pleasant. It contains more acid than the mangosteen, and makes excellent jelly. The *Langsat* is a fruit of the same class. *Tumpool*, a fruit of the mangosteen class, prison-shaped, and dividing into 3 or 4 lobes. *Sala*, the fruit of the palmito of that name, pleasantly sub-acid.

Bitte.—The *Papaya*.—Which is used as vegetable before ripening. The acid juice of the rind of the fruit will dissolve a buffalo hide. *Tumpoonet* is a yellow coloured fruit with spikes, and about the size of the bitte. The pulp is delicate and slightly sub-acid, the tree is high, with clover-shaped large leaves. *Reidan* is a small almond shaped dark red and acid fruit, of a high tree, of the same name.

Arang Para; a species of rambutan. *Sapam*; a sort of wild mangoe. *Rambia*, the fruit of a species of the sago palm. *Sirbayaman*, a fruit of a middle sized tree; it is about as large as a small mangoe, and the rind is saturated with a vcid juice, like that of the mangosteen and *sittool*. *Topah* resembles the *Sapam*; very acid. *Powah*, a high tree, the fruit is very acid.

Sittar, an acid fruit. *Kaloobi*, the very acid fruit of a small palm, used in seasoning dishes. *Assam kumbang*, *Rawa*, *Roomiah*, *Pringei Lanjet*, *Blinge*, are acid fruits of jungle trees, and used by the natives, who have a great taste for sour as well as sweet things.

The Ananas or Pine Apple.—This fruit is extensively cultivated, and if more pains were bestowed on it, the quality might be greatly improved. As it is, the plants are allowed to spread until they become an almost impassable thicket.

They are brought in cart loads to the bazaars and thrown down like so many turnips. A good pine weighing from 3 to 5 lbs. may be bought for from 1 to 2 cents of a dollar. Pulo Kra, which is a small rocky island in the harbour, produces the best flavored pines, and some care is there taken in raising them.

The variegated or green and white striped leaved pine is highly ornamental to the table, but not otherwise approved of. Indeed few settled Europeans indulge in the pine, as it is justly deemed unwholesome, perhaps from the great tendency its juice has to ferment.

In Manila a very exquisite lace-like fabric or scarf is manufactured from the fibre of the pine apple leaf.

The Grape.—The climate is too moist for the grape, yet a pale sort has been by great pains brought to considerable perfection by one of our oldest settlers in Penang, Mr. Rodyk.

Oranges.—Several varieties are cultivated, but many of the old gardens have died off, and the profit does not seem high enough to induce the Chinese, in whose hands the cultivation has hitherto chiefly rested, to keep it up. The descriptions of the fruit now occasionally procurable are—*The Chimbool*, with a knob at one end, sweet. *The Limau manis*, the sweet or China orange. *Limau Japoon*, the Japan orange. *Limau Karbau*, the Citron. *Limau Gadang*, the Shaddock. *Limau Kapas panjang*.

The Chinese seldom raise from the seed. A branch is surrounded for about two inches in length, with a compost of earth and manure, and when roots appear, it is cut off and planted. The Chinese affirm that the new tree never survives the parent stock provided the latter dies through natural decay.

An orange plantation requires incessant attention to keep it flourishing, and the trees will not yield long without manure.

Oranges are generally high priced. Those of the best kinds are seldom sold under one cent each, and often at 5 and 6 cents.

Although the products of the jungle cannot be classed under the head of cultivation, yet they may not well be overlooked, and indeed some of the most valuable of the products of tropical climates are derived from the forest.

Chirrie Morie.—The Indian rubber vine, grows along the borders of Province Wellesley. The juice is collected by suspending a bottle below an incision in the bark. It is at first of the consistency and colour of milk, and in this

state may be applied to saturate cloth, which is thus rendered perfectly waterproof. The expense of collecting it is considerable, and it is believed prevents its exportation. But might not the vine be cultivated?

Dammer. The resin of the dammer tree, well known as a useful substance for paying vessels.

Miniah Dammer, or wood oil, is the sap of another tree, and is of a brown colour. It is used in carcening ships and may be used as a cheap and useful substitute for linseed oil in painting the inside of a house, although the paint will not bear exposure to the weather.

Lada Panjang, *Chabci Talee*, or Long Pepper, grows easily and yields well, but is little sought for to be cultivated.

Buah Ekor. From this fruit a lamp oil is extracted.

Buah Prah. The fruit of the prah tree resembles a nutmeg in shape, an oil is extracted from the kernel, which is in some places used for culinary purposes.

Pumpong, is a shrub which has an oval fruit, from which a lamp oil is extracted.

Chinghawang. An oil is also extracted from the fruit of this tree, or the kernel, and is used for the kitchen by Malays.

Kapayang, is a creeping plant used in dyeing, and from the fruit of which a lamp oil is extracted.

Kalompang, is a tree, the kernel of whose fruit also yields a lamp oil, as does the fruit of the high tree called *Penagu*.

Buah Kras, or *Embelie Juglaus Camirin*, is the hard fruit as its Malayan name implies of a high tree.

Gittah or Bird Lime. This is made from a mixture of the viciid juices of the following trees: the *Jaduteng*, the *Arak*, a species of ficus Indicus, and the *Jack* and the *Cherrie Morei*, or Indian rubber in small quantity, also of the *Pulei* and other trees. To render the mixture manageable cocoanut oil is added. The Malays by their own accounts can do wonders with this lime, of which the following *houx*, asserted to have been passed off on a tiger, is a specimen. A tiger having killed a man at Siac, the body was left on the spot, and a large quantity of bird lime was disposed on and around it. All around at a few paces distance chaff of paddie was thickly strewed and more lime laid. The animal returned to finish his repast, and his mouth and claws were soon clogged by the bird lime, while quantities stuck to his body. To get rid of this annoyance he rolled himself in his rage on the chaff, which soon swelled his body to a most portentous bulk, and after having exhausted himself in fruitless exertions he was easily killed. This would seem an improvement on American tarring and feathering.

The barks of the *Bakkaw*, the *Sama*, the *Pagar Apak* and *Sri Kayu* are employed for tanning leather and fishing lines.

The *Poko Sinto* is a pretty tall tree, the small branches of which are in universal use amongst the people as a substitute for soap. The fruit of the tree is named *Buah Piloorook*, or ball fruit. The Malays use it in a prepared state in pulmonary affections.

The *Beak* is the leaf of a moderately high tree so named, which opium smokers substi-

tute for that drug, when it is not procurable. The leaf is serrated, and is sold occasionally at $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee a cattie.

The castor plant grows almost wild; but the small seeded species available in medicine has not been introduced.—*Prince of Wales' Island Gazetteer*.

(To be continued)

THE HILLS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MOFUSSIL UKHBAR.

Sir,—The excellent letter of "Oceanus" which lately appeared in one of the Calcutta Journals has not, as I had hoped, been followed by another from the same able and amusing pen: in it, as doubtless most of your readers remember, were enumerated the many *agremens* of a winter residence here, coupled with a few scientific and popular notices, to the latter only of which, can I aspire to add; more in the hope of furnishing to future visitors some information which may not be unacceptable, than in that of adducing any thing new. Let me then suppose the traveller, most probably a helpless invalid, who has long panted beneath a hot and copper sky, to have arrived at Barh, (the last stage in the plains) delighted with the earnest of opening beauties which his morning's march has afforded, and already fancying health in every gale; behold him then seated in a comfortable bungalow, and anxious to make an early start on the morrow:—the "bearer" is summoned, and directed to arrange for the conveyance of his traps—an order more easily given than executed. Perhaps, however, the coolies may be in a complaisant mood, and if so, they will strap their loads on, and go their way without further ado; but if, as is the case nine times out of ten, they should be disposed to take their ease, woe and discomfort to the wretched valetudinarian who sends for the man in charge of the bungalow, naturally expecting and requesting his assistance. He replies, "I am your slave, but can do nothing; a fixed rate is not allowed, you must make your own bargain; these are the orders, you must give whatever the coolies ask or let your baggage remain. At last the head of a gang of porters advances, and proffers the services of himself and troop, (he is called mate from rendering no assistance on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle;) which are gladly accepted at any price, and on any terms, one of which usually is, that the whole hire must be paid in advance, conformably to the *pura-shahib's* *hookm*, which must, by the bye, be a taking of his name in vain, as I am informed he is prohibited from any interference. Then commences a wordy war about the weight of the burdens, one varlet insisting that a petarraha containing a few dishes, &c., will break his back,* and another great he-fellow groaning over a bundle of clothes not so heavy as a

knapsack, vociferates, "do you think I'm a bullock that can carry 2 maunds? why this is a load for three men at the least." The *shahib* utterly disgusted, and fearful of being compelled to remain another day, in the end yields, and away the victors budge up the hill, chuckling triumphantly. This state of affairs is emphatically called, by the natives of the plains "coolie-ka-raj," and a most expressive and appropriate title it is. I have often heard people say, that they preferred going to Mussorie rather than to Simla, the latter being so much more difficult of access: this difficulty I supposed lay in the badness of the roads, the steepness of the ascents, the passage of mountain torrents, and dangerous proximity to yawning precipices and toppling crags; these I find were all the creatures of my imagination, for no where in India is there a better road than that leading from Barh to Simla, or even as far as Rampoor on the Sutlej, projected by Major (then Captain) Ross, and the credit for the construction of which is due to Captain Welchman; it has also been widened and improved materially by Captain Kennedy. Now I comprehend that the difficulty of access, consists in that created by the conduct of the coolies. By the time Simla bursts upon the view, it will be fully admitted, that "tricks upon travellers" are thoroughly understood, and most adeptly played in these parts, and some persons there are who affirm, that "doubtless the pleasure is as great of being cheated as to cheat." I however, am not one of these, and hope ere long to see the "coolie-ka-raj" overturned by a dynasty* in the shape of a regulation or enactment to fix the hire, &c. of these men, a change of rule, or rather an annihilation of misrule anxiously desired by most; and justly so too, seeing that the Hill porters may be looked upon much in the same light, as palkee bearers in the plains, or chairmen in Great Britain, and consequently in some sort, as public servants. The following extract from an official report on the Hills states, between the rivers Touse and Sutlej, furnished by the present Political Agent to Government

* In the Derrah Dhoon a fixed rate ($\frac{3}{4}$ or 3 annas a day) has been sanctioned by Government, and there no trouble is experienced in the transport of baggage; but the Government has an interest at stake owing to the supplies required for the Depot of sick Troops at Landour.

in 1824, will raise a smile in many a reader. "It is most gratifying to observe, that quadrupeds begin to supply the place of suffering man in the carriage of merchandize, &c. The benevolent orders of Government, forbidding the impressment of these people are strictly attended to, and in consequence, man begins to assume his dignity and station." This philosophy cometh in a questionable shape, me thinks, and you may be rather surprized to learn, that notwithstanding our worthy Political Agent's sensitive humanity for these "suffering men" in 1824, he does occasionally in 1835, employ them for the carriage of his portly person, with good fat capon lined, ensconced in a well padded tonjon, ergo, this must derogate not a little from their "dignity and station as men," a circumstance much to be deplored by all philanthropists. That the porters are neither underpaid nor overburdened, a further extract from the same source will fully prove. "The attendance of porters was subsequently commuted to the payment of 3 rupees each porter per month." Now, on regular service, they receive 4 and 5 each, monthly, and if they go a journey from 3 to 5 annas daily, or from 5 rupees 10 annas to 9 rupees 6 annas monthly. "The load of a man in Bussohir is from 40 to 50 seers or nearly one cwt." For us they will hardly ever consent to carry more than 20 seers, and very seldom that, although for themselves they carry frequently 50 seers, and this too, over mountain paths, mere sheep tracks. I had almost forgotten to mention that from Barh to Simla, the hire commonly asked is 1 rupee per porter, should the traveller think with me that this is too much, and have health and patience to wait a while, they will lower quarter of their demand. The approach to Simla is beautiful, winding through the "green wood," openings through which occasionally reveal a glimpse of the pure, cold, glistening snows of the towering Himalyah. To the beauties of the place itself, I cannot pretend to do justice, they are varied by a number of extremely tasteful roads, offering different points of view, some made by Captain Kennedy, some suggested by Lords Combermere and William Bentinck, others constructed by private individuals; among the last I may mention one to the waterfall. The lovers of the picturesque cannot fail of being gratified, but the want of a lake or stream is sadly felt, and the Hills themselves lack boldness of outline; they have rather too much of an "analogous physiognomy." When I arrived, the Rhododendron, and its countless crimson clusters of brilliant blossoms, were exquisitely contrasted with the sombre hue of the pines, and the bright clear green of the budding oaks; but, "all that's bright must fade" and they are now no more. The houses are commodious, mostly flat-roofed, coated with earth, as those in the city of Cashmere were described to be by Forster, (but no parterres on the terrace) some few are covered in with shingles, and two or three with an excellent sort of mica slate, pitched in the Chinese style: the latter is by

far the best plan, but like most good things, expensive. The patting of the flat-roofs requisite to prevent leaks is by no means an agreeable accompaniment to the piano forte, nor is it particularly pleasant to those who suffer from head-aches. The Swiss Cottage might be introduced with pretty effect. Good vegetables are not easily procurable, gardens being scarce and not well stocked, and although the apple, pear, peach, apricot, nectarine, cherry, currant, raspberry, and in fact nearly all our garden fruit trees are indigenous, their produce is but indifferent; towards its improvement, cultivation alone would do much, but the planting of European varieties, together with grafting upon the wild stock, would do more, especially with the apricot and cherry; but I am not aware that a single effort towards so desirable an object has been directed, either by Government or its functionaries, (who have the best opportunity) or any private resident. That success might not attend the first attempts is probable, but we have an example in the gardens of Scotland of the triumph of art over nature; here a helping and skilful hand is all that is needed. Of the general climate I cannot speak; at present the thermometer must stand some 23 or 25 degrees lower than at Agra; and I am led to expect much heavier rains here than in the plains. The meteorology of these Hills, says an indefatigable and accurate observer, and the annual and monthly mean temperature of Simla is as well ascertained as that of London. Water is good and nearer than at Mussorie. The bazaar is well-built, chiefly of wood, the lower rooms of stone; it is clean and well supplied; but although no *nirikh* very properly exists, a price current should be furnished, some bunyas giving 22 seers of gram and others 10 seers more, for the rupee, and on the detection of this difference, the former readily agree to supply the same quantity. The same remark may be applied to all the necessities of life. The papers informed me last year that a meeting of some of the residents was convened, for the purpose of endeavoring to destroy a supposed combination among the *moodres*; its result I did not learn through the same channel, but understand that the steps taken by the committee elected by the meeting, for lowering the prices on grain, ghee, &c., perfectly succeeded, and perhaps the wily bunyas have the recollection of this interloper, or alterations may have been made in some quarters, for they now sell at fair rates. The fact of this meeting was reported to Government by Captain Kennedy, and rumour adds, it annoyed him most exceedingly. Lord William expressed his opinion that the civil authority should have been applied to for permission to hold the meeting, but that there was nothing objectionable in its proceedings; that they were necessary I am induced to think, from being positively told by a friend who was here, that those bunyas who were deserted, offered to furnish grain, &c., to their former customers at a very considerably cheaper rate than the committee could, a fact, the inferences from which are too

obvious, to need recording. Monro and Cox keep a good shop, and two billiard tables. Notwithstanding the abundance and variety of wood, all furniture comes from the plains, and though a very large quantity of wax might be procured, not a single candle, (tallow excepted,) is manufactured; iron is cheap and plentiful, yet not a seer of tolerable nails have I been able to get, except some brought up from Kurnal. In fact, a clever speculator would find ample exercise for his genius and purse, and there is a capital opening for a professional builder and house agent. Mr. Barrett undertakes this business, but he has his shop to attend to, besides many other pursuits. The Political Agent in his capacity of Justice of the Peace decides cases wherein Europeans are concerned, and *lex non scripta* occasionally obtains. I dislike the system of unpaid Magistrates; I am thoroughly convinced the public do so too. A knowledge of law is not intuitive: a Political Agent, however, skilled in diplomacy, may cut a very ridiculous figure on the bench; will probably be much more deeply versed in Vattel and Puffendorf, than in Blackstone or Burn, and be much better acquainted with the Courts of Princes, than with those of justice: and it is even possible that a smart Commandant of a regiment may be perfectly master of his charge and ignorant of the forms, and misunderstand the spirit of the British Law. Should the visitor not intend to travel much in the interior, a poney or horse will answer as well as a *jhoont*; but if he should wish to tramp about across country, the latter will be found serviceable. Let the animal by all means have a long tail, for in many places and ascents, where riding is impracticable or unpleasant, a good purchase on this will cheat one into the belief of walking on level ground.

The Girree, 2 marches distant, holds *mahser* and *skala-bons* of fair size, the former take the fly well, and afford many a day's sport to those who are not afraid of the heat: the banks of the river are also good beats for jungel-fowl, pheasants, black partridge, and deer. If the visitor be not a votary of old Isaac's, let him take a rifle and a good double-barrelled piece, of 14 or thereabouts calibre, and start for Kotguruh (commonly called the "Cockney Trip.") About 5 miles after leaving Simla, he will enter a noble forest of pines, oaks, and other trees, of which I know not the name,—here and there shewing the wildest glens in "deep and funeral shade," and occasionally opening out into the green glades of park scenery, through which echo a thousand plaintive wood-notes wild. Though this ground is haunted by most of the native *shikarees*, who supply Simla, a considerable quantity of game may still be found, and should the sportsman be a quick shot, a good fag, and not mind a roll, will well reward his pursuit; there being in the forest no fewer than four varieties of pheasants,—the *khalij*, most numerous, then the *plass*, a handsome bird, the *cheer* a most superb creature, in shape like the English bird, and last the *moonal* or

peacock pheasant, the splendour of whose plumage this epithet indicates. Of partridges there are the *chukore*, and another very gay feathered, rather scarce and peculiar to these Hills. Towards the snowy range the *jhajje* or argus pheasant is found, (described, a friend tells me in Buffon, under the title of horned pheasant). Of deer there are three, the *corll*, or Himalaya chamois, the *hakur* or barking deer, and perhaps that curious and valuable animal the musk deer may be startled; there may be others, these are all I have seen. Bears, hyenas and leopards will probably be roused in the deepest and darkest jungles. The road winds through the forest for about 7 miles, and then emerges at Fagoo, where there is a bungalow. The next march is to Mutteana, on a tolerably level line, except in one or two places; some likely looking spots are passed and the traveller cannot but help admiring the industry which has embellished whole faces of rugged steepes with one sheet of cultivation, in little terraces one above another, reaching often to nearly the very crest of the Hill. The zumeendars seem fully sensible of the value of manure; for which purpose they make a compost of fermented firleaves, fern and cowdung. They have an ingenious mode of stacking their hay on very steep slopes, which preserves it uninjured both by snow and rain, and in some villages they keep it in tall cones by staking it on poles, fixed into the ground. They take great pride in their herds of cattle, and constantly sing, while tending them, their excellencies of shape and produce, and recite even something like pastorals. The peasantry are well formed and robust, are fairer than the same class in the plains, and when young very good looking, but whether it is owing to early marriages or to frequent exposure to sun, wind and rain, or perhaps both, certain it is that their good-looks leave them at a very early age, and in appearance at least, they become prematurely old. The villagers I saw were warmly clad in a dirty drab colored woollen frock, trowsers of the same material, loose about the leg and tightened over the instep: for head dress, the men wear a black cap of frieze rolled up into something like a turban, and often decked with a bunch of roses or a green sprig; some of them had a girdle of hair-rope with knife and steel suspended (a bit of quartz serves for a flint and they find a natural tinder or amaden in a small downy plant, the leaves of which they dry) and when the weather is inclement, they throw over all a blanket, much in the manner of the Highland plaid. The women, who bear a most active part in the labors of the field, wear the same sort of frock, frequently without any undergarments, with a strip of cotton cloth wound round the head; some, however, have *paejanus* or a sort of trousers: both sexes are filthy in their persons, and like most uncivilized mountaineers, grossly superstitious. They profess Hindooism, ignorance of the rites of their religion renders them perhaps less tenacious of caste than their brethren of the plains, and most of them eat meat,—but

they will not touch a morsel of mutton except that of the Hills, observing that the sheep below have long tails "*butchroo ke moo-âfiq*." Coming up to Simla, I saw a man about sunset, holding in front of his face a slip of wood with something like the human face divine carved on it, and apparently endeavoring to cover some object at a distance. On inquiring what he was about, he said "his *dance* was having a *moolakat* with one at Subathoo," about ten miles horizontal distance. Wizards and witches play all sorts of devilish tricks with their cattle, and every lofty peak has its appropriate *deota*, whom they endeavor to propitiate by a variety of offerings. The houses are substantially built of stone, slate and wood, some have 3 stories, the lower apartments being allotted to the kine, the middle one to the family, and the garret for a granary or kitchen. All who saw these Hills after the Nepal war, agree in stating, that the condition of the few inhabitants was most pitiable, now they appear to be better off than any peasantry I have seen in India. Goorkhas were indeed the most merciless, brutal, grasping conquerors that ever disgraced the name of man in any age, and all the execrable atrocities committed in the southern portion of the new world, sink into insignificance compared with the villainies perpetrated by these treacherous tyrants. By the bye, I may here remark, that the men of the Regiment of that nation stationed at Subathoo, are by no means respectful in their demeanour to any Europeans but their officers; having, I suppose, adopted some strange notions of "station and dignity of man." We proceeded next to Nagkunder, which is very much colder than Simlah, and where there is an excellent bungalow—good shooting is to be had in the neighbourhood; and independently of the beauties of this spot, which are many, and of the climate which is very bracing, the discovery this month of a chalybeate spring by Dr. Murray, H. A. in a shooting excursion, promises to add not a little to its attractions; its waters are already in request, and no doubt, an an-

alysis of them will shortly be presented to the public. The next day, I recommend the traveller to devote to a ramble up to the Hill of Huttoo, about three and half miles off, and the road to which lies through a superb and mingled forest of firs, holm-oaks, horse chestnuts, sycamores, hazle, rowan and the sable yew, from between the spreading arms of which, stand out in lovely desolation the "blasted pines, wrecks of a single winter, barkless and branchless." Let the summit of the hill be gained early, and from it, should the sky be unclouded, as it probably will in the morning, is commanded a view awful indeed, but neither sad nor gloomy. To the north rise proudly up the mighty peaks of the vast Himalyah, sheathed in perennial snows, where spirits "nightly tread and leave no trace behind," and among the most conspicuous of those giant heads, shoot up the glittering pinnacles of Bundeh Pooch; turning to the south, we behold the *Choor* still with his night cap on, and a little to the west of south Jacko and Simla are distinctly visible, and on either hand a scene which might well employ poet and painter. The slopes of the Hill were studded with those ever wild flowers, so endeared to us by association, the violet, polyanthus, buttercup, thyme, &c. &c. In the afternoon I returned to Najkunda delighted with all that I had seen, and next day went on to Kotgurb, the road to which is pretty, distant 7 or 8 miles. Two companies of the Nusseree Battalion were once stationed here, and there are two good houses belonging to private individuals. The Sutlej rolls or rather rushes below, and looks like a mere sluice, though I believe it is 250 feet wide. Two marches hence is Rampoor, (the capital of Bussahir); the fair held there in November I hope to visit, and should you think this worthy of insertion, I will at a future period, descant on the folly of prohibiting Europeans from crossing the Sutlej, or from proceeding to Konawur without official permission. Here for the present concludes the journey of your admirer and obedient servant,

Simla, May, 1835.

TRAMP

LAND TENURES OF INDIA.

DOUBTS SUBMITTED RESPECTING THE ALLEGED EFFICACY OF A KNOWLEDGE OF THE VARIOUS LAND TENURES OF INDIA, AS A MEANS OF PROTECTING THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE RYOTS.

The advocates of Ryutwar settlements charge the Permanent Zemindarce settlement of Lord Cornwallis, and all others formed upon a like principle, with more serious evils, as I humbly submit, than can fairly be imputed to them, whilst they ascribe, on the other hand, more efficacy than they deserve to those securities against the commission of similar errors, which form the basis of their favorite system of revenue management.

The following observations, which with all submission go to question both of these posi-

tions, and which right or wrong are the result of much reflection, after having attentively read, marked, and as I would fain hope, well digested the valuable information, contained in the Printed Revenue Selections, in the large mass of oral and written evidence recently submitted to the Board of Control and the Select Committee of Parliament for the affairs of India, and in late dispatches from the Supreme Government, also laid before them, and the whole of which are also in print—may be less called for as regards India, where something

like a reaction in the minds of the ruling powers would seem to have taken place as to the merits of Ryotwar settlements, grounded upon previous minute local inquiries, such as are embraced in Regulation VII. 1822, of the Bengal Code,* that is to say, "their practical application," for "there can be but one opinion as to their soundness in theory."† Not so however with the authorities in England, in whose minds a conviction of their superiority to every other Revenue term, both practically, and theoretically would seem to be as steadfast and rooted as ever, or rather, it may be said to have gained strength since the weight of testimony in the inquiries I have alluded to, which preceded the renewal of the Charter, being all in favour of that mode of Revenue administration, must have added to the strong previous leaning towards it. In proof of which, I need only mention the names of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Holt Mackenzie, who, although neither of them, I believe, practical disciples of that school, are nevertheless strenuous and warm supporters of its principles, and of Messrs Campbell and Sullivan, of the Madras service, whose evidence display an apostolical zeal in propagating the doctrines of their distinguished masters.

To enlarge on the vast importance of eliciting the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, with respect to a question, which has occupied so large a share of the attention of every Indian Government, from the days of Warren Hastings to the present time, would be to utter State truisms. I feel satisfied, therefore, that any person who can, or fancies he can, throw a single ray of additional light upon it, need offer no apology for proceeding to make the attempt. I am not, however, going to inflict a merciless dissertation upon the merits of either of the celebrated Revenue settlements I have adverted to, or of any other. On the contrary, considering how much has been already said and written upon these and all the other systems of Revenue management which have at any time found favor in India, so much indeed that one would almost think there could be no room for further discussion, and bearing in mind the necessity of dealing considerably with the limited space which your columns, and the probably still more limited patience of your readers, can afford, I shall not only touch as briefly as possible on all such facts or reasoning already on record, as I may have occasion to refer to, but shall compress my own suggestions into the narrowest compass consistent with perspicuity.

It appears to me then, that it was not, as is alleged, our concluding the Zemindaree settlement of Bengal, in ignorance of the land tenures of the country, which led to the extensive destruction, said, and no doubt truly, to have overtaken the rights and interests of the ryots and other agricultural classes. It

was not from "employing the term proprietor (in regard to the Zemindars) without defining the nature of the property and from overlooking the fact, that several distinct proprietors may very well attach to a single subject matter" nor from "confounding the Zemindars' hereditary property in the land revenue with the separate property in the land itself,"‡ which produced the "mischief" in question. I would submit, whether the same evils would not have equally ensued, had the relative rights of every class, connected with the land, within the sphere of its operation, from the Zemindar or superior landholder himself, down to the lowest cultivator, been ascertained, defined, and recorded in the amplest and clearest possible manner, precedent to the formation of that settlement.

What in fact at that period, if not now, were the rights of the generality of the ryots at the very best? That so long as they duly paid certain pergunnah rates of assessment, said to have been limited by ancient law and usage; that is to say, a rate of assessment, which, though locally vague and ill-defined, is stated to have been equal, on an average, to half the gross produce of their lands at the very least,§ they were not liable to be dispossessed. But is that a proportion, which they were capable of paying, I will not say continuously, but even for any considerable length of time? I believe it has never been contended that it is, for that it was any thing more indeed than a maximum limit of legal demand, never to be exceeded—and at all events, it is quite certain that so long as there are "bad crops and poor ryots," it is not a rate, which could have been paid by all ryots, in all seasons, and under all circumstances without remission or abatement, notorious, as it is, how small a calamity disables most ryots from liquidating their assessment; and if so, whatever might have been the nature of the property intended to have been conferred on those, who were empowered to exact it, did not this single fact suffice in itself, if not at once, at least before very long, to invest every one of the Zemindars, with whom the Government settlement was made, to all intents and purposes, with a complete proprietary right in all the lands comprized within the limits of his Zemindaree, and virtually render the reduction of the whole of the inferior cultivators to the condition of tenants-at-will a mere question of time? These Zemindars must always, it is obvious, have been the sole judges of when, and to what extent abatements from such standard assessment, if any, were to be granted, on a partial or general failure of crops. They had only therefore to refuse, on any such occasions, to listen to claims for remission, on that or any other plea, and what became of the boasted rights of individuals so circumstanced? Would they not in that case

* Letter from the Governor General, 7th of April, 1831.

† I wish to be understood as referring to those detailed settlements, under which the payments of each individual ryot, or rather the assessments of every separate field are adjusted and fixed by the European collector and his Culcherry servants.

* Letter from the Right Hon'ble H. Mackenzie, vol. 3rd, Part 2nd, Revenue Papers laid before the Select Committee, on the affairs of the East India Company.

† Mr. Campbell's Paper on the Land Revenue of India, ditto, ditto.

‡ Fifth Report ditto. Letter from Mr Mackenzie, already notified.

have been as entirely at their mercy, however carefully they might have been sought out, ascertained and registered, as if no such record as at present had ever existed? The assignment, in short, to the Zemindars of a *carte blanche* power to take from their ryuts whatever they pleased, within these specific limits, could not fail, I would submit, to enable them sooner or later to work their will upon them, and to oust indeed nine-tenths of the whole, if so disposed, in the course of a very few years, without the smallest violation of law or infraction of individual rights. By making that "a real measure of demand," which "in the hands of Government had been in a great manner nominal,"* and strictly enforcing its realization—any record of the nature indicated must, in a very short time, in short, so far as protection to the ryuts, have been little better than a nullity.

The general rate of assessment, for example, in the Bengal Provinces, as sanctioned by long usage or prescription, was probably not below that of the Ceded Districts of Madras, fixed by Sir Thomas Munro's celebrated survey, but according to that eminent revenue authority, even so large a reduction as he advised in that rate, namely, to the extent of 25, and in some instances 33 per cent, would still have involved, for a number of years at least, the necessity of remissions "from bad crops or other accidents," to the annual amount of no less than 10 per cent of the annual jumma,† in an aggregate of six or eight collectorates, though it might be more in a single one.‡ Hence, armed as the Zemindars necessarily were with a discretionary power to reject or admit as they thought fit, all pleas for abatement of such standard rent, one ryut in ten every year, or every ryut on an average, in the course of so short a period as ten years must have been at their mercy, even if the rates demandable from them had been 25 per cent less, than they really were, and whether these rates, as well as all their other rights had been defined or recorded or not. How much more so then with reference to the actual rates, for which they were legally answerable.

Another proof, if further evidence be wanting of the ryut's inability to pay any thing like a fixed or uniform rate of assessment for any length of time is deducible from the fact of the Zemindars themselves being every day defaulters, and their estates forfeited in consequence; no fewer than two hundred and seventy-six having been actually sold so recently as the year 1824.† Now as the Zemindars of the present day do not appear to be charged, like their predecessors in the early period of the permanent settlement, with any peculiar improvidence or incapacity in the management of their lands, if they, with their superior resources, and the advantage arising from the possession of a great deal of waste

land, &c. &c., are so frequently unable to make good their engagements with Government, what was to be expected from the majority of ryuts in the liquidation of their obligations to them.

A rigorous enforcement of punctuality in the payment of their kists, as they fall due, could of itself perhaps have gone far to ruin many of them; since they, of all people in the world, with their poverty, must have special need of that patient indulgence in money matters, which few persons do not occasionally require.

If there be any justice then in the foregoing observations, I submit that there must also be some truth in the proposition, with which I set out, viz., that no preliminary knowledge, however accurate and complete, of the various land tenures and other individual rights, connected with the land, could have had the effect contended for of effectually bridling the Zemindars, or have proved other than a very temporary shield from the ills, which are said to have befallen the ryuts from the want of it.

I should almost be inclined to go further and to submit, whether in merely urging, as I have hitherto done, that such knowledge would be of very limited utility in protecting the inferior from the oppressive practices of the superior landholders, I have not passed a more favorable judgment upon it than it really deserves. Whether, in short, instead of possessing the negative merit of being harmless, it would not on the whole be positively mischievous in its operation upon these last, or upon those for whose especial benefit it is intended, and for this simple reason, that it is calculated to "put asunder" those ties and sympathies between the higher and lower classes, which, circumstanced as the great body of the ryuts are, must ever be their best security for the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, and for which this supposed palladium would, as I greatly fear, prove but a very inadequate substitute.

Did the ryuts stand less frequently in need of indulgence in the payment of their dues, could they in short be at once raised into independence in their circumstances, such a registry might indeed be a valuable boon—but wedded as they are to pinching poverty, and with such constantly recurring occasion for abatements in the assessment, which the Zemindars are entitled to demand from them, fixed though it be on the lowest scale, which has ever been contemplated—what other effect can our teaching them to look solely to the Courts for redress, on every occasion of real or fancied infringement of their rights, than to alienate from them the good-will of those upon whom they are so wholly dependant, and who by a stern exaction of their just dues, and a refusal of what can be claimed as a matter of favor only, and not of right, would have innumerable opportunities of placing them in a much worse position, than they at present occupy, since, as matters now are, the Zemindars may have the power; but there seems good reason to believe that they have seldom the inclination to practice any general oppres-

* Mr. McKenzie's evidence, 2671. Vol. III. Part 1st.

† Report of the Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts dated 15th of August, 1807. Para: 10th. Vol. I. Revenue Selections.

‡ Mr. McKenzie's evidence, No. 2602. Part 1st, Vol. 3rd, Minutes of Evidence.

sion upon their ryots, whereas they would then have both the one and the other. The inclination could not fail, were they to be frequently sued in the Courts by the ryots to become much more hostile towards them, and the power, as has been shewn, would as certainly not be long wanting. Can a slave, it may be asked, venture to complain of his master with impunity?

To be beneficial, therefore, the whole peasantry or the country, that is to say, a proportion of not less perhaps than two-thirds of the community at large must be elevated, and that instantler, to the rank of independent landed proprietors or substantial farmers, and this is what, I believe, is really aimed at. A most benevolent design truly, but which but for the high respect I entertain for many of its advocates, I should be inclined to designate as so very utopian, as to have much more the air of being an emanation from the brain of Mr. Owen of Lanark, than the sober calculation of practical statesmen.

In every part of the world, the time I fear is very far from having yet arrived for the great mass of mankind to be other than hewers of wood, and drawers of water—and in India, with their institutions and load of taxation, the people seem to be more especially doomed to that lot. To expect, under such circumstances, by any law of ours we can make them otherwise, is to believe the laws of men to be more powerful than those of God and nature. The Hindoo laws of inheritance would of themselves render it abortive beyond the period of a single generation.

But the Zemindars, it is said, practised great oppression on the ryots possessing "a fixed right of occupancy,—which is the most general tenure," by every where disregarding and exceeding the customary local rates of assessment, and ejecting them in case of recurrence from their holdings,* in order to make room for others, the pyacadoree, or migratory ryots, a body who "are ever on the watch, by the offer of higher terms, to tempt the Government, or its representative, to oust the hereditary cultivator from his fields."† To which it may be answered, that the only legal limit to the rates in question, to which the latter class would appear to have been liable, from time immemorial, being their "supposed ability"‡ to pay them, as "ordinarily the whole of the produce of the land, beyond what is required for the reward of labour and the replacement of stock, might be deemed a public property,"§ their condition could for the most part scarcely have admitted of being made worse, than it always had been in this respect, and at all events, their rents could not have been raised. I would submit, with any view to their ejection for the purpose adverted to, as such a doctrine is at variance with the notorious fact

every where recorded,* that ncerasdars and all ryots possessing a hereditary or fixed right of occupancy, are almost uniformly in the habit of paying, a higher rate of assessment, than the migratory class, or those who bear a resemblance to tenants-at-will, and who "having no permanent interest in the lands they cultivate, have little or more of the local attachment which facilitates exaction" from the others. If such be the case then, their ejection, the fact of which I do not presume to question, must, generally speaking, have arisen from some other cause than the one assigned, since it must have been attended with positive loss, instead of gain, to the Zemindars.

It may be affirmed, in short, that the Zemindars could not, if they would, have raised the rents, which they were legally entitled to receive from the ryots, and that they would not, if they could, to such an extent at least, as to dispossess them. The one would seem to have been physically, and the other morally, impossible, as being clearly opposed to their own interests.

The under-farming, or thrice repeated sub-renting system, prevalent in the Zemindaree of the Burdwan Rajah has been adduced,‡ however apparently, in support of the above opinions, that the Zemindars were both able and willing to levy more than had been customary or was legally due from their cultivators, as each of these three grades of sub-renters collected of course a larger sum than that which he himself had engaged to pay. But might not this have been possible enough, without its being "wrung" from the cultivators, as is asserted; that is to say, without any one of them paying, in porportion to the land which he occupied, one rupee more, than at any previous period? Might it not, in short, have been entirely owing to extended cultivation, upon which each of those farmers speculated, since it has been shewn "in respect to a number of estates, taken indiscriminately from those under the Court of Wards,"† and some of those belonging to the Rajah of Burdwan among the number, that "the rent obtained from farmers on account of the proprietors, contrasted with the Government revenue, was more than double the latter," and all owing, as is expressly stated, to this very cause, I would with deference submit whether the chief, if not the whole injury the ryots have sustained under the Zemindaree settlement in question, rather to be attributed to the enactment and rigorous enforcement of that clause of our fiscal Regulations, which makes the Zemindaree tenures saleable in satisfaction of arrears of revenue. Not as is held, because their rights are thus made to merge in those of the auction purchasers of those tenures when brought to the hammer, or in other words, to its having been practically ruled that in all such cases these last became

* Lord Mofra's Revenue Minute, 21st September, 1815. Revenue Selections Vol. 1st.

† Mr. Campbell's Paper.

‡ Fifth Report

§ Mr. McKenzie's Letter at Supra.

* Report of the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone on the Deccan, Vol. 4th. Judicial Selections, page 160. McKenzie's evidence at Supra. No. 172. Sir T. Munro's Report of August 1807. Fifth Report; Revenue Letter from Bombay, Page 653, Vol. 3rd. Part 2nd. Minutes of Evidence.

† Campbell's Paper. McKenzie's Letter at Supra.

‡ McKenzie's Evidences at Supra, Nos. 2613, 2699, 2937.

proprietors of the whole land itself, and not merely a share of the public revenue derived from it;* for the ryut's tenures being, as has been so repeatedly stated, nearly, if not wholly, worthless, so far as concerns pecuniary value on account of the "ordinary legal limits of the government demand" being such as to absorb every thing in the shape of rent, it follows that neither the act of Government virtually, or expressly, conferring on the Zemindars all property in the land itself, nor its subsequent transfer to others, when escheated to the state by their default, could have been any infraction of their proprietary rights,† since "to give up what the law and usage authorize us to take, is to create a new property, which no individual can claim on the score of right,‡ but because it in a manner forced the Zemindars to exercise an equal degree of rigor and severity upon their tenantry, as they themselves were subjected to by the Government. The attachment of all natives to their lands, and to the consequence which is derivative therefrom, is proverbial, the loss of life itself being almost preferable to dispossession. The intense desire, therefore, which the Zemindars must naturally have felt to avert so heavy a calamity from themselves, and which they knew to be the inevitable consequence of any failure on their part in the fulfilment of their revenue engagements with the state, was surely in itself enough not only to drive them, however much against their natural inclination, to practice every species of oppression and extortion, with the view, if possible, of making good the jumma due from them, but almost to justify it.

If the ryut's rights in the land had had any saleable value, the consequences contended for, of the rule under the Bengal system, which in the event of the sale of a Zemindaree or village, constituted the purchasers the sole proprietor of all the land comprised within its bounds, and conveyed to him the proprietary rights without reserve, would certainly have been indisputable, because they would then have had both the power, and a strong inducement to use it, to annihilate them by means of extra exaction. But as it has been most distinctly admitted by its most strenuous advocates, that their hereditary tenures were not generally saleable "in the Provinces under the Bengal or Bombay Governments, and that the existence of private rights, limiting the right of Government, so as to leave the owners of fields a portion of the rent, that is, a share of the surplus, which remains after paying wages and replacing stock, seems rarely to have been established."§ I cannot but think there is strong reason for being sceptical as to the mere system of sales *ipso facto*, having so extensively a prejudicial effect upon their rights and interests.

With respect to the Tappa of Muneer, a

Zemindaree held by a community of Rajpoots, forfeited and sold in consequence of one or two of the body refusing to pay a portion of the jumma, to which it was assessed, by which the entire rights and fields of the whole of them, "even where they had discharged their respective shares of the public revenue in full," are said to have been "involved in one common destruction,"* and conveyed to the new purchaser, and which had been cited as a pregnant instance of the mischief and injustice, attending such a practice, and of the endless litigation, as well as general disaffection it gave rise to. I would observe, in the first place, that this being an estate held in common, it has always, if I am not mistaken, been the usage of the country, an usage merely adopted and continued in our Regulations, and not their offspring, to hold the whole of such a corporation conjointly answerable for the aggregate demand of Government, and their lands escheatable, if any portion, however small, were not duly discharged; and in the second place, if I am in error in this view, the excitement which the sale of this Zemindaree would appear to have caused among the people, seems to have arisen, less from the sale than from the low caste of the purchaser, which shocked the prejudices and wounded the pride of an association belonging to so high spirited a race as one of the Co-parceners is stated to have observed on the occasion—"If Government are determined to sell our lands, why dishonour the caste, by a sale to a gootun? Our chief is the Rajah of Bulcah, and he is a rich man," &c.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the Regulation in force for several years, after the first introduction of the permanent settlement, which gave the Zemindars no other means of recovering arrears due to them from the ryuts, than by the slow process of a suit in the Courts, whilst the Government could proceed against them in the most summary possible manner, by encouraging the ryuts as it did, to enter "into combinations, which enabled them to embarrass the landholders in a very injurious manner, by withholding their just dues"† was eminently calculated to stir up hostile feelings on their part, and to sever on both sides (as before observed) those ties, which in their relative situations would naturally have bound them to each other, had no such conflicting interests intervened, and hence the Zemindars were sometimes more disposed perhaps, than they otherwise would have been, to turn into an engine of oppression the powers with which they were afterwards armed, for the more prompt enforcement of their claims against the ryuts.

The above considerations have the more weight, because where Zemindars and other great landholders have not been acted on by such malignant influences, they would seem to be "not at all prone to eject their ryuts."‡ They manifest in truth the very reverse of a

* Campbell's Paper *et supra*.

† I am far from denying that there are many exceptions, but such as every one admits seem to be the general rule.

‡ Mr. McKenzie's Letter *et supra*.

§ Campbell's Papers, Mr. McKenzie's Letter *et supra*.

* Campbell's Paper *et supra*.

† Fifth Report.

‡ Minute of the Senior Judge of Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, Bengal, of 8th March, 1827.

disposition to practice grinding exaction, or any other species of oppression on their cultivators. In every part of India, from the southern extremity of the peninsula to the most northern parts of Hindostan, we find testimony borne to this fact. In the jaghires of the southern Mahratta country, on this side of India, not only are the lands represented as being in a more flourishing condition than the British territories in their neighbourhood, but there is said to be "a greater appearance of subsistence and comfort in the people.* The same is said of all the considerable landholders in Travancore; of the renters in Malwa, where a system of very long leases, sometimes handed down from father to son, to the third or fourth generation, formerly obtained. Of the hill Zemindars in the Northern Circars where the ryuts seem to have a peculiarly strong attachment to their chiefs, and of many of the petty independent states in Upper India, such as Rampoor in Rohilcund, the Rajah Diaram Bugwant Sing, and of Bhurtpore, &c. which being small, were managed more like private estates than principalities.

If the end had in view then, namely, a trust-worthy record of the rights and obligations of every one of the agricultural classes be, as I have submitted, of problematical advantage so far as providing an effectual security for their undisturbed enjoyment of those rights, I would now further, though with equal deference, submit, whether the means by which alone we seek to attain it, be not equally problematical?—that is to say, by minute local scrutinies, including a survey and valuation of every begah of land, with the double object of "ascertaining the relation of the people to each other, and to the Government," and of determining "the extent of productiveness of the land, included in the term, all circumstances, natural or artificial, that affect its power of yielding rent," for the purpose of fixing "an easy and equal assessment, which should give to every person, who permanently cultivates lands, and whom it would be unjust to oust, a tenure in the fields occupied by him, or tilled at his expense and risk, possessing a certain money value, and secure against arbitrary or illegal disturbance," &c.†

In support of this proposition, I am less dependent, than in regard to the foregoing, upon argument merely. In proof of the extreme difficulty of developing the information embraced in both of these "great branches of enquiry," and as a striking practical illustration of the great likelihood of all such undertakings ending in disappointment, I can boldly refer to the little progress which has hitherto been made in carrying into effect the provisions of Regulation VII. of 1822, for the settlement upon these principles of the western provinces of Bengal, and to the result of

the recent survey, and assessment in the Deccan, which was under the superintendence of a gentleman, who has the character of being every way qualified to do justice to it. The Deccan survey, like many others which have been attempted elsewhere,* appears to have failed in consequence of the "chicanery and corruption" of the numerous native servants, —most of them of course on low pay,—to whom the details were necessarily confided; but had every one of them been of spotless integrity, with the utmost fitness in every other respect, it may well, I think, be doubted whether it would have been much more satisfactory.

"The whole object of that measure† was, as is stated, to ascertain the amount of the gross produce of each acre, and the share which the ryut could afford to pay, after deducting the expense of cultivating it and maintaining himself and his family," with a view to the revision in the existing rates of assessment, and to reducing them to a greater degree of equality. "Large quantities of land being held at reduced rates in some cases, whilst other lands were greatly overrated."—

But to attempt such an equalization with any prospect of success, it is obviously requisite that we should be able to discriminate between natural and artificial fertility of soil, otherwise we must run the greatest risk of aggravating, instead of lessening, existing inequalities of assessment. Two begahs of land for example, are found to yield the same gross produce, and on both the crops are abundant; but in the one case it is the effect of very little labour, while in the other, the expenses of cultivation, that is, of manure and other out-goings, are twice as great. Unless, therefore, we can clearly distinguish the one from the other, and form some estimate of the difference of expense in question, an equitable adjustment of assessment upon each is manifestly chimerical: fixed in ignorance of this essential fact, it might very possibly leave the owner of one of them in possession of a considerable surplus, "after paying wages and replacing stock," while it pressed so heavily on the owner of the other, as not only to leave him no such surplus, but to trench materially on the expenses of cultivating it, and maintaining himself and family.

But is this a matter within the competence of any geologists, or other individuals however expert, to determine by examination or inspection?—I do not of course mean with any precision, but with the smallest approximation even to accuracy, aided though they be by the advice and opinion of other ryuts, by their spirit of party and opposing interests,‡ or by any other imaginable expedient? I apprehend not; I certainly at least have never heard it so contended. Herein then in itself lies an insuperable difficulty. I am within bounds when I affirm, that there are as great varieties in the skill, capital and judgment applied to

* Colonel Syke's Evidence, No 1978, vol. III. part 1st, Minutes of Evidence. Colonel J. Munro, No. 1438, at *Supra*. Sir John Malcolm's Central India. Mr. Elphinstone has made the same observations in his evidence before the Lord's Committee for Indian Affairs.

† Mackenzie's Letter *et supra*.

* Revenue Selections, vol. 4, page 175,

† Mr. Elphinstone's Minute. Revenue Selections, vol. III. page 863.

‡ Lord Mowbray's Minute, 21st September, 815, *et supra*, para. 51.

the cultivation of land, as there are degrees in its natural fertility. In truth, striking as are the differences in the inherent qualities of different soils, there is perhaps still more diversity in the relative quantity as well as quality of produce, drawn from them by reason of the labour and skill, bestowed on their cultivation, as is abundantly testified by reference to rude and civilized periods of society in every country. Compare the former with the latter, and we find the land producing little more than enough to maintain the cultivators; while in the latter, one-third of the community perhaps, engaged in agriculture, produce a surplus over and above their own subsistence, capable of supplying the whole of the wants of the other two-thirds. Compare different countries, at any given period, and we perceive the same result. In France two-thirds of the population are said to be agricultural. In England less than one-third, while Ireland the proportion must be considerably more than in France. What therefore is this to be ascribed to? Not certainly to England being the more fertile country of the three, as France has confessedly the far richer soil, but to a more abundant capital and better system of husbandry, and to the land being less subdivided among those classes, who are engaged in agriculture. But what is true of different countries in this respect, is no less true of individuals, and the latter equally with the former, and for the same reasons will make their lands productive in very different degrees.

"There are two or three descriptions of land as was observed by an intelligent Collector in the Bombay service,* but there is not much difference in the quality of land of the same description beyond what has been caused by the labour bestowed on it. Land of the third class in two or three years may be made equal to land of the first class, and this again from neglect may be reduced to the third class. It must be very difficult to obtain a knowledge of the gross produce of every field, as a few cart loads of manure more or less would add to or decrease it one half, I conceive it quite impracticable to cultivate, the labour and expense of cultivation, &c." I repeat then that unless we possess something like a criterion, by which to discriminate between what is the work of nature and what the work of man, we must unavoidably be groping in the dark in all our attempts at a classification of soils, and it must be an equal chance that we create more inequality than what we seek to remove; and if in our ignorance we assess alike land of the first and "land of the third class, made equal to the first," by reason of additional labour, we enact the Agrarian law of ancient Rome over again, in principle at least, by reducing all to one dead level, and keeping them there.

I cannot but think indeed that much of the supposed inequality in the rates of assessment, which we were so desirous of correcting by that survey, is more apparent than real, and originates in fact, in the cause above stated. The low rates paid by what are called under-

assessed lands would, not unfrequently in short, be found, if we had the means of tracing them to their true source, to be nothing more than a fair remuneration for the additional expense the owners had been at in their cultivation. It has been well observed, too, that even if a "new assessment" were fair and accurate, it might still be unadvisable, merely because it was new, as every man's rate of payment, and consequently his circumstances, would be altered, and the inconvenience suffered by him whose income is reduced, is out of all proportion to the advantage gained by him whose profit has been augmented."

I have instanced the foregoing, not as being the only, but the greatest obstacle, as it appears to me, next to the want of honesty in the subordinate agency to the success of surveys. A glance at the instructions† for the guidance of the Surveyors and Assessors, will unequivocally show that if this Charybdis were safely passed, how many Seyllas there are, which it was still liable to be wrecked on.

If, then, our best native agency has proved so unworthy of the trust reposed in it, with respect to that great object of a survey, which relates to the determination of an equal and moderate assessment, can we reasonably hope that they will more ably or faithfully execute the other primary end, which has been adverted to, or an accurate ascertainment and definition of various rights and tenures in the land.

Referring, then, to these several considerations, to the probable failure of our utmost endeavours to elicit the required data, and to its questionable or rather limited utility as a means of protecting rights, even if they succeeded to the full, to the heavy expense of such enquiries, which in a single collectorship in the Deccan, and the only one where the surveys were completed, amounted to very little short of four lacks of rupees, to say nothing of the great sacrifice of revenue, which was also contemplated to the extent of from 25 to 33 per cent. of the aggregate annual jumma, and to the indefinitely protracted period any thing like a general measure of that nature would be certain to occupy, the single collectorship I have noticed, having employed an enormous establishment, no less I believe, than from three to four years, and it will perhaps be admitted that there is reason to pause, before we pronounce the preponderance of advantage so decidedly in their favor, as is contended.

I would not have it thought, however, that I am either friendly to the principles of the Zemindarce Settlement of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, or attach no importance to a record of the rights and payments (the latter being fixed on a scale of moderation) of every grade among the agricultural body.

With respect to the first point, I have long thought that the grant of long leases, which seem lately to have come into favor with the public functionaries in this country, or a settlement upon the principle of a man

* Mr. Elphinstone's Minute, 6th of April, 1821. Para. 56, Vol. II. Revenue Selections.

† Vol. 3d, Revenue Selections. Pages 833 to 850.

* Page 831, Vol. III, Revenue Selections

between the Ryutwar Settlement of Sir Thomas Munro and the Zemindaree Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, where it is not of course opposed by the custom of the country, the rights of individuals, or the wishes of the people," that is to say, the renters being the heads of villages, or as many of the villagers as might be willing to become parties to such engagements with Government, would combine the advantages of both these modes of revenue management, and be free from the chief defects of either. "I would give a preference"* says Mr. Elphinstone, "to a settlement with the heads of villages, as tending to keep up the upper classes, which it is generally the effect of our institutions to break down." Similar testimony has been still more recently borne to the value of such intermediate agency by an equally high authority,† as well for being a natural link of connexion between the lowest classes and the Government, for superiority to the revenue Ameen, who must otherwise occupy that place as the best manager of the complicated interests of each village community, and the best promoter of improvement." It has been said also‡ that as long as the engager was himself one of the class (that is, a village proprietor) there was no reason to believe that he assumed the powers of sole proprietor, or that the general *puttadaree* property was at all infringed upon. And in regard to the second point, or a clear definition of the rights and payments of the people, although, for the reasons assigned, I attach less importance to such a definition than many others, I am far from meaning to deny, that it would be a great desideratum, since it would at least narrow the ground of dispute between the cultivators and Zemindars, or other Government managers, and certainly be of the greatest utility in preventing disputes between private individuals, or settling them satisfactorily when they arose. But are these objects of such value, as to be worth the expense, uncertainty and delay, which there is so much reason for believing the means proposed for their attainment would inevitably be attended with? I have had the less hesitation in answering this question in the negative, because I would humbly submit that there is another expedient, and free from any of those serious objections, by which the same ends may be accomplished, sufficiently well for all practical purposes.

I would submit whether, wherever, as in the Bombay territories, the system of village accounts has been re-established on an efficient footing, and has been for a considerable time in operation, the past collections for a series of years, which are therein recorded would not be an adequate, and at all events a better guide, than any data derived from abstract calculations and estimates, which are the chief reliance of survey field assessments, both for regulating the aggregate jumma, payable to Government by the renters, and the sum of each ryut's payments to them;

since what these last had paid in times past, and the effect of which the experience and observation of successive collectors, during a lengthened period, could scarcely have failed in enabling them to equalize in a great degree, or to specify "the amount of increase in the existing jumma which might reasonably be demanded in any case, or the abatement that ought in fairness to be granted," we might be pretty certain of their being able to pay in future.

I would submit farther, whether it might not be made the clear and self-evident interest of the whole body of cultivators and of the renters, as well as the special duty of the European collectors, who, when relieved from the laborious details of annual Ryutwar Settlements, would have ample leisure to give a large portion of their attention to this essential object, at all times one of the most important of their duties, and the most important of all to see that the whole of those particulars relating to the produce and revenue, which are required to be registered in the village accounts, were duly and regularly entered in all time to come—suppose, for example, the Tullatees or Koolkurnees to be every where made officers of Government, or quite independent, as they ought to be, of the renters or revenue engagers whatever they might be, "the Collectors retaining a full controul over their accounts, and being entitled to enquire and interfere wherever the rights of the ryuts appeared to be encroached on." Suppose, farther, a legislative enactment to be passed, to which of course every possible publicity should be given, declaring those accounts to be the sole criterion, to which the Courts would invariably have recourse to decide all contested demands or other differences connected with land or land revenue, which came before them. Would not a strong incitement thus be given to the parties immediately interested, to the renters on the one hand, and the cultivators on the other, to keep a vigilant watch over these offices of check, to ensure the accounts being always regularly, punctually, and accurately kept, or an authentic record, to which reference might at any time be had, to ascertain both the amount of each man's annual assessment, and the sum of his several payments in liquidation as they were discharged; since according as either party was careless in this respect would be his risk of suffering loss in the event of any dispute, the cultivator in being made to pay more, or the renter to receive less, than was due?

Such a system, coupled with a diligent superintendence and inspection on the part of Collectors and their covenanted assistants, would, as it strikes me, effect all that is practicable in the shape of protection to the ryuts from oppression of the renters, or others placed over them, "by rendering their conduct liable to scrutiny," and afford much valuable, and, indeed, every requisite information to the Government; besides, "as to the real condition, actual revenue, personal rights,

* Evidence before the Lord's Committee, for India Affairs

† Governor-General's Letter, 7th of April, 1831. Vol. III. Part II Revenue.

‡ Lord Moira's Minute, 21st September, 1815

* Regulation XVI. of 1827. Bombay Code.

and various interests in the country."* "Purgunnah surveys, too, exhibiting the area and general view of the cultivation, and which might be prepared with comparative facility"† would also perhaps be a useful check both at the commencement and end of long leases, as making the extent of cultivation at both periods respectively.

Settlements of the land revenue Ryutwar have not, I believe, been found to answer much better in the Bombay than in the Bengal territories, in which last they have long been pronounced by high authority "as absolutely impracticable;"‡ and it may well perhaps be questioned whether they have been so eminently successful upon the whole, as is generally maintained, under the Madras Presidency. Judging of the tree by its fruits, indeed, the revenue management of Bengal, which has been so much decried for many years past, may with all its faults well challenge comparison perhaps with the Madras system, which has been so much eulogized and held up to the other as a model and an example, since unlike the former, which has upon the whole been stationary, there has been a very large increase of revenue§ in that part of the Bengal territories, where temporary settlements obtain, while it has been shewn by reference to the estates managed by the Court of Wards, that in the Lower Provinces had not our hands been tied by the Permanent Settlement, we might at this moment have been in possession of a revenue from the land "double what it now is." Nor is it any where stated that the general condition of the people is worse than in the other. On the contrary, looking to the above mentioned facts, to the great extension of cultivation throughout the Bengal Provinces, what, as has been affirmed, "is chiefly to be ascribed to the labour of the cultivators, and without any assistance from the Zemindars,"|| and to the low comparative rate of taxation, to which the people would seem to be subject, which viewed as a capitation tax,¶ is only 3s. 1d. a head, while the latter is now less than 7s. 7d. or 150 per cent more, and that too, under every advantage in regard to soil and situation, markets and facility of communication; it may reasonably be inferred, not only that the reverse is the fact, but that the Madras territories have been drained of their resources and arrested in their power of advancing in wealth and prosperity.

But the friends of Ryutwar Settlements refer to Coimbatore for the proof of the superiority of that description of revenue system over every other, which has been tried both as regards the Government and the people. It is, however, a question for consideration, whether the prosperity of that province is not ra-

ther to be attributed to the great reduction in the assessment, amounting, it is said, to no less than from 37 to 75 per cent of the aggregate jumma* added to its having enjoyed the rare and inestimable advantage of being under the management of the same and a very able collector, for the long period of fifteen years. A great reduction is stated to have been made of late also in the assessment of all the other districts of Madras under Ryutwar management.†

Impartially considered, indeed, the failures of so many of the Zemindaree Settlements, of the analogous one concluded in the Malabar Province with the Rajahs and Nairs, soon after it came into our possession, and of the Madras Triennial village settlements, all of which have been so often contrasted with the success attending Ryutwar Settlements‡ under that Presidency, as demonstrating their inferiority, prove nothing, as I humbly submit, as to the real merits or demerits of any one of them as systems. The whole of the one having been concluded upon terms confessedly higher than the country could bear, while "moderate rent" appears to have been the principle uniformly kept in the formation of the other, and that to which the improvement of the country, where it obtained, has in fact been mainly ascribed; (Fifth Report) hence the general failure of the former, and hence also, and to the rule so rigorously enforced, which required the Government engagers to produce a stipulated sum, within a "stipulated period" on pain of losing their lands, or of being deprived of their offices, may perhaps be deduced, as I have already urged, and without seeking for any other cause, most of the oppression which has been charged upon those systems as inseparable from their very nature. I cannot but think indeed, that much of the prepossession at home in favor of Ryutwar Settlements arises out of a doctrine sedulously inculcated in the writings of many of its advocates, that each ryut is "thus annually brought into contact with the European officer, who redresses all complaints," and personally fixes every man's assessment. Hence, as the character of the European for integrity stands so much higher than that of a native ministerial agency, to which the conduct of all detail is entirely entrusted under every other mode of Revenue management, this circumstance alone is very naturally held to be decisive of its superiority in many person's minds. A complete exposition, however, of the utter impracticability of any collector being able to descend to such minutiae, will be found in Sir Thomas Munro's Report of the 30th of Sept., 1802, (vol. 1. Rev. Sel.) wherein he describes his own mode of procedure in making the annual revenue settlements of the Ceded districts, periodical settlements of the land revenue Ryutwar, as prevalent throughout the Madras districts, that is to say, on the detailed principle of individual assessments, regulated by the collectors and their cutcherry-

* Fifth Report.

† Lord Moira's Minute, 21st September, 1815.

‡ Lord Moira's Minute, 21st September, 1815.

§ "An increase of 74 lacs of rupees in the Land Revenue and Abkaree receipts of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces beyond the amount realized in the first year of their falling under our dominion." Lord Moira's Minute, 21st September, 1815.

|| McKenzie's Evidence, No. 2933, *et supra*.

¶ Tabular Statement of the Revenues and Population of the three Presidencies—Appendix No 1, Vol. III Minutes of Evidence—Revenue.

* Campbell's Paper *et supra*.

† Campbell's Paper *et supra*.

‡ Fifth Report.

servants, under the all-pervading influence of such a master mind as the late Sir Thomas Munro, may very possibly enlarge a collector's power of doing good, but experience would seem to be decidedly against their having any such effect in the hands of the ordinary agency at our command.*

I shall conclude by briefly recapitulating the substance of the principle of the foregoing observations, and which, as I would humbly submit, are put forth not in a spirit of anything like dogmatism, for I seek not dogmatically to maintain or demolish any set of opinions, but as mere hints for the consideration of those more competent than myself to determine, if they have any value, although even in that shape, I fear I shall hardly escape the charge of presumption.

First. That the most thorough knowledge of the rights and privileges of the ryuts, added to as precise a definition and limitation of their rents to the Zemindars, as of the payments of these last to the state, would in the long run have proved but a feeble security to the great majority of them, notorious as is their incapacity to pay any given rate of assessment, even the most moderate, for any length of time, without remission. Hence, as it was, and must necessarily be always, left to the discretion of the Zemindars to grant such abatements, or not as they thought proper, and the ryuts were liable to be ousted from their holdings, the instant they failed in paying what was legally due from them. Such a power must in itself have bade defiance to every other measure, that could have been resorted to for their protection, and hence the inference also, that if such a definition of rights and land tenures would have failed in proving for their preservation in regard to that part of the British dominions, which are permanently settled, it would equally fail under every other system of intermediate agency, which may hereafter be introduced into that still larger portion, which is now under fluctuating settlements.

Second. That the true solution of the oppression, said to have been suffered by the inferior tenantry, wherever a settlement on the Zemindaree principle has obtained, is the harsh and unbending terms, imposed upon the Zemindars and other Government mana-

gers, by our system of peremptory sale of their tenures whenever they fell into arrears, which, and not any spirit of avarice and rapacity drove them to practice "arbitrary and unmerciful" exaction, in the hope of thereby saving themselves and families from such impending ruin.

Third. That it was in direct opposition to their own interests to have acted towards the large body of the cultivators, so as to have driven them from their lands, because they would have lost, instead of gaining any thing, by getting other cultivators in their room.

Fourth. That the example of numberless great landholders elsewhere, likewise warrants the conclusion that, had our Zemindars, &c. not been under any such overruling necessity, their tenantry would not have had to complain of arbitrary and oppressive usage.

Fifth. That the success of the means proposed to be employed for compiling an accurate registry of the nature desired, is no less problematical, than the efficacy of such a document, supposing it to have been obtained, because of the numerous and fundamental errors, to which the minute and complex investigation therein involved, must be liable in the course of it, to say nothing of its enormous expense and the protracted period required to complete it.

Sixth. That, admitting such a record to have all the value, which has been claimed for it, and in many respects it would unquestionably be a very desirable document to possess, a system might be devised free from the same objections, and which for all practical purposes would answer equally well, and could be brought into immediate play, by means of certain modifications in the existing system of village accounts, which would render it the clear interest of the ryuts and proposed renters themselves to be the guardians of their own rights, in co-operation with the collectors, whose chief duty it should then be to exercise a close and unremitting superintendence over those accounts, "with a view of ensuring their accuracy and authenticity."

VERAX.

NOTE.—The manuscript of this article was made over to us by the Editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle*.—ED. M. J.

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLV.

SUGGESTIONS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT—QUALIFICATIONS OF A GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

My last number contained a slight sketch of the administration of Lord William Bentinck, in which was shown the little claim possessed by his Lordship to the character of a benefactor to the people of India. He certainly con-

trived to deceive the public as to his qualifications better perhaps than any Governor who has preceded him: for a long time, his splendid talents, unwearied application to business, and anxious desire to benefit the country under his dominion, were so universal a theme for admiration and applause, that all these valuable qualities seem to have been admitted without enquiry or reflection, while some of

* In Malabar and Canara, where the people are scattered over the country, or where there are no village communities, it may be different.

his admirers not content with awarding to him that portion of flattery which his situation might in some degree justify, "exalted him to the rank of a Hastings or a Wellesley." "*Kuhan Soua! Kuhun Chandee!*" to use a Hindostanee proverb, the two latter were as superior to Lord William as gold is to silver.

That Lord William to a certain extent meant well, and that he had a fair share of talent is not to be doubted. But his mind exhibits a strange mixture of what is symptomatic of greatness and of inferiority. Had his theatre of action been more limited, he might probably have filled it with propriety and effect, but as the planet that illumines its own sphere with sufficient radiance throws but a feeble ray upon the earth, so a man who could have ruled a small Island in the West Indies with credit and ability, might be found wholly inadequate to the Government of an empire like that of British India. For the execution of this great and responsible charge proportional powers are requisite; a mind of large and comprehensive force, capable of taking wide and general views of the range within its eye, with a facility of seizing upon points of importance and concentrating the force of its attention immediately upon them; great penetration and insight into character for the selection of appropriate instruments, together with a confidence in those employed, and a freedom from all jealousy of the power intrusted to their hands, satisfied to allow them a due share of authority, patronage and responsibility, from the conviction that such conduct could alone secure their attachment and cordial co-operation in the general good. To these qualifications must be added the ability to devise rules based upon broad foundations and sound principles, both for our political relations with foreign states, and for the administration of our internal Government—capable of drawing a clear and well defined outline, and leaving the detail to subordinate hands; while in personal intercourse and communication with those under authority, the greatest urbanity of manner and the most courteous demeanor should be exercised, so as to avoid all needless occasions of giving offence, and all indications of dislike or suspicion.

Such are some of the indispensable qualifications required for a Governor-General of India. They were possessed in an eminent degree by Lords Wellesley and Hastings; whereas, in many points, the very opposite are the characteristics of Lord William Bentinck. He wanted the enlargement of mind,—for we may look in vain through his administration for any acts directly and entirely emanating from himself which are indicative of a comprehensive intellect or enlightened views. An insight into character was peculiar both to Hastings and Wellesley: of the numbers of public officers who were selected for situations of responsibility by those noblemen, there is scarcely one who disappointed the expectations that were formed. Undoubtedly many inefficient officers were gradually raised to high appointments in the time of

those two Governors, but these were cases with which personally they had nothing to do; it was the mere routine of an exclusive service. The very reverse has too often occurred under Lord William's administration. His suspicious temper and inordinate love of power induced him to reject the usual and obvious modes of ascertaining the character of the servants of Government; his overweening estimate of his own abilities for judging of the characters of others, led him to disregard all other opinions; and when he discovered that he had neither the means for ascertaining who were really worthy or unworthy of his own personal investigation, he was driven to adopt the espionage system. The result of all this, added to his pertinacity in adhering to an opinion or resolution once formed, whether right or wrong, has been that a greater proportion of inefficient men have been promoted, and men of ability neglected than in the times of Wellesley, Hastings, or even Amherst: a natural consequence of the effect of secret reports and the influence of spies, who of course did not lose the opportunity to serve their friends and injure those whom they disliked. These great defects in Lord William's character clogged and retarded the proceedings of Government in a great degree. Councillors, Secretaries, Boards, Commissioners, and other functionaries were gradually stripped of their authority: none of them were deemed fit to be trusted:—they had all some improper object in view. Every thing must be referred to himself,* he alone being free from taint and capable of forming a judgment, and issuing the necessary orders. The result was that much was left undone. Lord William's harsh measures were also rendered still more grating by the ungracious manner in which they were carried into effect; while the unfeeling remarks† by which they were sometimes accompanied are still too fresh in the minds of my readers; and however highly Lord William may stand in the estimation of his few admirers, I believe the general opinion of mankind will be found correct, that he has himself a low and mean opinion of human nature, is with few exceptions, devoid of elevation or generosity of mind,—and that where individuals are found to entertain such opinions, a real knowledge of mankind would deter from the expression of them from the danger, (seldom imaginary) that thereby men might be rendered dishonest who neither were nor otherwise would have been so. Again, instead

* In several instances when small sums were applied for to repair bridges or works of a public nature, Lord William's reply was to wait till he arrived in his tour when he would inquire into the matter.

† On one occasion one of the Secretaries recommended to Lord William that some token of approbation should be bestowed on a Native who at his own expense had made a road of several miles: fearing Lord William had forgotten it, the Secretary mentioned it a second time; on which Lord William turned on him with a peculiar sneer and said, "you seem particularly interested in the matter."

On another a public officer was recommending the appointment of a person to superintend the making of the road: Lord William said "some friend of yours being just ready for the place." I do not vouch for the exact words, but the allusions are known to hundreds.

of guiding his conduct by general rules and principles of enlarged bearing, Lord William's time was occupied by all sorts of petty details. In fact these were alone within the scope of his genius. With regard to economy for instance, his whole *forte* consisted in making deductions from salaries; discharging a few poor clerks, or uniting two offices in one, making one person do the work of both (at least issuing orders to that effect) without any regard to the dissimilarity of the employments, or the amount of duty which devolved on the officer, though it might be beyond the physical powers of two or three. To adopt a more enlightened system of taxation; to create a property in land, (which in the western provinces has no real existence) and devise some measure for checking that curse of the country—equal division of landed property between sons or co-heirs—by which every landed family is in the course of two or three generations reduced to pauperism. In short to adopt any measure except such as promised immediate apparent benefit, was quite beyond Lord William Bentinck's reach. We cannot have a stronger instance than the retention of the Inland Customs and transit duties. The facts and documents published by Mr. Trevelyan nearly two years ago, demonstrated to the satisfaction of all unprejudiced minds, that by abolishing the numerous Inland Custom Houses, and levying toll only at a few grand outlets, the ultimate net revenue in that branch would be greater than it now is; while the deterioration, which is, under such a withering system, progressively increasing of internal commerce, trade, and manufactures, would at once be checked, and that these sources of national and individual prosperity would be revived.

All this might be very true, but there was one evil annexed to the plan, viz., that although the ultimate benefit both to the people and to Government was certain, yet the probability is that for the first two, or perhaps three years after the introduction of the plan, there may be a falling off the revenue. This was enough. To adopt a measure of which the benefit should not appear till the time of his successor, and to face the Court of Directors with a deficit in his balance sheet, directly caused by an act of his own, was more than Lord William's moral courage was equal to.

It is, however, useless any longer to dilate on the many opportunities overlooked by Lord William to earn for himself the character of a really enlightened statesman. Many have already been pointed out in former numbers of these papers, and others will appear in the suggestions about to be advanced; we have waited till the close of his administration in the hope that some measures for the good of the country and the improvement of the Government should be promulgated, and our hopes are disappointed. From the experience we have had of Lord William's conduct in this country, it can hardly, I think, be considered an unfair conclusion, that though he might have been fully competent to the government of a petty insular territory, of

which he could make the tour in a week, visit every office, examine every account book and discover some small overcharge in the articles of daily use in the office, he certainly does not possess the talents or qualifications requisite for the government of an Empire like that of British India. We have now had the experiment made of the busy, meddling governor of detail. It is to be hoped for the sake of the people that our next may be of a different stamp more from the mould of a Hastings or a Wellesley, or that if these hopes are too exalted, that at least we may be favored with a quiet, passive individual like Lord Amherst, who will sit in council and leave the conduct of affairs to those whose experience is better able to conduct them.* Our present *locum tenens*, Sir Charles Metcalfe, not being at all secure in his present situation, and uncertain how long he may hold it, will not perhaps be inclined to commence operations which it is doubtful how far the new Governor may approve. Nevertheless, there is a considerable field for him to leave a good name behind him.

Let us now proceed to offer a few suggestions for the Governor and Councils, both ordinary and legislative: and first I would make a remark on the question that has been so frequently asked of late, viz., "when will the Government learn to rule the country for the benefit of the people?" It is a question much more easily asked than answered. To do this would indeed produce a new era in the history of British India, for it would be diametrically opposite to the fundamental principle which has hitherto been the guide of our rule, viz., to realize the largest possible revenue and to provide for as many as possible of the relations of the Court of Directors. I do not deny, indeed I have repeatedly allowed that our rulers had no objection to the well being and good government of the people, nay even that they were well and kindly disposed towards them, provided it did not interfere with the primary object. Perhaps it may be urged that it is a sound and recognized axiom that the interests of the people of any country and of their rulers are one, or in plain English, that no nation can thrive under a bad government, the ultimate result being the impoverishment of the people and diminution of the government revenue. This is all very true, and is well known to many of our successive Governors, and were it the custom to keep the same Governor-General for twenty years, and the same Collector an equal length of time in the same district, sounder principles would ere this probably have been reduced to practice.

But the misfortune is that no one connected with the government has any permanent interest in benefiting the country or the people. India has hitherto been like a rack-rented estate, in which the farms are let at high rents for short leases. It is to no purpose that you

* "What do you do all day in Council?" said Lady Amherst to Lord A. on his leaving the Council Chamber one day later than usual? "What I am told." Such was an anecdote current. There is more sound sense in the reply than appears at first sight.

urge on the farmer who is over cropping his land—"If you allow it to lie fallow for a couple of years and spend so much in manuring it the third, this farm which now yields barely a return of five fold, would, for several years after, produce nine fold; whereas under your present system it will shortly cease to be worth cultivating." The farmer replies: "This is very true, but my lease is only for three years; the chance of renewal is doubtful, so I must make what I can." This is precisely the case in India. Say to a Collector, "this assessment is too high, if you make a small reduction in the revenue of this settlement, for the first five years, the land will ultimately pay more than you receive under your present plan." "I am fully aware of this," replies the Collector, "but if I adopted your suggestion, I should be deemed inefficient, and lose all chance of promotion, whereas I hope to have received some other appointment before the mischief will be apparent." Propose the same to Commissioners, Boards of Revenue, &c. the reply will be much the same. Suggest to the Courts and Judges any measures for the improvement of justice. Some have not time to deliberate on them; others do not like to recommend them should they involve any extra expense; and all and each comfort themselves with the idea "it will last my time," and few care what happens afterwards. Go to the head of the Government and the same feeling prevails, of which Lord William Bentinck and the internal Customs and Transit Duties already alluded to, is a memorable example.

The time however is now arrived when this short-sighted and ruinous policy must be abandoned and wiser measures adopted. Direct taxation has been pushed to the utmost: if we continue to shake the tree without allowing the fruit to ripen, instead of obtaining that we seek we shall only break the branches and injure the trunk, and render it less productive the ensuing season. We must be content to leave a little to the influence of the sun and moisture and incur a slight expense in fencing round the garden and manuring the trees; and thus to drop metaphor, instead of grasping at once at every thing which lies within our reach—land, goods, and cattle to swell the amount of present revenue,—we must establish security of property, especially of landed property, which, as has been before asserted, does not at present virtually exist in the Western Provinces: we should allow the people a sufficient profit and interest in the land, so that they may anticipate the prospect of reaping some benefit themselves from the introduction of a better system of husbandry: we should rescue trade and manufactures from the low ebb to which they have been reduced by our grasping and injudicious Transit Duties; and we should place the Civil and Criminal administration on a footing which will not only dispense justice between man and man, but between Government and individuals. This done, affairs may then be left to private skill and enterprize; for the natives, notwithstanding all that is said of their bigotted adherence to old customs, will not be slow to follow the example of improvement

which may be set them by European settlers, and there will then be a field for those which at present does not exist: and here, I cannot help remarking on the great difference both of the cause and the result of increase of revenue in England and in India. In the former country, it is a legitimate source of satisfaction to a minister: if it have occurred without any alteration of the taxes, it demonstrates that the people are better off than they were before: if it be in consequence of any alteration in the taxes, or of the diminution of the tax upon any particular articles, it is a proof of the minister's sagacity in making arrangements which raised the revenue at the same time that the burden on the people has been lessened, while smuggling has perhaps been diminished. In short, setting aside an artificial state of things arising from high taxes and high prices during a war, the increase of revenue in England can only, generally speaking, arise from the increased prosperity of the people. In India it is unhappily the very reverse. Upon the system which has hitherto prevailed, an increase of revenue has only been produced by taking so much more from the people and leaving them so much the poorer. The main revenue is raised by a direct tax upon the land, and the only limit as yet has been the ability of the people to pay; or in other words, we have gone on progressively raising our demands until the people refuse to retain or to cultivate their lands; and not till it has come to this pitch has the Government even thought of fixing any limit on that direct tax. Other direct taxes are raised to an immense extent by a monopoly on salt, one of the necessities of life, and by a tax on law proceeding. Both of these have been pushed to an extent which falls with very great hardship on the poorer classes. I allow, however, and am rejoiced to perceive it, that better principles are beginning to be acted upon. In the settlement that is now making for a period of twenty years, the Board are desirous to leave a fair share of profit to the cultivators, and several individuals high in office are anxious to introduce a better system of internal government. I only hope that the Supreme Government will move forward voluntarily, and not wait until the people are roused to remedy their own wrongs.

And now let me be allowed to proceed with suggestions, which although from an anonymous pen, are offered by one who has lived much among the people and observed closely; so that at least they have experience and personal investigation in their favor. It is probable that some of them may be only a repetition of what has been already advanced in former papers, but as these have been by no means generally read, to repeat them may not be superfluous to present readers, nor indeed may it be wholly amiss to refresh the memory of those in power who may have given attention to my former remarks. The suggestions are numbered simply for convenience of reference; some of them I shall discuss in this paper—others will be treated separately.

First.—To provide for the due administration of the existing laws. This, as I have elsewhere remarked, is the more necessary, because among all the complaints, which have been both numerous and just, a sufficient distinction has never yet been drawn between what is chargeable on the defects of the laws, and what should be imputed to their non-execution from the insufficiency of the judicial establishments. Until the latter be remedied, we are quite unable to form a judgment whether our laws be good or bad, or in what points they require revision and consolidation. Till then, codification or any other labours of the Law Commission will be thrown away.

Hitherto revenue having been the chief object, the revenue line was the only one in which, with few exceptions, a public officer had any chance of rising to distinction. The Civil-Judicial department had until the last three years been completely neglected; the Police and Criminal received at first considerable attention, but this has woefully deteriorated, while the Civil Courts have advanced in improvement. The cause is that so often complained of, the inefficiency of the establishments for administering the affairs of the country. In our Indian legislation we usually run from one extreme to the other: we do not make proper provision for executing the laws, and when the evil has arisen to such a height that some remedy is indispensable, one department has generally been relieved at the expense of another. Formerly, in each district one man was Civil Judge and Magistrate, and another styled Collector, was to superintend the assessment and collection of the land rent. When it became absolutely necessary to provide for the administration of civil justice (for in reality there was none under the old system) a very excellent plan both in its theory and practice was devised, which has been described in No. 23, and others of these papers. But instead of creating an efficient Police establishment, the Magistracy was annexed to the Collectorship, and it was said that every Collector should have a Deputy between whom and himself some proper distribution of the duties should be made. This promised to be better than the old system, but as regards the Revenue and Police, the practical application has been a complete failure. The absurd plan of making the Collector-Magistrate responsible in both departments, and the vanity and love of power which induced the Collectors in many instances to centre all authority in themselves, reduced the Deputies to mere assistants who were expected to work hard, and in reality perform a large share of the duty, while the Collectors were to reap all the credit. The natural result of such a state of affairs ensued: the Deputies have taken little or no interest in their duties, and though fine sounding paragraphs have been penned about "sense of duty," "consulting the interests of government" and others of a similar description, I believe few, if any, instances could be produced of a Collector-Magistrate and his Deputy working together with real cordiality for the benefit of the people. The Collector's

chief object has been the revenue duties, and the Police has been left to shift for itself, while a considerable portion of the time of the Collector's was occupied in making out forms, and drawing up Police reports, which prevented his giving undivided attention to revenue concerns.

The result has been that these have been too much neglected, while the Police is rapidly falling into a state of complete disorganization. Crimes are on the increase, particularly the gang robberies in Bengal Proper, which unless checked will ere long rival in numbers and atrocity those which were perpetrated between the years 1804 and 1809. Some of my readers will be startled at this assertion, and refer in refutation to the periodical statements of crimes forwarded by the Magistrates, which show a considerable diminution during the last year or two. Were these to be depended on, they would be conclusive; if we could believe the statements and forms, the Police would appear to be in a higher state of efficiency than at any previous period, whereas all those behind the scenes who are really acquainted with the state of things, are perfectly aware that the contrary is the case. The simple fact is that these statements are utterly incorrect, or in plain English *false*, i. e. they do not show nearly the number of crimes really committed. It is one of the mistakes of the latter years of Lord William's government to substitute forms, returns and statements for an efficient system. Among the people his government has been known by the name of "*muksha-roj*" or "Government of forms." The reliance that has been placed upon these returns, and the use that has been made of them is highly absurd, in some places the strength of the Police has been reduced; in others the business has been vested in the Tuhseeldars (subordinate native revenue officers) while in no district has the Collector-Magistrate sufficient leisure to pay proper attention to this part of his duty. A bad season will generally produce an increase of crime;—other local or temporary causes may have the same effect;—no matter what the reason might be, that was rarely investigated; but should one half yearly report exhibit a greater number of crimes than the preceding, the Collector-Magistrate, as a matter of course, received a reprimand, which he sub-divided among his Police officers; while should the amount of crime be less, a letter of approbation was dispatched to the District officers. The native Police officers have been knowing enough to profit by the hint, and for the last year, or year and half, the periodical returns from most districts exhibit a progressive decrease of crime, only a small proportion of those committed being registered.

Nevertheless, with all these concomitant disadvantages, the new system was a decided improvement on the old; and the country has suffered less injury from the deterioration of the Police arrangements than from the non-existence of any civil administration. The annihilation of credit and consequent injury

to commerce and agriculture resulting from the latter was an evil which the people had no means of remedying: the absence of a good Police can, in a considerable degree, be provided for by the establishment of watches among themselves, and it is probable that when the Police shall have proceeded a few steps farther in its progressive disorganization, the people will altogether take the matter into their own hands.

In the mean time, whenever the Civil Judges were efficient men and attentive to their duty, the Courts began to resuscitate, and something like justice was attainable; and in the course of two or three years more, provided some requisite alterations were made in the laws, the civil administration promised to be on a footing which would leave little reasonable ground of complaint. But all this is likely to be marred by Lord William's notion of economising, and the anomalous remedies which are in such high esteem with the British Indian Government. The number of Commissioners (who were placed each over two, three, or four districts, according to their size, to supervise the revenue and police establishments) was reduced; consequently they could not perform the duties required. This is to be remedied by transferring any or all of their Police duties to the Civil Judges. The Collector and his assistants are too much occupied with revenue matters to attend to the Magistracy department, and the Sudder Ameeris are employed in investigating and deciding the most petty criminal complaints, to the great neglect of their civil duties, which are of infinitely more importance; so that if this plan be persevered in, the Civil Courts will ere long be in as bad a state as they were three years ago.

It is high time, that these patch-work expedients should be thrown aside, and that the administration of the country should be once for all put upon a different system. To do this, the Civil, Criminal, and Police departments should be made almost entirely distinct. The frame work of the Civil administration, as far as regards courts and offices, is very good, and I would not propose any alteration in it at present. Some little improvement is required in the laws and rules of practice, and if this be done, and the courts once cleared of all arrears, there will be but little ground for complaint on this head, and at least we shall be able to see where the defects pointed out lie. It would greatly tend to the improvement of the Civil administration if the Judges were not only allowed but obliged to make the tour of their respective districts once a year, and inspect the conduct of the subordinate judicial officers, who reside at a distance from the head station.

The Police and Magisterial department must be entirely separate from the collection of the revenue. In every district there should be a Magistrate with one head Assistant. * By this means the Magistrate could be continually making the tour of his district, leaving the

head Assistant to conduct the current duties of the office. Sometimes the management might be reversed, the latter being deputed to make some local enquiry or investigation, while the Magistrate would remain at headquarters. The junior Assistant should attend sometimes on one, sometimes on the other of those two officers, and should also be entrusted to decide petty cases, or make enquiries in matters of more serious import. The chief utility of such an employment is as a school wherein young men should learn their duties; were such a system as this established, the native Police officers (kotwals and thanadars) might be entrusted with higher powers than they now possess, and might be allowed to decide some petty cases, such as disputes regarding trespasses of cattle and others on the spot, instead of obliging the people to proceed perhaps fifty miles to the Magistrate. The respectable landholders might be also entrusted with certain Police powers, and by a little tact on the part of the Magistrates would be easily induced to give their assistance, — this would enable Government to reduce the number of constables and other inferior police functionaries, and from the saving effected here, the pay of the higher class (kotwals and thanadars) might be increased, by which these offices would be filled by a more respectable description of people, while the constant visits of the Magistrate would deter them from abusing their authority. But this head will of itself furnish materials for a paper.

With regard to the higher crimes, could we ensure the appointment of Magistrates of sufficient abilities and experience, so as to render them fit to be intrusted with such powers, it would be a great convenience to all connected with a criminal prosecution, if sentences in all cases were at once pronounced by the Magistrates: but it will not probably be deemed expedient to allow them to decide finally in higher crimes than are at present under their cognizance, all heinous offences must therefore be committed for trial, and when the Civil Judge has time for this duty, he is perhaps the best person to hold the Sessions; for being on the spot it is done without delay; and so much improved is this branch of the administration, that on the average the period of detention in jail between committal and trial does not exceed a fortnight. This, therefore, may remain as it is.

Another point to be provided for is some tribunal of appeal from the orders and decisions of Magistrates. Formerly this existed in the Courts of Appeal; latterly in the Commissioners; but the distance which the parties are often obliged to travel, (a hundred or even two hundred miles) is a great hardship; and it is now proposed to constitute the Civil and Sessions Judges Courts of Appeal from the decisions of Magistrates. This will give great facilities to the appellants, and form a very good check on the conduct of the Magistrates; nor do I think that it would entail much increase of business on the Judge, not more than could be provided for by vesting the Prin-

cipal Sudder Ameens, and Sudder Ameens with more authority than they now possess; so as to relieve the Judge of a corresponding portion of civil duty.

But to vest the whole of the Police duties now exercised by the Commissioners in the Civil Judges will be absurd for two reasons; in the first place, it will overload those officers with work more than they can perform; and in the second, we shall have as many different systems of Police as there are Judges. This has been the rock on which Holt Mackenzie's plan of Commissioners of Revenue, Circuit and Police has fallen to pieces: to controul and supervise the Police arrangements, the best plan would probably be to revive the abolished appointments of superintendents of Police, who would correspond with, and receive their instructions direct from Government: there should not be less than three, for the Lower, the Central, and Western Provinces; and the most efficient men among the Magistrates should be selected to hold the situations.

There remains for consideration the Revenue branch, and this may be much simplified: at present there are three grades: the Boards, Commissioners, and Collectors of districts. The Boards are useful in the same point of view that superintendents of Police are required in that department: the grade of Commissioners is a perfectly useless and anomalous one. If they are invested with much authority they leave the Boards nothing to do; and if not, they are mere clogs on the business. At first, they did possess authority, almost equal to the Boards, consequently these higher powers found their functions usurped, and the mischief was that every Commissioner had a system of his own; and at every change (which were but too frequent,) every Collector was obliged to learn a new mode of doing business: the Boards have consequently gradually deprived the Commissioners of all real authority. The latter functionaries are become mere channels of communication between the Boards and the Collectors, and business is consequently greatly delayed. Yet they have much to do, being obliged monthly to fill reams of paper with forms, statements, reports and letters, all which are of no practical utility whatever; and while they are not allowed any real power they are made the scape goats of the Boards and of Judicial Secretaries to wear the blame of whatever goes wrong, either in the Revenue or Police affairs. Their Sessions duties, in which alone they were of any real use, have been transferred to the Civil Judges; they are to lose their Police jurisdiction; and, in Revenue they are worse than useless: so that the sooner the office of Commissioner is abolished the better. There are at present eighteen Commissioners. The expense of these would far more than provide for a third Board of Revenue for the Upper Provinces. The superintendents of Police, and the small increase that would be necessary for the Magistracy; and I am convinced that the business

of those departments would be infinitely better conducted than it is at present. The supernumeraries meantime may be appointed to the Sudder and District Courts, as additional Judges (provided they be qualified) to assist in clearing off the existing arrears.

For each district, one Collector and one covenanted assistant will be sufficient, with the addition of a native Deputy Collector, that is, under the present system; hereafter the number of officers may be curtailed when there shall exist any private property in land, and some limit to British Indian extortion.

With regard to the routine of the service, *i. e.* by what steps a man shall ascend to the respective situations, this is a matter of some difficulty, and may hereafter be discussed.

I shall only now observe that Government should beware of allowing the Police administration to sink into annihilation and of degrading the Civil branch, as they have latterly shewn too much inclination to do. Here we have another of the British Indian anomalies. We have at length devised a very good ground plan for raising the superstructure of the Civil administration: but it contains some new principles, particularly that of bringing forward the natives. It might have been supposed that some pains would have been taken to select men for Judges who were well qualified, so as to give the system a fair trial. No such thing. Individuals of every variety of qualifications have been made Civil Judges, and as the revenue is still the main object, most of the men of talent are placed in that line, and whenever a Collector or Commissioner is found inefficient, he is appointed to be Civil and Sessions Judge; so that it is beginning to be considered a mark of disgrace to be placed in that situation which ought to be an object of ambition; and when the people complain that they cannot obtain justice, the cry is "this is the consequence of employing the natives." Shame on such disgraceful proceedings!—by a Government, too, who are pleased to boast of the blessings they confer upon the people! God help the latter if they are never to receive any greater blessings than they have yet obtained at the hands of the English!

Some alteration, too, should be made in the law which authorises the Magistrate to employ the Sudder Ameens in Criminal business. Their Civil duties are of great importance, and the authority entrusted to them considerable; yet this is to be neglected, and their time occupied in hearing the most petty Magisterial business. But this paper has been extended to a sufficient length, and the succeeding remarks must be deferred to a future number.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

May 10, 1835.

LIEUTENANT TREVELYAN'S MISSION.

The objects of the mission are, we understand, 1st, the adjustment of some border disputes between the Buhawulpore and Jey-sulmere authorities; 2nd, the reconciliation of a long standing feud between Jey-sulmere and Bikaner; for which purpose it is proposed that a meeting should take place between the two chiefs, some where on their common frontier; 3rd, the distribution amongst the inhabitants of certain villages in the Jey-sulmere territory of the compensation money awarded to them for the injuries they, some time ago, sustained by an incursion from Joudpore; 4th, the determination of the conflicting claims advanced by Joudpore and Jey-sulmere to the tract called *Mewa*, (including Balmere, the new Bombay station,) from the chiefs of which both states demand tribute, allegiance and service; 5th and last, the conveying some wholesome counsel to Maun Sing of Joudpore, connected with the fulfilment of his engagements with our Government.

Lieutenant Boileau, an intelligent officer of Engineers, accompanies Lieutenant Trevelyan, for the purpose of adding to our stock of geographical knowledge; but both of course will have the means of acquiring much useful information besides, in regard to the statistics of the country, the manners and habits of the various tribes with whom they will be brought in contact, and the military resources of the several Governments, &c. &c.—So that very important results may be expected from the mission. We hope to be able, through the kindness of our friends, to keep the public informed of the progress of these travellers:—

“We quitted Patun on the 26th January, and in three days reached Oodipoor, a considerable town, the position of which is particularly important in a military point of view, for though totally unfortified, it commands a narrow and rocky defile called the Baghora Ghat, which is the only pass into Shekhawattee from the eastward by way of Khandeha, or Gohala. The Jodpoora-Sonareo pass, or Kakreo Ghat is 15 miles to the north-east, and the Jhalra or Bajor pass is about the same distance to the south-west of Oodipoor, nor is there any practicable road for artillery between these two places, (Kakres and Jhalra,) except the said Baghora Ghat, by which the Jeypoor armies used generally to find their way into Shekhawattee. We halted a couple of days at Oodipoor and reached Nuwulghur in two short marches, the whole of our route from Patun being through a well watered and tolerably fertile country, where the wells are not so deep as to prevent the cultivators of the soil from raising an abundant *rubee* harvest. At Nuwulgure “a change came over the spirit” of the land, and told us in most intelligible language that we had exchanged the fertile vallies of Tourawattee for the Jua-gulee, sandy, thirsty soil of the Bagur, which

rejoices in desperately steep sand hills, and unpleasantly deep wells; where the very name of wheat or gram is a rarity, and sharp thorns or *burrs* are abundant enough. We made no halt at Nuwulghur, though it is a flourishing city, neatly fortified, and boasting of four jolly looking Thakoors who rival Sir John Falstaff both in fat and good humour.

From Nuwulghur we made two marches to Futtehpoor, an old mussulman capital on the western frontier of Shekhawattee, where we halted two days and examined the fort and city. The latter is surrounded by a low and weak wall of stone, but the citadel is very respectable, defended by lofty ramparts, a false braye and pucka ditch. About a hundred years have passed away since the Shekhawuts dispossessed the Kaim Klances, by whose Nawab these towers were raised, and the descendant of that prince is still in exile, dependent for his subsistence upon the Goojur Rajas of Rewaree. The amil of Futtehpoor was in confinement during the time of our stay there, preparatory to being *squeezed*, and probably would not be sorry to exchange his present master, the Rao Raja of Seekur, for the old Kaimkanee Nawab.

The mission quitted Futtehpoor on the 6th February, and remained two or three days at Ramgurh, a frontier town of very flourishing appearance, neatly fortified and filled with the mansions of wealthy bankers, whose fleeces have as yet suffered little from the generally unsparing shears of the Shekhawuts. The Seekur authorities seem to have found out that levying heavy fines upon the merchants of Ramgurh would cause them speedily to vacate the country, and thus kill the goose which laid the only golden eggs in their country. Ramgurh is seven *kos* north of Futtehpoor, and about the same distance south of Chooroo, once a flourishing city in the Beekaner territory, but its trade has been lost for years, and its merchants have made themselves scarce.

We now quitted the Shekhawattee frontier and entered the Beekaner territory, encamping at Rutungurh on the 9th of February, and halting there on the following day. The city is surrounded by a low stone wall, with a diminutive citadel perched upon a sandhill in its S. E. angle; the bazaars are neatly laid out and have a respectable appearance, though the city is small, and can barely number more than seven hundred houses. Being the property of Government, or a *khalsa* town, it was deemed fitting by the Rutungurh authorities to stuff all our followers with sweetmeats, and rations of various kinds were accordingly served out during the two days of our stay at this place.

We left Rutungurh on the 11th February, and marched in eight days to Beekaner by easy stages of 5, 6, and 7 *kos* (from 8 to 13

miles) the whole distance being only 45 *kos* from Rutungurh, with no intermediate place of sufficient interest to detain us, so we marched to the capital by way of Reeree and Badinoo without making a halt at any of our resting places.

The roads were far better than we anticipated, and the face of the country was greatly improved in appearance after we reached Reeree: the sand hills were less numerous, the jungul was thinner, and the ground was covered for miles with the dried stems of *bajra*, indicating an abundant autumn crop. Notwithstanding the comparatively flourishing appearance of the country there was, however, "an outward and visible sign" of our proximity to the great desert, which there was no mistaking, namely, the exceeding depth of the wells, which increased rapidly from little more than 100 feet (at Futtchpoor) to 240 and 270, and even 290 feet as we moved westward. Occasionally, where the water was brackish, we were supplied with drinking water from *hoonds* or pits in which the rain is caught and preserved, but in such small quantities as only to be used on emergency. Forage and provisions were also procured in abundance by our very intelligent attendant, the Beekaner vakel, who allowed us to want nothing that could be procured to make us comfortable.

We arrived at Beekaner on the 18th February, and a large deputation of respectable men, headed by the Minister, came out two *kos* from the capital to meet the Mission, and escorted the representative of British authority with all due honor as far as his camp, which was pitched at a little grove of *ber* trees by a well of excellent water (called Umrtsir) about quarter of a *kos* south-east of the citadel and three quarters of a mile east of the city. Our arrival was immediately reported to the Maharaja, and then came an inundation of sweetmeats to show his hospitality to the new comers. The groceries of Beekaner are celebrated, and not without reason; for the confections of sugar prepared in various ways for us on this occasion, were the finest I ever saw, though I have visited many Native Courts, and have a tolerable sweet tooth. The sepoy, servants, and camp followers were all feasted *after their degree* (like the clansmen at Glennaquvich where the claret never circulated "below the salt") and so liberal were the distributors of the good things, that I began to anticipate a surfeit among the people which might have brought sickness into the camp; for Mr. Elphinstone lost nearly 40 men before he quitted Beekaner. We are more fortunate, however, and have not a single sick man.

On the 19th February, the day after our arrival, we went to pay a visit of ceremony to the Maharaja, and were well satisfied with the first view of the Durbar, which has been confirmed by subsequent visits. The ceremonial of meeting was arranged in a very satisfactory manner, being conducted almost on the same scale as if the Governor-General's Agent were himself present. His Assistant was received

beyond the outworks of the citadel by Raja Luchmun Singh, brother of the Maharaja Rutup Singh, with a large concourse of mace bearers and men at arms: after a courteous greeting he turned back to lead us into the fort, and the *entrée* was announced by a thundering salute of 13 guns, which was repeated on our quitting that place. Our own followers made a very respectable figure in the procession, there being a couple of Shootur suwars with half a dozen chup-rasees, and 30 or 40 sepoy in advance, while a dozen and a half of Blair's horse brought up the rear. Onward we swept amid the thundering of cannon and rattling of drums, all the cavaliers dismounting according to etiquette at the outer gate, except the Raja Luchmun Singh and the two European gentlemen, who rode to the foot of the palace steps. After dismounting we were met at the beginning of the inner court by the heir of Beekaner, Kuwur Sirdar Singh, and finally the Maharaja Rutun Singh himself, though suffering much from bodily ailment, *hobbled* to the door of his hall of audience by the aid of a crutch-headed stick, and gave the *sahib log* a most courteous reception. The meeting passed off very pleasantly, and after sitting about half an hour in the *presence*, we were dismissed without any of the cumbrous display of shawls and other finery formerly paraded in *kishteas*, or trays to be looked at but not accepted, (a piece of pseudo-hospitality now happily exploded) instead of which we were sent on our way rejoicing in a simple "sulfumigation" as Dousterswivel calls it, of *attur* and *paun*.

On the 21st February the visit was returned, in Mr. Trevelyan's tent, by the two Princes, Sirdar Singh and Luchmun Singh, the state of the Maharaja's health being a very sufficient excuse for his non-appearance. The ceremonies were conducted pretty much in the same way as on the former occasion, except that the four chief persons were seated on chairs instead of on the ground, and a silver throne, with a brigade of guns were sent from the fort for the special accommodation of the heir-apparent, seeing that such articles were scarce commodities in the *feringhee* camps. I went out half way to the palace with all the suwars by way of *istikbal*.—(N. B. The mace bearers *haul* but the *sticks* do not!) and accompanied them to within a few paces of the tent where the guard of honor was drawn up to form a street before the door; and here they dismounted from their *palkees* and were ushered into the tent by the political functionary in person.

This visit passed off very pleasantly, like the preceding one, and gave us some insight into the manners and characters of these simple Rahtores, whose court seems to be the very model of peace and quietness, in spite of the noise made by their guns and drums. Numerous subsequent visits to the palace have confirmed this first impression, and the case has been the same during our frequent strolls through the city. The crowds who used to surround the tents to look at the fe-

ringhee were remarkably quiet in their demeanour and gazed in silent wonder at the necromancer-like operations of taking meridian altitudes of the sun, &c. In a similar manner they crowded round us in the city "opening the eyes of curiosity, and the mouth of astonishment:" but still they were silent and respectful in their demeanour, though clustering like bees near the theodolite that was occasionally set up upon their ramparts.

The city of Beekaneer is of considerable extent, and tolerably flourishing in appearance, containing about ten thousand houses, the better sort of which are entirely faced with richly carved red stone, quarried at Kharced, 20 *kos* N. N. E. of this place, and the poorer kind of houses are carefully painted with a sort of red ochre, which is found on the spot in abundance, and gives the town an appearance of great neatness and uniformity, the walls being all red and the doors and windows white. There are eighteen wells, 240 feet deep, within the *shuhur punah*, which is 3½ miles in circuit, with five gates and three saltports; the whole is of stone, with a ditch on three sides only, the south-side of the city being intersected by deep ravines, which have broken up the whole esplanade in that quarter. The soil in the immediate neighbourhood is an exceedingly hard *kunkur*, stewed with flinty pebbles rounded by the action of water, so that there is little or no cultivation under the walls. The citadel which contains the palace is quite detached from the city, lying half a mile to the north east of it, and is well fortified. It has lofty stone ramparts with a *pukka revere* or *fausse braye*, and ditch, about three quarter mile in circuit, with two gates, one of which leads to the stable court and the eastern one to the palace yard. Out-side the citadel on its N. E. angle is a tank (now dry) faced with masonry, 200 yards long and 140 broad, called "*Soorut Sagar*," and on the north side is a deep earthen tank, containing a little water, which has obtained, and fully deserves, the emphatic name "*Gundanee*" or stinking.

The private apartments in the palace are so exquisitely ornamented, that they really deserve a minute description, particularly the *Seesh Muhul* of the Raja Gai Singh, the throne room of the late Raja Soorut Singh, and the sleeping apartments of the present Raja Ruttun. The *Guj Muhul* contains two large chambers with some small closets, forming a compact suit of rooms; the outer chamber being sheeted with mirrors tastefully separated into different compartments by gilt frames of Arabesque devices in bas relief, which look very rich without being at all tawdry. The lower pannels are in imitation of precious mosaic, with a specimen of real work, which was probably discontinued from the immense expense, like the unfinished window in the palace of Aladdin upon which all the jewels of the royal treasury were in vain exhausted. The device for representing mosaic is very ingenious, the whole surface of the wall being encrusted with stucco made of marble lime, worked into beautifully variegated forms

in the interstices of which small mirrors and coloured foils are so disposed as to give the exact effect of precious stones inlaid in white marble. The inner chamber is almost entirely covered with this kind of work, which appears very fresh, though executed 60 or 70 years ago. Rich glass lustres, and other handsome embellishments give these apartments a truly regal appearance.

The throne room of Maharaja Soorut Singh was only completed about the time of that prince's death, and consequently has been little used. Its walls are richly ornamented with flowery bas reliefs of gold, traced upon a red ground, the general effect of which is very pleasing, though not so splendid as the apartments already described. In the sleeping chamber of the Maharaja I was particularly struck with the bold figures in alto-relievo, representing the various Avatars, Bhudree Nath, &c., richly painted and gilt: a long panoramic hunting piece surrounded the upper part of another room, representing the *shikaree suwaree* of elephants, very richly painted; and in another place the white beadings that ran round a small alcove were entirely composed of doves wrought in bas relief, which had a very neat effect: some of the pannels were laboriously painted in imitation of the tomb of Shah Jehan at Agra, and the result was very successful, for the colours stand well as they are not at all exposed to the weather. The Raja's painter, now at Beekaneer, is a clever artist, who executes miniatures in the style of those exhibited at Delhi, where the very jewels that adorn the person and embroidered figures that give variety to the brocade have their fac similes taken off by the patient fingers and acute eye of the limner.

Among the memorabilia of Beekaneer ought to be mentioned the place called *Devee Koond*, 2½ *kos* east of the city where the deceased Rajas of Beekaneer are burned, and their monuments built as the Rajas of Bhurtpoor were wont to do at Govurdhun. Some of the *chutrees* are built entirely of the white marble of Mukrana in Marwar, and the rest are of red sandstone, elegantly chiselled though partaking a little of the ponderous style generally observed in the quadrangular jam temples called Chourasee. Many of the monuments have a slab of white marble standing upright beneath the central dome, with the effigies of the deceased prince, wives and such female slaves as performed *sutee* with him. Some of these tables are crowded with figures, but it is worthy of notice that the numbers of those devoted women who braved the fire for their departed master's names sake are becoming fewer and fewer at every succeeding generation. One of the worthies whose ashes repose at the *Devee Koond* was accompanied to the pile by 84 *sutees*: another had 18: others less and less, until at last the late Maharaja Soorut Singh was gathered to his fathers without a single *sutee* sharing his funeral pile. The last that occurred was nine years ago when the late Raja's second son, Xuwur Motee Singh, an exceedingly fine young man, was burned with his widow, a princess of Oode-

poore, who was in the prime of eastern womanhood, being but 16 or 17 (!) years old at the time of this cruel sacrifice.

The gradual and spontaneous abandonment of this rite, formerly so strictly enforced, speaks well for the increased civilization of this branch at least of the Raktors; and Mr. Trevelyan's appeal to the present head of the family regarding the suppression of infanticide was promptly and most satisfactorily answered by an assurance that Maharaja Soorut Singh had already decreed the abolition of this unnatural system, so that the Raja Rutun Singh would himself discountenance the same.

Being on the eve of quitting this place, for we march to-morrow towards Jeysumere, and having much to do in the interim, including a leave taking audience to His Highness the Maharaja, I must conclude this hasty sketch of the Beekaneer capital. I have omitted to mention the temples in the city, some of which are well worthy of notice: many are of the Jain religion. And among these is a most conspicuous pagoda, called *Bhudasir jee ku mundar*, on the south side of the town, the lofty conical spire of which is visible for many miles. Close to it are the temples of Nemnath and Luchmee Narain, to the latter of which the Maharaja repairs twice in the month for the performance of his devotions. The *munders* of Muddun Mohun, Chintamun, Rikub Deb, &c., are worthy of mention, but I have not time to particularize."

Camp, Jeysumere, 26th March, 1835.—"My last Bulletin gave an account of 'the interesting travellers' nearly up to the time of their departure from Beekaneer; so I must run back to that capital and take up my tale from the point at which my last letter dropped it.

We paid our parting visit to the Maharaja on the 1st March, and at the same time he received Purohit Sirdar Mul, Vakeel at Ajmere on the part of Maharawal Guj Singh of Jeysumere; this public reception of the representative of his neighbour being intended by the Beekaneer Raja as a first step towards a reconciliation with the Maharawal with whom he has lately been on bad terms: the second step will be a meeting between these two potentates on their respective frontiers, of which more will be said hereafter. We took a very friendly leave of the Raja Rutun Singh, his son, and brother, by all of whom we had been very civilly treated during our stay at their capital; and after quitting the palace we visited the stables and menagerie, where numerous animals are kept in very neat order.

Besides the elephants and horses kept in these courts, we saw two tigers, two black monkeys, an elk, some hogs, deer, common monkeys, &c. and a few *neel gar*, two of which had been broken in to draw a carriage: they were males, tolerably matched in size and colour, and appeared to be a very quiet, and I assure you that I felt more than half inclined to turn Jehu, for whatever you may think, a brace of *blue cows* in a curricie is a turn out not to be sneezed at.

On the 2d March we turned our backs on the hospitable walls of Beekaneer, and after fourteen marches without a single halt, there being little or nothing worthy of notice on the road, we arrived in safety at Jeysumere. The general appearance of the country between these two cities is barren, though free from sandhills; the soil being a poor and hungry gravel intermixed with pebbles, and occasionally diversified with sandy plains covered with a fine nourishing kind of grass upon which cattle thrive well. We saw very little *bajra* or, indeed, cultivation of any kind during the whole journey of 180 miles and upwards; but I ought not to forget that in this space we actually found four green fields of corn, none of which, however, was irrigated. At Dihatra, our last place of encampment before we crossed the frontier, the wells were 309 feet deep.

It fortunately happens, where the water lies so very far below the surface of the earth, that the inconvenience, which this would otherwise occasion, is partly obviated by the exceeding hardness and tenacity of the soil, which enables the natives to dig kucha tanks of great size that retain water during many months so that they are independent of well water for a great part of the year; were this not the case, the country would be scarcely habitable. As it is, they are often greatly distressed during the summer, and many thousand head of cattle are occasionally lost in the severe droughts. Both the horned cattle and sheep appear to be of an excellent kind, and the wool of the latter is manufactured at Jeysumere into very fine clothes of various kinds.

There is not much jungul on the way from Beekaneer, though in some places which are situated on comparatively low ground, such as Gujner and Sirrud, there is a great deal of wood, chiefly *jant* or *hejra*, (a kind of mimosa,) and *kureel* which here grows to a large size and is called *kair*. Little game is to be found in so barren a country, but there are a few ducks on the tanks, with the small deer called *chukara*, wolfe, jackals, hares, grey partridges, quail, and rock pigeon, as well as sundry black curlews to be seen now and then by the road side; and there are a few pea-fowls in the villages, I think.

Our third halting place, after leaving Beekaneer, was Kailath, where there is a very fine tank, the scene of a *mela* or fair that takes place twice a year: we arrived there on the 1th March, and on alighting at our tents were agreeably surprised with the information that Shah Shooja, the ex-king of Cabool, was within two miles of our camp at a village called Mudh. This unlucky-potentate had met with a severe check at Kundahar in attempting to reconquer his kingdom, and his army being utterly routed by Dost Mahumud Khan, who came down in person with some 17,000 men to raise the siege of Kundahar, the fallen monarch was obliged to fly, abandoning all his guns and baggage, for "*saue qui peut*" was the order of the day.

After wandering about as a fugitive for some months, Sooja-ool-Moolk took refuge with the Umceers of Scind and remained 14 days at Hyderabad, where he was very kindly treated; and on quitting that place was dismissed with presents suited rather to his former, than to his present condition. From Hyderabad the ex-king made his way with about 200 followers to Jeysulmere, where he was also civilly treated, and he was on his way from this place via Beekaner to Loodiana when we fell in with him.

On hearing that we were in the neighbourhood, his *kazee*, a most respectable man who had lived for some days in Mr. Trevelyan's compound at Simla, while deputed from Shah Shooja to make some communication to the Governor-General who was then in the hills, came over to our camp at Kaliath and intimated that the Shah would be much gratified if the British gentlemen would pay him a visit, and that he would be particularly happy to receive Lieutenant Trevelyan for his brother's sake, as well as his own. Little pressing was required to bring about this meeting, and matters were accordingly arranged so as not to hurt the feelings of the quondam monarch, to whom the officers of Mr. Elphinstone's Mission were introduced under such very different circumstances at Peshawur, though even in those days the King of Cabool and his antagonist Mahmood Shah were like "the lion and the unicorn fighting for the crown."

We arrived about dusk at Shah Shooja's bivouac, for I can hardly call it encampment, as there was not a single tent to be seen, unless a small bit of dirty cloth stretched upon sticks deserved the name: with much good taste the king's people had rigged out a hall of audience *al fresco* by the edge of a tank, the high bank of which effectually cut off the gaze of curious and intrusive eyes, and enabled the Shah to receive us more at his ease than if no such place of concealment had been at hand. A charpoy, covered with shawls and pillows, served as a throne: a green tree did duty as a canopy; two carpets were spread in front of the charpoy to mark the limited space assigned exclusively to royalty: and in front, on either hand, stood a few of the personal attendants in large blue turbans, while three or four eunuchs posted themselves in rear of their master. After making these arrangements, with the bank at his back, the tank in front, and "the lofty vault of heaven" above his head, the Shah sat with all due decorum waiting the arrival of his visitors.

On our appearance, we were ushered to within a few feet of the charpoy, alias throne, where Shah Shooja remained sitting while we stood in front of him booted and with the head covered; he expressed himself highly gratified with the trouble we had taken to come and visit him in his misfortunes, and so far from concealing the extent of his reverse, he detailed to us with great fluency, and in easy familiar Persian, a sketch of his adventures during the last two or three years, up to the

present time. He told us of his difficulty in raising money from Runjeet Singh by the sale of such jewels and valuables as remained in his possession before he quitted Loodiana; and which after all only realized 90,000 rupees. His departure from the British frontier with a small army and four guns; his unexpected success at Shikarpoor: his beleaguering the city of Kundahar with a considerable force and sixteen pieces of ordnance; his first successful resistance against Dost Mahmud Khan, and his subsequent overthrow by that powerful chief, were all touched upon in succession, as well as the privations which he had suffered and the fatigue he had endured while flying from place to place before the face of his enemy. After all this undisguised narrative of his condition, he concluded by saying that kings were bound to seek advice in all quarters, and he therefore, wished to know what line of action we would recommend under his present circumstances: a question easier asked than answered unless he could be persuaded that it was Quixotic undertaking to subdue a distant kingdom with four guns, a mere handful of men, and an almost empty treasury.

After enough of Persian had been spoken to satisfy the court etiquette, Shah Shooja ordered his attendants to fall back and reopened the conversation in Hindoostanee, which he speaks with fluency from having resided so long at Loodiana. He reiterated the expressions of pleasure derived from our visit and dismissed us courteously, receiving with many thanks, from his visitors a few trays of dried fruits sent to his camp after our return home, a piece of civility which was the more acceptable as it was quite unexpected, and his hungry followers looked as if they would be glad to see a few apricots and pistachio-nuts again.

The Shah's dress was very simple, a huge *labada* that had once been embroidered with gold concealing the whole of his nether garment: a large blue shawl covered his head as a turban, and he had gloves upon his hands so that there was no occasion for wearing rings, the existence of which was rather apocryphal. His countenance was bronzed by long exposure to the weather, and he was somewhat pulled down by fatigue and sickness, but his features still retained a dignified appearance to which a noble black and flowing beard contributed not a little.

The meeting with his ex-majesty of Cabool has occupied so much space that I must defer the account of our sojourn at Jeysulmere for some future opportunity; at present I must merely say that we arrived here just at the conclusion of the *Holee* festival, on the 14th or 15th instant, and are likely to remain here some days longer.

Camp Girrajsir, in Jeysulmere, 14th May, 1835.
—"My last letter finished with an account of the interview with Shah Shooja th ex-king of Cabool, which took place just before the Jeysulmere Mission had quitted the Beekaner frontier. We entered the Bhatee country on

the 6th March at Nokra, and marched by easy stages to Sirrud, Bap, Shekasir, Sheekur and Chahin, skirting the Joudpoor frontier, both for the convenience of getting good water, and for avoiding the sands as much as possible. At Bap there is an excellent tank of sweet water that remains all the year round, and near this place I first noticed the custom of measuring instead of weighing grain by means of a wooden vessel hooped with iron, something like an English quarter peck measure, and which is called by the natives *pailee* or *palee*. We reached Chahia on the 11th March, and in the evening of the same day Lieutenant Trevelyan, with a few followers, including the vakeels of both states, set off upon a long night trip in order to meet Lieutenant Mackison, who had left the court of Buhawal Khan in Sind to assist the officer deputed from Ajmeer in settling the disputes between the Daadpotra chief, and the Rawul of Jeysulmere.

The two British officers met at Mohurgurh, 18 *kos* N. N. E. of Jeysulmere on the morning of the 12th March, and on the following day they visited the village of Bulana, 4 *kos* east of Mohurgurh, to determine by personal inspection the quantity of damage that had been done by a late onslaught of the Sind troops. Having satisfied themselves by obtaining all local information that was required, they made another long night march of 20 *kos* from Bulana to Jeysulmere, and arrived there on the morning of the 13th March, the last day of the great Hindoo festival called *Holce*, when of course the whole court and city were in an uproar. The main body of the camp came in next-day, when clouds of red powder were still flying about, and it may be imagined that amid such a hubbub the arrival of the Mission partook in a very small degree of the dignified character of its *entrée* into the Beckaneer capital as already described. Something of etiquette was, however, kept up, guns were fired and complimentary measures exchanged; and numerous visits were paid to the palace where the frost of ceremony soon melted before the radiant smiles and downright good humour of the Maha Rawul.

As we remained nearly three weeks at Jeysulmere before the breaking up of our little party, there was ample time for a leisurely examination of the town, citadel, and environs, but the latter are too sterile to tempt any one to wander far from the city, and may as well be dismissed in a few words previously to entering into a description of the capital. The country all round Jeysulmere for many miles is a desolate, stony desert; it cannot be called a plain because it is rather a succession of vallies or inclined planes several miles long and three or four miles broad, formed by low ridges of yellow limestone, the strata of which are not quite horizontal but dip gently to the westward and cross out on the eastern side, with a tolerably bold profile of 90 or 100 feet in height. The city is built on the south end of one of these ranges, which is so nearly horizontal that its upper surface is quarried in every direction, and supplies abundant build-

ing material for the inhabitants: on the south side of the city, but within its walls, is an insulated hill about threequarters of a mile in circuit, and with rather precipitous sides, which has been carefully fortified with more than 80 bastions, and forms a very imposing citadel when seen from the southward; but the unfortunate contiguity of the range of hills already mentioned which are within 600 yards of the north face of the fort, and very nearly of the same altitude, diminishes very much its capability of defence; especially as this hill called *Soolee Doongree*, is 700 yards wide at the top and allows of guns being brought up to the very foot of the town wall.

The ramparts are 2½ miles in circuit, with 38 bastions, generally much higher than the intervening curtains, but many of them are in ruins. Four gates and three sally ports give access to the city, but there are many other parts where horsemen may ride over the walls by ascending the hillocks of drift sand, which have nearly obliterated the whole of the southern as well as a great part of the western face. The town wall was never very strong, being in its most perfect state, barely four and a half feet thick and 14 feet high (including a parapet 6 feet high and 2 feet thick) without either ditch or *fausse brave*. There is one small gun on the highest bastion in the N. E. angle of the city, which appeared to be the only piece of ordnance on the town walls.

The citadel is an irregular triangle nearly 1,300 yards or ¾ mile in circuit, as already mentioned, and may be nearly 130 feet high to the summit of the ramparts, which vary from 5 to 30 feet, and have a narrow *renee* 6 feet broad running all round.

There is a single entrance on the north side, defended by four gateways with sloping roads between them so as to give easy access to the palace and other buildings within its area which is quite choked with *munders* and houses. Four guns are at present mounted on the walls, and two heavy guns, a large howitzer, and three field pieces are drawn up near the lower gate. The foot of the hill, on which the citadel stands, is scarped all round with masonry to the height of 15 or 20 feet, whence the face of the hill recedes at an elevation of about 408 to the foot of the *renee*, so that these works may be said to have rather a stiff section, which it would be difficult to assault though easy enough to breach.

The crests of the parapets are crowned with huge logs and balls of stone neatly arranged in readiness to be thrown down on the heads of an assailing column; the garrison, too, are well provided with water, having eight wells within the citadel which are 304 feet deep, and contain rather brackish, but not undrinkable water, which would of course be used during the siege, though at present the inhabitants use the water of a large tank called *Gurreesir*, 300 yards S. E. of the city, close to which are several small pits or filtration wells called *Berees* only a few cubits deep, which collect a little sweet water without going down to the landsprings. There are only two wells for the

city just outside the west gate, and both covered by a stone parapet with loop-holes, they are 151 cubits or 241 feet deep, and the water is slightly brackish. A baolee is now being dug close to the fort gate, and has already attained a depth of 80½ cubits, but has not yet reached the main spring. There are numerous *bereers* of sweet water at Kishun Ghat, one *kos* north of the city, but still there is rather a scarcity of this most necessary element.

The city of Jeisulmere contains nearly eight thousand houses, including two or three thousand in the citadel, and has some good streets, but scarcely any thing like a bazar. The citadel, town wall, and all the principal houses being built of the dull yellow limestone, of which the hill itself is composed, have at a distance a sombre appearance from the want of a variety of colour to relieve the eye, and indeed it is hard to say at first which is the native rock, and which are the artificial buildings, for the former is flat topped, and the latter are flat roofed; but on closer examination it will be seen that an immense deal of labour has been expended on the architectural decorations of a large proportion of the better class of houses, the fronts of which are ornamented with balconies and lattices of the same yellow marble richly carved, which gives them a finished, though rather cumbrous appearance.

The limestone of Jeysulmere has been applied to the purposes of lithography, approved of, being considered superior even to the Bavarian stone for all transfer work, as it will give off a very considerable number of copies without "running rotton," but its yellow colour is rather too deep to allow of its being used for chalk-work, as the artist cannot well distinguish the different shades of his pencil upon the stone. It has been employed largely in the royal buildings of the Emperors at Agra, by the name of *sun kuthoo*, and there is another variety of it produced at Haboor, 20 *kos* N. N. W. of Jeisulmere, much valued on account of the particles of limestone being distributed in small vermicular and contorted figures in a matrix of indurated red ochre, which when cut and polished has a fanciful resemblance to Persian writing upon red paper. Numerous coarse specimens of the latter stone may be seen in the upper pavement of Ukbur's tomb at Sikundra.

Among the few things worth seeing at Jeisulmere are the Maha Rawal's palace, surmounted by a huge umbrella (the only other Rajpoot chief entitled to this emblem of dignity being the Maharana of Oodepore;) and the *mundurs*, or pagodas in the citadel of which there are six; half Hindoo and half Jain; the latter being of great antiquity and richly ornamented with carved stone. The *havellee* or dwelling house of Salim Singh Mehta, late Minister to the Rawul, is quite a curiosity in its way, towering proudly over the neighbouring houses like King's College Chapel (the Freshman's guide) at Cambridge, though the true cantab would be horrified at such an unworthy comparison.

The revenue of the Bhatee country appears to be very much circumscribed, and I do not remember to have heard the Rawul's income estimated at more than four lacs (most probably it is not half that amount,) of which nearly one half may be raised by transit duties on the articles which pass through his country on their way from the Company's territories or Rajwarra to Sind. The principal of these is Opium, of which large quantities arrived during our stay at Jeisulmere, and the impost levied there appeared to be very moderate, not exceeding 19 rupees per camel load. The income from *khalsa* lands must be very trifling notwithstanding the great extent of the Rawul's territory, but it is "barren all, barren all," or nearly so, as we scarcely saw a single cornfield in traversing nearly 200 miles of his country, and moreover

The border men are stern of mood,
The Bhatee Thakoor wild and rude,

who used to snap their fingers at their liege-lord and set him at defiance, until he borrowed a little energy from his connexion with the British Government. Colonel Lockett's visit to Jeisulmere, the establishment of a cantonment at Bahucere, and the arrival of the present Mission have given to the Rawul an influence and degree of control over his ragamuffin nobles which he never before possessed. He is a merry, good-humoured Prince, this same Guj Singh, and it is to be hoped, that by the Honorable Company's help, that is to say, by the terror of their name, he may in future be able to keep his kingdom in good order.

The Maha Rawul is tall and bulky in stature, and from the under prominence of his "cupboard" seems to be no enemy of good cheer. When less unwieldy in bulk he was an expert horseman, a good shot, and handled his spear with dexterity in a bog hunt: he reads and writes his own language fluently, seems to have a good share of common sense, asks very pertinent questions and has scraped acquaintance with one at least of the muses, if I may judge from having stumbled upon his own ivory-bodied guitar, while visiting one of his country palaces at the "*Umur Sagur*," where there is a large tank, now dry, with some good *baolees* and an excellent garden. There is another garden, with a small country seat, and tank called "*Mool Sagur*," half a *kos* or one mile west of the *Umur Sagur* and two *kos* W. N. W. of the city,—these with the large nursery called *baoree* (near the burial or burning place of the Rawul's family) and the flower garden of the great merchant Bahadur Mul, are nearly every thing that we heard of or saw in the shape of a *bagh*. The onions of Jeysulmere are celebrated by the way, as well as the fine woollen *pugrees* and *looes* or flannels.

During our long stay at Jeysulmere numerous meetings took place between the subordinate members of the Mission (the respectable men sent with Lieutenant Mackison on the part of the Khan Bhawal Khan, and the confidential servants of the Maha Rawul) and matters being at length brought to an amica-

ble adjustment through the arbitration of the officers deputed for this purpose from the agencies of Delhi and Ajmere, we broke up our camp on the 2d April, and made two marches northward from the capital, remaining 2 or 3 days at a large tank called *Kohareesir* close to the frontier, while arrangements were made for the final leave taking of the said Mission.

As it was likely that the presence of Lieutenant Trevelyan would be required at or near Jeysulmere for at least another month, he returned towards that capital from *Kohareesir* on the 7th of April, and arrived there on the following day, about the same time that his two late companions reached Khanpore, where Buhawal Khan happened to be holding his court. Leaving them, however, to pursue their way "at the back o' beyont," i. e., on the other side of the great Desert, we must return to Jeysulmere and watch the movements of the main body of the Mission.

"The Maha Rawul, finding the coast clear, as the supernumerary *Sahab log* had made themselves scarce with a considerable number of followers, now entered with great glee into such business as remained unadjusted. His first care was to return the visit of his guest, to whose tents he came with all his court, sending a *gudde* or royal cushion for the especial dignity and comfort of his own goodly person, with a brigade of guns to tickle the ears of the lieges with thundering salute. Half of the thunder, however, hung-fire, for one of the guns refused to uplift its most sweet voice, so the whole brunt of the bellowing fell upon the other "*bouche-a-feu*." The meeting passed off admirably, and after presenting his *Thakoors* to the British Envoy with a little general conversation, the Maha Rawul cleared the court and had some private confab; the result of which was, "*mirabile dictu*," that he promised even at this inclement season of the year to go out 140 miles to his own frontier to have an interview with the Maharajah Rutun Singh of Beekaneer; and still more wonderful the promise has actually been fulfilled.

This interview, which was to renew a friendship between the lately unfriendly chiefs of Beekaneer and Jeysulmere, was the principal object of the Mission from Ajmere; and well it was for the accomplishment of that object that Lieutenant Trevelyan, during his personal intercourse with the Rawul, had so won his heart and acquired such an influence over that durbar that he succeeded in carrying this very desirable point in spite of the avowed remonstrances of the Ranawut (the Maha Rawul's favorite Princess) and the less apparent, though perhaps equally sincere, opposition of one of the principal Ministers, and some of the discontented Bhattee Thakoors.

But the arrangements for a weighty ceremony of this kind were not to be completed in a hurry, and many a weary day was passed before the forty horse power of persuasion set the cumbrous mass of a Rajpoot court in motion. By way of doing something useful

in the interim, Lieutenant Trevelyan proceeded to the villages of Budora Gam, Rasla, and Devee Rot, to make a personal distribution of the money exacted by the British Government from the Maharaja Maun Singh of Joudpore in compensation of the outrages committed by his subjects, upon the S. E. frontier of Jeysulmere. After delivering to each of the sufferers the sums apportioned according to their various losses, and for the receipt of which they seemed to be very grateful, Mr. T. returned to the capital, about the 30th April, and was enabled almost immediately afterwards to prevail on the Rawul to commence his march towards the Bekaneer frontier, as will be mentioned hereafter.

Part of the time preceding the above visit of retribution to the plundered villages, had been spent at the Umur Sagur, a pleasant country retreat already mentioned, and the Maha Rawul Cuj Singh came out to spend a couple of days with his English friend, at this place. Great was the glee of the good natured chiefs as they competed with each other in ball practice at the target, which was fairly struck by both; and much did he admire, the evolutions of the handful of sipahces which formed our escort, observing that though few in number they did great things, and he begged so hard to see them fire "just a single volley," that there was no refusing his request; and so a score or two of our honourable master's leaden pills were sent flying on a deputation from which they will hardly return until the Greek Kalends. Our little party of Blair's Horse were also trotted out in presence of the durbar, and went through a few manoeuvres to the Rawul's great delight, who bestowed a solid compliment upon all the parties that had been paraded for his particular gratification.

On another occasion the Rawul insisted on the English gentleman's going to the palace and "making a regular day of it." An excellent breakfast was spread for the *Sahab*, and in his pretty little *sheesh mahal*, whence he could see without being seen. Another breakfast was laid out (table cloth and all) for the Prince himself. When the boards were cleared the dancing damsels were introduced according to the custom of Eastern courts, and "the day drove on with songs and clatter" to the great delight of the Rawul, however wearisome it might have been to his guest.

The patient endurance of these frivolities, and an apparent cheerful participation in them, did more to bring the Bhuttoe chief into training for his weary trip to the frontier than many an hour's serious advice would have done; and truly this conciliatory line of conduct met with its reward, for on the night of the 5th May, all preparations being at length accomplished, Lieutenant Trevelyan was enabled to quit Jeysulmere, and the Rawul left his capital at the same time, so that all difficulties seemed to be at an end. But there is many a slip between the cup and the lip, and so it nearly proved on the present occasion, for before half of the first march was completed an ill-omened howling of jackals, or screaming of partridges at the wrong

side, i. e., the right side of the way, caused the superstitious Raja to plump himself down in the middle of the road at Basunpoor, 5 kos from Jeisulmere, where he would have remained until the occurrence of a more fortunate omen, had not a strong and well-timed remonstrance from Mr. T. compelled him to get under weigh again and complete the remaining 7 kos of the march to Chundhun.

The second halting place was Nona Thala, 11 kos from Chundhun, and the next day they marched 7 kos farther to Chahin, after which was accomplished a severe stage of 20 kos or 40 miles to Nok, and the camp followers were much distressed by the want of water between

these places, though a partial supply had been sent out for them on camels. The fifth and last stage was one of nearly 20 miles from Nork to Girrajsir where the Jeisulmere durbar arrived on the morning of the 10th May, and the Bekaneer court reached Guniala (2 kos N. E. of Girrajsir) on the same day; so both the "interesting travellers" were once more happily united, as Lieutenant Boileau had returned from his tour in Seind a few hours previously to the arrival of Lieutenant Trevelyan with the two great luminaries, and this narrative must double-back a little to give some account of the visit which was paid to the "Father of Rivers."—*Delhi Gazette.*

(To be continued.)

SKETCH OF THE AFFAIRS OF PERSIA.

We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from one of the individuals of the detachment under Colonel Passmore, dated Tehran the 29th March last, from which we have been permitted to make the following extract:—

"We arrived at Tehran in the latter end of July, 1831, but in consequence of the fever and ague making its appearance amongst us, remained inactive, for a period of two months, when orders were received for the detachment to take the field against the Kurds,—a race of people who inhabit the mountains between Tabreez and Turkey: we were two months in the field, and every thing was settled without a shot being fired from either side. We returned with the army to Tabreez, just in time to accompany Mahomed Mirza, (the present King) to the capital. His uncle Ali Mirza having assembled a large force, declared himself King. He sent out his army to oppose the march of the Prince Royal—but terror seized their general—a brother of the usurper, and all fled back towards the capital. He was situated, as it were, between two fires; if he went back to his brother, without fighting for his brother's pretended claim, his head would have been the forfeit for his cowardice; on the other hand, if he allowed himself to be taken prisoner by the enemy, decapitation would immediately ensue; but he acted a wise part to save his head. He gave himself up to Sir John Campbell, who guaranteed that no harm should befall him. The whole of his army laid down their arms, seeing that their chief had surrendered, and were all taken prisoners, but shortly afterwards released, and directed to return to their duty.

Our force then marched into the capital, where Mahomed Mirza was crowned King. Every thing is now quiet in this quarter. The news arrived here a few days ago of the defeat of Houssan Ali, Mirza's brother, who was at the head of the Prince Royal's army. He was slightly wounded, and fled with about two hundred horsemen. All the rest were

taken prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Lindsay commanded the Royal army, with the assistance of two other officers, and six sergeants of the detachment. Colonel Passmore and the remaining non-commissioned officers are at present in the capital. I was prevented from writing from sickness, and no packet for India, I had been informed, had, or was about to leave this for India, since October last.

The affairs of Persia are interesting to us in many points of view—they are interesting so far as regards the individual exertions of our countrymen in supporting the cause of the legitimate dynasty, and they are of extreme interest so far as regard the footing on which we stand with that power. From the detailed account which we subjoin, and with which we have been favored by a gentleman, who, from personal knowledge, has been able to give an accurate account, it will be seen that it was chiefly owing to the prudent and able management of our Envoy at the Court of Persia, and those under his command, that the rights of the lawful sovereign have been established.

It would serve little purpose for us to enter, at this moment, into the history of our diplomatic relations with Persia, or the policy which has dictated that line of passive conduct in its affairs which has hitherto characterised our relationship with that country; but it may be permitted us to ask why it is that, notwithstanding our acknowledged influence at that Court, so little positive advantage results to us, in a national point of view, from the connection? The chief object of a Mission to that Court is, as we all know, the securing the Persian interest with a view to the protection of our Indian possessions against the aggressions of Russia; yet true it is, and of verity, that Russian influence is so strong at that Court that England is cajoled, deceived, and bamboozled, while Russia, day after day, extends her influence, fortifies her power, and stretches her domains to the utmost limit which her grasping ambition may choose to

covet and demand. Such is the result of a most mischievous policy on the part of England, marked alike for its want of spirit in the design, and want of energy in the execution. England will fight the battles of Persia,—her best and bravest sons will risk their lives in her cause, yet while she reaps the empty shadow of glory, Russia secures the more substantial portion of the feast.

At the present time there is scarcely a demand we could make on Persia which would not be yielded. We would not advocate the policy of taxing her generosity at a moment when she must feel herself under a weighty debt of gratitude, yet a regard to the peace and safety of India, as well as the wish to prevent Persia becoming the theatre of war,—and which must sooner or later be the case if the interests of England and Russia remain opposed as they do, ought to induce the British Government to turn the present moment to the best account, and place themselves on such a footing in Persia as to leave the grasping Autocrat little hope of an asylum within the Persian territories should his ambition ever lead him to try the conquest of India. Napoleon ridiculed the mock scruples of England in her diplomatic intercourse with the other nations of Europe. In the field, Englishmen were formidable, he said, but in the Cabinet, they were children. It is too true. The questions which have agitated Europe for the last five years might have been set at rest with a single protocol had England acted on a determined policy. But the undecided character in which she appeared on the stage, left the other powers at a loss what to think, or what to do. It was her indecision that pointed the way to Mehemet Ali in his triumphant progress to the walls of Constantinople,—the same cause brought the Russians within those walls, and led to that treaty between the Russians and Turks which neither would have dared been a party to, had they not calculated on the usual passive policy of England. Holland also bears evidence to England's forbearance, and Belgium has no ground to be grateful. Poland has, with its last voice, denounced England as false to the cause of liberty, and all Europe gives echo to the charge.

With regard to Persia, such policy is dangerous in the highest degree, as it not only does not improve our hopes in that quarter, but is apt to create an idea that we are not so powerful a nation as we would wish to be thought. The experience of the past has taught us the course which ought to be pursued with regard to Persia, and the present time seems the most fitting for our purpose that could have presented itself.

The following is the communication with which we have been favored:—

“Having just arrived, charged with dispatches from our Envoy at the Court of Persia, announcing the accession of Mahomed Shah to the crown of that empire, and fancying that an abridged sketch of our campaigning in that country, subsequent to the demise of

the late King Futte-Ale-Shah, may not be unacceptable to your numerous readers, I have been induced to look over the pages of my journal, and glean from them a few observations for your valuable paper.

Having performed a journey of unprecedented quickness from Constantinople to Tabreez in fourteen days and nights and twelve hours,—a distance of nearly 1,500 miles, I arrived at the latter city on the 1st November, 1834, and was greeted with a hearty welcome by Sir John Campbell, Envoy at the Court of Persia, who appeared much astonished at the short time in which I had performed my arduous task. It had never been performed by a European in such a short time, and only by one Tartar. My ride was through Asia Minor, whose mountains, valleys, and rivers clear, would charm the eye of the most fastidious craggonneur. However I must say that Tabreez, with its amphitheatre of red hills, was the most agreeable scene I had witnessed since leaving the shores of the Bosphorus.

A few days after my arrival at Tabreez, there were rumours in the bazaar of the King's death, and which were in a few days after corroborated by the Prince Royal himself, who knowingly told Sir John that he had known it several days.

Sir John Campbell being certain of the King's death, lost no time in preparing for a crisis, the probable consequences of which had attracted the attention of the Courts at Europe. He represented to the Prince the necessity of immediate and active measures—had orders sent off for the troops encamped at Khoe to march on Tabreez with all possible dispatch,—gave directions to Sir Henry Bethune, K. L. S., better known in Persia by the name of Lindsay, to get in readiness a park of artillery for immediate service. On the 9th of November, Mahomed Mirza was publicly proclaimed King, and a grand salute fired on the occasion. On the 10th, the artillery were all in readiness to march, but a want of money for their pay, which had not been issued to them for 3 years, was now sadly felt, and it was not without Sir John's assistance, and the great influence Sir Henry Bethune possessed over them, that they were prevailed upon to move, receiving an ennum of two tumanns, and a promise of their arrears at Tcheran. Having got them off a great point was gained, as the regiments coming in from Khoe, all in arrears, would be the more easily settled with.

The reports from the south at this period were varied and uncertain, but all agreed with respect to the unsettled state of the country. A large caravan from the capital was completely plundered a few marches from Tabreez, and other acts of a similar nature were every day committed by the wandering tribes, who invariably take advantage of the unsettled state of the country to commit all kinds of depredations on their more peaceable neighbours.

The astrologers having found a propitious hour on the 11th for the King to commence

his march on the capital, he accordingly mounted, and proceeded to a garden about 1 mile from the town. On the 15th the troops arrived from Khoe commanded by the Amier Nizzam, and not in the most orderly state. They immediately made known their determination not to take the field until all their arrears were paid. They encamped in front of the Royal Garden, and were on the following day inspected by his Majesty in person, who was received on the parade with a royal salute from the artillery, and three volleys from the line. The officers being ordered to the front, he addressed them in a very kind and eloquent speech, promising them pay and honours on their reaching Tehran, but that at present it was not in his power to pay their arrears. He afterwards rode down the line, addressing each regiment as he passed, and recognizing several old veterans who had served with him in his campaign with his father Abaz Meerza, in Korasan. There were several hints given by the men, who are not at any time very particular about speaking in the ranks, regarding their pay, but all past off well, and the men returned to their camp.

The King, imagining that he had quieted the complaints of his regular army, took his final departure from the neighbourhood of Tabreez, leaving all his affairs in a most deplorable state, and what is still more extraordinary, and will scarcely be credited, his minister, the Kiam Makam, the next day followed his young master, or spreading a report to that effect, hid himself in the town, thus leaving all the affairs of a troubled country—a diadem at stake in jeopardy.

This conduct on the part of the Persian authorities necessarily increased the difficulties and responsibility which Sir John Campbell had to contend with, and which he surmounted in a firm and masterly manner. After a troublesome search of two days, and in which most valuable time was lost, he failed in procuring an audience of the Kiam Makam, and seeing no probability of assistance from that quarter, and from which much might reasonably have been expected, he commenced, single handed, to turn the tide of affairs which owing to the innocence of the young King, and the mistaken policy of his minister, had nigh left the bark on shore at the mercy of pirates; he assembled the chief officers of the army with whom he had always been on most friendly terms, and satisfied those gentlemen by means which are usually successful in Persia, and succeeded in getting the last regiment out of Tabreez on the 23rd for the general rendezvous, Meana, where the King wanted to assemble his troops.

Sir Henry Bethune fearing the evil consequences that might accrue from our delay at Tabreez, made a bold movement across the Koftein Khoe, a difficult pass over a range of mountains which separates the Provinces of Azabijon and Teake, and proceeding on towards the capital, took possession of Zungoor, a town of some importance, and placed himself in a strong position outside the walls.

He just arrived there in time to save the place, and relieve the Governor, Bahman Meerza, the King's brother, of excessive fear, which had induced him to take refuge among the ladies of his harem.

Sir John having arranged matters for the protection of the Tower, moved out to join the King on the 26th. His Majesty was very uneasy about our delay, and which he himself had occasioned, the importance of which he now began to comprehend. Letters had reached him from Tehran written by some of his well wishers in that place, urging him to make all speed with his army, and informing him that his uncle the Zilla Sultan had crowned himself, was acknowledged King in the capital, and calling himself *Adul Sha*, was preparing an army for the field. We arrived at Meana on the 29th, and were disappointed in not meeting the King who had crossed the Koftein Khoe the day before our arrival. We proceeded on the next morning and joined His Majesty at Arken, and moving on in company, without halt, joined the advance force under Sir Henry Bethune on the 3rd December. Few circumstances of consequence took place during our march, except the arrival of the Ruk-nia-Dowleh (uncle to the King) who had left the capital with orders from his brother to raise an army in the district of Khumsa, but who, on perceiving our near approach, got alarmed and came in with about 200 horsemen. He stated that when he left his brother's court they had not allowed themselves to think for a moment that there was any possibility of the Azahigar troops moving across the Koftein Khan till after the winter,—that they heard in the capital that the King had a very severe attack of gout, and to remove which he had allowed his chief physician, assisted by Dr. Riach, to amputate both his legs. After a most unnecessary delay of 3 days, and during which time nothing of consequence took place, the King consented to sending in advance a force under Sir Henry Bethune, who was directed to keep our march in front of the main body. That officer accordingly commenced his march with 10 pieces of artillery, and two regiments, also a large body of horse, and a letter having been dispatched to the usurper guaranteeing him his *eyes, life*, and property, should he come to terms, sealed by both Sir John and Count Siminich, we commenced our march with the whole army on the 7th for the capital. A few days after our departure from Zungoor the Maotimet-e-Dowleh and the Opiffe-Dowleh joined the King. They were both the ministers of late His Majesty, and well known characters in Persia. On the 10th we received positive intelligence of a force commanded by Emam Nadér Meerza having left Tehran, and a day or two after the advance horse of both armies had some slight skirmishing near a village called Seaa-Dien, when those of the usurper was obliged to retire, and our troops moving on next day took possession of a large town called Casben. This place, owing to the firmness displayed by its Governor, was not taken possession of

by the enemy's troops who were refused provisions, and obliged to encamp some distance from the walls. Here Sir John left the King, and proceeded in advance with Sir Henry Bethune, and by exerting the influence he possessed over the chiefs of the Prince's army, as well as by some clever negotiations with that personage himself, succeeded in inducing a great many of the former to come over, and the Prince finding his ranks daily decreasing came in himself to make terms on the 17th, and all his artillery followed the example of their chief in the evening. Thus concluded our affairs with Eman Nadér Mirza, who, having made capital terms for his brother, was returning with a firman to Tehran, in which it was made known that, should he abstain from plundering the royal treasury, and doing any injury to the town, he would be continued in his Government of the Province, and all his past conduct forgotten. The Prince had not proceeded far from our camp, when he met a party of men from the capital. These fellows were on their way to the King to give him the happy intelligence of the apprehension of the Zilla Sultan by the son of the Assiffe Dowlet, who made him prisoner, and placed him in charge of the Ladies of the harem. They, by some means or other, learnt that the unfortunate Prince had the firman above alluded to, and the Prince, while taking tea with the chief, was made a prisoner by his followers and brought back to the King. We all arrived at Tehran and took possession of the treasury, and royal jewels on the 21st December. The last mile of our march the road was strewn with the heads of camels, bullocks, sheep, &c. sacrificed to the young King.

The morning of our *entré* to Tehran was one of those fine winter morns peculiar to a Persian climate. The mountains had just been capped with the whitest snow, and the Dume-wand (Mount Blanc of the El-bourge-range) with the rays of the morning sun reflected on it, seemed to smile through its hoary mist on the deeds we had done. Our young hero appeared pensive, and no doubt allowed himself to feel the important epoch that day would introduce in his life. The steed he rode was pure Turkeman, and its well turned limbs seemed to labour under the weight of the costly trappings that ornamented them; he led the way followed by both Ambassadors with their *attachés*, and a cloud of followers from almost every part of Asia, among them the Koords, with their glittering helmets, and well balanced spears, cut a most conspicuous figure. Having neared the town, we passed through the ranks of troops drawn up in line, and entered the Negar-e-Stan Palace. The nightingales (that warble all the year round in Persia) had scarcely finished their matins when our unexpected intrusion obliged the warblers to greet their young King and fly to a more peaceful orchestra. His Majesty left us to robe, and shortly after summoned us to his presence. We found him seated in the State Chair with a crown, on the right side of which was placed the *gikka*, a very handsome

jewelled ornament. The Ambassadors now took their seats, Count Summen on the right of the throne, and Sir John Campbell on the left. The artillery having fired a salute of 101 guns, he received the congratulations of both these personages, returning a most elegant speech in which he thanked them for the trouble they had taken in his interests; he addressed Sir John Campbell in a most flattering manner, calling him his friend, adding that he was indebted to him alone for his crown; and after some forms not worth attention had been gone through, we took our leave and proceeded to partake of a good breakfast, in the splendid Residency of Tehran.

Up to the 28th January, the day on which the King was formally crowned, nothing of consequence took place,—the troops shewed some feelings of discontent, owing to their promised arrears not having been paid them. The coronation was attended by all the most respectable inhabitants of the capital, and was one of those unique scenes, which are so very difficult to describe. The assembly was in a large Court in the Mirror Palace, the Court dresses worn by some of the Princes—there were no less than a hundred of them present, almost all sons of the late King—were costly and beautiful. On the King ascending the throne a grand salute was fired of one hundred and one guns, and three volleys from a brigade of Zumberooks. The King, a handsome young man, looked extremely well, with his splendid crown on, and armlets of the most valuable jewels in the world. The marble throne, supported by fabulous animals, is very ancient, and considered a superior piece of sculpture. His Majesty having smoked his magnificent calione twice, and the coronation prayer being finished, he was addressed by the Assiff-e-Dowlet, who having described the extent and the antiquity of the empire he was called upon to rule, congratulated him on becoming sovereign of a country, the customs and laws of which had never changed; the King answered this address in Turkish, and in which he expressed his determination to maintain the laws and customs unaltered, both in church and state. He then rose amidst the acclamations of all present. We shortly after had a private audience of His Majesty, when he repeated his entire approbation of the conduct of the English, and said they were the finest fellows in the world.

Uncertain reports daily arrived from the south, giving varied accounts of the Firman Furma's forces, and the Keam Makim with his usual vile policy, refused to draw from the treasury the money to pay the troops, waiting to receive back that which had been taken from its coffers by the unfortunate Zilla Sultan. The still unsettled state of affairs, and the dangerous consequences that might naturally be expected from delay in sending a force southward, where the Firman Furma was taking advantage of our absence to organize and discipline an army, was directly represented to the King, by the European representatives. His Majesty who shewed a little energy on this occasion, gave immediate orders

for a force to be got in readiness, to be commanded by Sir Henry Bethune, K. L. S., who received a most flattering firman on being invested with his *khelat*. It was such as had never been issued to any European before, making him General of Artillery, and every power of life and death over the army, and all tribes he might meet with on his march to Esas. We moved from the capital on the 3d February and concentrated at Kanshan, from which place the whole army, consisting of from four to five thousand fighting men, marched on the 29th February. On the 11th, we arrived at Nutlans, a delightfully situated town, and remarkable for the beauty of its fair daughters; here a letter from the Prince of Ispahan reached us; it was expressive of extreme fear, and stated that the forces of the Firman Fufna were within a few marches of the town. He expected us to make all possible speed and save the town from the destruction that appeared to threaten it; the assembly was therefore, immediately ordered, and within one hour every man was on the march for Ispahan, a distance of 84 miles: this fatiguing task was performed by the army without water or provisions, and strange to say, without a grumble, in four and twenty hours, having on the evening of the 12th, pitched our camp close to the walls of Ispahan. We found on our arrival, much to our disgust, that the rapid march was not so necessary as we were led to suppose it was by the Prince's letter, that gentleman had more to fear from the mob of the town than foreign enemies. This rabble had elected two of their party to govern the town, calling them Kings; they succeeded in defeating and killing a great many of the Prince's soldiers, and obliged the weak Prince himself to take refuge in his harem. The day after our arrival, these two plebeian Kings were blown away from the guns, and having arranged the affairs of the city, we resumed our march to meet the forces of Hussen-Ali-Murr, of whose hostile intentions we had positive intelligence. We arrived at Gum Sha on the 23d February, when we apprehended one of the enemy's scouts. On the 24th, his advance guard was seen by our picquets. Early on the 25th, our advance horse kept up a smart fire on about 250 of the enemy's cavalry; they stood very steady till evening, when they retired, carrying away some killed and wounded. Sir Henry now decided on fighting a general action,

and thus decide the affairs of Persia. The enemy had encamped his whole force in a ruin about 8 miles from our camp, and appeared to have the advantage of us in horse. Sir Henry having formed his plans, gave orders for the army to march at day-break, to be drawn up in contiguous columns of battalions, at quarter distance, in rear of the guns. The night was passed in death-like silence, with every now and again the hagarbash of a watchful sentinel satisfying us that all was well, and at dawn, the enemy fired a gun, some said with a view to make our hearts cold; and the men, having taken their place in the columns, we marched, leaving our followers behind. We had not gone far, when we observed the columns of the enemy diverging from their encampment and marching parallel to our line of march, at a distance of about five miles, we immediately altered the head of the columns, and crossing a river close on our right, traversed a splendid plain—we had some difficulty in getting the heavy guns over the river. Both armies were now closing fast and marching on a small village, situated in the plain called Kiser Chum. We endeavoured to get possession of this point before the enemy, but owing to the delay occasioned in getting the heavy guns over the rivulet, we were thrown out of it, and the enemy placed his guns in the battery in some ruins close to the village. We now formed line on the artillery, and kept up a very destructive fire on the clouds of horse in the village, it was answered from their artillery, and some well directed balls fell quite close in front and rear of our line. A shot from one of our eighteens dislodged one of the enemy's guns, killing three men, and several horses; some of his Artillery men came over at this period of the affair, and the battery was in consequence silenced. Our guns kept up a hot fire on their columns in which numbers appeared to fall, and they were now seen to give way, leaving the village which was rendered too hot for them by our guns. They retired behind it, and now some smart skirmishing took place, in which we lost some men: a major and one or two officers receiving some dangerous wounds. A shell having fallen in the Prince's tent, which wounded him slightly, and astonished his followers, they began to retreat, which example shortly afterwards became generally imitated.—*Bombay Gazette*.

ARAB PIRATES.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE EXPLOITS OF THE JOASSAMEE PIRATES, IN THE GULF OF PERSIA, FROM THEIR RISE IN THE YEAR 1770, TO THEIR SUPPRESSION IN 1821, BY CAPTAIN MIGNAN, BOMBAY EUROPEAN REGIMENT, LATE IN COMMAND OF THE ESCORT ATTACHED TO THE POLITICAL RESIDENT IN TURKISH ARABIA, M. R. A., S. E. S., &c. &c.

All British commerce in the Gulf of Persia was, it may be said, until a recent period, at the mercy of the Joassamee Pirates, who swept every thing before them. Their atrocities fully equalled those of the Algerine corsairs. They are a race of Arabs descended from the inhabitants of Nujjud, a vast province of

Arabia, and named Beni-Nesar, as being on the left hand side of the Caaba, and also Beni-Gafrek. They have possessed the principality of Seer, in the Oman country, and been an independant tribe from the earliest ages. Their territory on the line of coast of that province, extends from Mussuldom to Zebai-

ria, or the island of Sharjas to the north. That part of the Oman contains many tribes. The Zohairy, Khoasmy, Beni-kutib and Beni-Nain. The latter was the head tribe for many years, but the confusion and anarchy which followed the death of Nadir-Shah, having compelled Moolah-Ali, the Governor of Ormus, Gambaroom and Minah, to solicit the assistance of some Arabs for the purpose of resisting the unjust demands of tribute, which every competitor for the Persian throne preferred, without any consideration to its having been collected by his predecessor, he fixed on Rashid-ben Cassim, with whom he formed alliances by marriage and was enabled by the vessels under his command, to avail himself of their services, whenever required.

The Cassimees, or as we shall hereafter call them, the Joassamees, retained the vessels occasionally sent for them, and being well paid for their assistance, and having also opportunities of procuring arms, they soon acquired an ascendancy among their own tribes, and were enabled to take possession of the towns of Kishom, Luft, Linga, and Shinas, on the Persian coast, and were extending their conquests throughout Moolah Ally's possessions when their career was checked by Shaikh Abdallah, who re-took Ormas, and Gambaroom from Mollah Hussam, and Kishom and Luft, from the Joassamees. During Abdallah's lifetime, they remained passive, but at his death his sons disagreed, and their Government becoming imbecile, the Joassamees re-appeared, and plundered the weaker tribe.

In the year 1772, Shaikh Rashid of Russul-Khymah, who had succeeded his father Shaikh-Mullah, co-operated with Shaikh Khalfon, of Muscat, and destroyed two Persian vessels off Bunderabbas, and a magazine which the Persian troops had formed at Linga.

In 1775, Shaikh Rashid who had become very powerful, and was at variance with the Imaum of Muscat, captured some small craft belonging to Bushire, under the plea that their cargoes were the property of the Imaum. Shortly after this, Rashid retired from public life, and resigned the Sheikhdum to his son, Suggest, who espoused one of Abdullah's daughters, and settled all their existing differences.

The Joassamees now appeared as traders, and by their activity, carried on a most lucrative commerce; but their treacherous disposition constantly shewed itself and led to quarrels, both among themselves and their neighbours. The Persian ascendancy also being on the decline, the Rus-ul-Khymah fleet roused every petty chief to fit out armed boats, manned by a lawless crew, who depended solely on plunder for their maintenance, which they indiscriminately practised. This state of affairs arose entirely out of the differences between Rasul-Khymah and Muscat.

Saikh Suggest next endeavoured to negotiate a peace between the Persians and Uto-

bees, who had plundered and taken Bahrein; but failing in his efforts, he joined Nazir, of Bushire, in an expedition for the recovery of that island; the Joassamee Shaikh having taken part against the Utopees, in consequence of their capturing one of his boats, and murdering eighteen of her crew. Their attempt for reducing Bahrein was repeatedly made and not abandoned until 1785.

The Joassamees took no part in the disputes which occurred between the Montifik Arabs and the Turkish Government, and they remained tranquil until 1796. In the following year, they captured a vessel under British colors, and charged with public despatches. She was, however, released after a few days. This occurred in May and in October the Company's cruiser *Viper* was attacked by them whilst at anchor in the roadstead of Bushire. The Joassamee's dows had arrived a week before the *Viper*, under the command of Shaikh Sallah. Their object was to intercept the Sooree Arabs, who were at Bussorah. On the very day the *Viper* arrived, Shaikh Sallah obtained an interview with the Resident, when, after the strongest professions of friendship, he stated his views, and begged the Resident not to protect the Sooree dows, nor to ship any Company's property on board of them. He added, however, that if any was shipped, it should of course be held sacred. On taking leave, the Shaikh modestly requested a small supply of ammunition from the *Viper*, which was no sooner furnished him, than he treacherously attacked her. The Resident remonstrated against both of these acts. He was met on the part of Shaikh Suggest by the strongest professions of regard for the English—that in respect to the attack on the cruiser, she had fired first. He stated that Sallah had separated himself from the tribe—had proceeded to the Persian Court, and had established himself among the Beni-Chalid Arabs, marrying a characterless woman of that tribe. He added that Sallah had acted independent of Bas-ul-Khymah, and committed depredations without the concurrence of the Joassamees, who considered the English their best friends.

These disputes arose also out of the unsettled state of the Muscat Government, on the death of Syed Ahmed, and the usurpation of Syed Sultan. He had involved himself in disputes with the Arabs in the Gulf, which led to a war with many of them, who had united against them; and the Bombay Government considered that those acts of aggression experienced by British vessels had proceeded from Arabs united in the interests of the deposed prince of Oman.

At the close of the year 1798, the Imaum threatened to blockade Bussorah, on account of some ancient claims he possessed against the Pasha of Bagdad. In order that he might the more effectually execute his hostile intention, Syed Sultan negotiated a peace with his formidable enemies the Joassamees, who

desisted evincing any hostile intentions through the interposition of the Resident at Bussorah.

The Joassamees must have been kept in check by the Wahabees, who had by the middle of 1802 reduced to nominal submission, the whole coast from Bussorah to Deha, which included their own territory. In 1803, Shaikh Sagger died, and was succeeded by his son Shaikh Sultan. Towards the close of 1804, they appear to have been in alliance with the Uttopees, and it was in an engagement with these two tribes that the Imaum lost his life.

We may now date the period when the Joassamees may be said to have engaged in piratical depredations. Up to the present time, they committed no act of piracy, with the exception of the capture of the vessel under British colours, and the attack on the Company's cruizer *Viper*, and they manifested every respect towards our flag. The influence of the Wahabees having been introduced over the principality of Seer, and the Muscat Government after the death of Syed Sultan, having also fallen under the control of that power, the character of the different tribes in the Gulf underwent a material change, and the attention of the Bombay Government was directed to crush the spirit of piracy which at this period began to display itself.

The contention for the Imaumship between the members of the Muscat family, threw the Gulf into a state of great confusion, the Joassamees attacked and captured two vessels belonging to Mr. Manesty, then the Resident at Bussorah, which were charged with public despatches, and the commanders of them were treated with great cruelty. Their fleet also surrounded, and fired into the Honorable Company's cruizer *Mornington*, but after a few broadsides they were compelled to sheer off. In their successful co-operations with Moolah Hossin, of Kishom, against Gambaroom, or Bunderabbas, they hoped to check the advance of Beder, who had succeeded to the Imaumship, and was projecting a plan with the Uttopees, notwithstanding the support he received from the Wahabees, to annihilate the Joassamees, who were at this time in subjection to Abdab Azees.

Syed Beper, on the adjustment of the disputes with Syed Gheiss, of Sohar, proceeded with a land and sea force for the recovery of Bunderabbas, Minab, and Ormus, which he completely effected. Operations were at this time actively prosecuted by the Bombay Government, in conjunction with that of Muscat, against the Joassamees. The combined forces sailed for Kishom, where they blockaded a Joassamee fleet, who were reduced to such distress as to solicit a peace. A truce was granted them until the pleasure of our Government was known, as it would have been impossible to prosecute hostilities without offending the Persians or the Wahabees. The Bombay Government declared that in becoming a party to the peace, it should not be of a limited nature, but extended throughout the Gulf. It

also required full indemnification for the losses we had sustained. These orders, however, could not be enforced without having recourse to coercive measures which would have plunged us in a general warfare with the whole of the Gulf, consequently it was deemed advisable to enter into certain agreements with the Joassamees, who desired to return to their former mercantile pursuits. They continued true to their engagement, as far as we were concerned, though they co-operated with the Imaum in an attack upon Syed Gheiss who had refused to become a party to the peace, which he could not in honor do, until he had revenged the blood of Syed Sultan.

Precluded by the treaty of 1806 from piracy in the Gulf, and urged on by the Wahabees, the Joassamees extended them to India. In the beginning of the year 1808, they made their first appearance as corsairs in the Indian seas along the coast to the northward of Bombay. The Wahabee Shaikh had long contemplated the extension of piratical cruizes to India. The Joassamees had, by a late order of the Wahabees, been rendered independant of their lawful Shaikh, who at this period had nothing left him but Rasul-Khymah, Sharga, and Raumps, consequently they put to sea without his permission. Gadefi, an Arab chieftain of the Joassamee tribe, on the Persian coast, was much averse to piracy, but his subjects who were unable to trade on account of the general disputes of their tribes, sought a livelihood in the vessels of others. In one cruise this year they captured twenty large bughlahs, which so elated them, that they determined on sending a fleet of fifty sail to the coast of Kutch. Towards the end of the year, they committed a breach of the treaty of 1806, by attacking and capturing the cruizer *Sylph*, in the Gulf of Persia. The little *Sylph*, however, was retaken by His Majesty's ship *Nerinde*, which hove in sight at the moment the Joassamees were boarding her.

In the following year, the Wahabees directed the Joassamees and the Uttopees to proceed against Coorte. The former prepared to obey, provided they were supported by ships, but the latter excused themselves.

The Persians from Lar, attacked the Joassamees at Linga, and compelled them to retire to Bassadore on the island of Kishom. They were, however, successful against a squadron fitted out by Mahommud Nehbi-Khaun, against Khore Hassan, and captured six large vessels. At this period, the Wahabee chief, appointed Hussein-ben Alli, a Joassamee, his vicegerent, in the principality of Seer, vested him with authority over Rasul-Khymah, and nominated Wahabee officers throughout the Joassamee country. Shaikh Sultaun, the Joassamee chief, was taken to Deryah, at which capital he was imprisoned by the Wahabee chief. After a detention of some months he contrived to escape from prison, and finding his way to Yemen, embarked at Mocha for Muscat, whence he sought the Imaum's protection, disclaiming all concurrence in the attack on

the *Sylph*, and professing a desire to conform to the treaty of 1806. The Inaum took him to Shyrgah, and placed him over the Joassamee tribes at that place. In September, 1809, the British Government determined to relieve the Inaum of Muscat from the power of the Wahabees, and to suppress their piracies, sent an expedition to the Gulf of Persia, under Sir Lionel Smith and Commodore Rowley. Their first operations were directed against Rasul-Khymah. The attack commenced on the 12th of November by a bombardment. The following day the Joassamees were vigorously attacked by sea and land, and after a bloody but ineffectual resistance, were driven into the interior of the country. The town, with the vessels in port, amounting to upwards of fifty sail, with the prize ship *Minerva*, were burnt.

From Rasul-Khyma, the armament proceeded to Linga, where twenty dows were destroyed, the inhabitants deserting the town on our approach. Luft was taken possession of by our troops, but the strength of the fort, and the desperate manner in which it was defended, frustrated every attempt to carry it by storm. All the essential objects of the attack were, however, fully attained; their boats and dows were completely destroyed, and the place eventually surrendered, together with property amounting to two lakhs of rupees belonging to the Inaum, which with the fort, were given in trust to Sheikh Dervish, the head of the Beni-main tribe of Arabs who have always been firmly attached to His Highness.

On the reduction of Luft, the expedition proceeded with His Highness of Muscat to Shiraz, where they arrived on the 31st December. The situation of the fort was found too distant to be reduced by bombardment, therefore, the force was immediately landed. This was defended with the most determined bravery, but capitulated after an obstinate and sanguinary resistance, and was made over to the Inaum's troops. Messages were now sent to various chieftains to refrain from giving any encouragement or protection to future pirates, though it was not deemed necessary to insist on the destruction of small craft, which would have ruined the poorer inhabitants and created an odium against us which has never existed.

It now became the prevalent opinion that the Joassamees had been deprived of the power of committing any further depredations by sea. The able Resident at Bussorah confirmed this opinion, but added, that such was the revengeful and vindictive spirit of the Wahabee tribe, and of the inhabitants on the Arabian shore of the Gulf, that they would attempt to wreak their vengeance on any defenceless British vessels which they might meet, and Mr. Manesty suggested that the exportation of timber from the Malabar coast to the Arabian and Persian Gulf, should be prohibited, including even the port of Muscat, from which place the pirates might contrive to procure it. He also remarked, that as their

countries did not produce any kind of timber for the purposes of boat building, and being deprived of their ordinary supply of teak wood, they could not long possess a naval force of any importance.

These corsairs, however, re-appeared in February, 1812, and during the course of the year, destroyed several large baghlahs and dows belonging to Bussorah and Kongoon. Boats navigating under British colours did not even escape their depredations; whilst others, were detained and prevented from prosecuting their mercantile pursuits.

About this period, an Arab chief, named Rahmahbin Jaubir, who was the most successful, and the most generally tolerated pirate perhaps that ever infested any sea, fell in with a large fleet of boats belonging to Bahrein, Bushirss, Kongoon, and Muscat. He captured the whole, including a ship and innumerable small craft, and with few exceptions, put the crews to death. This butcher-chief was governor of Khore Hussier, and escaped the vengeance of our expedition, since, notwithstanding the ferocity of his character, and the apprehension that he would prosecute piracy, he had ever respected the British flag. An additional motive for not breaking with him, was a knowledge that he had entered into an intimacy with the Wahabee power, which it was the policy of our Government not to offend. The chief pirated for himself, and chiefly against the Persians, in revenge for some injuries sustained at Bushire. The followers of this outlaw, to the number of several thousands, maintained themselves by the plunder of prizes, and as they were most of them his own bought slaves, and the remainder equally subject to his power, he was often as prodigal of their lives as those of his enemies whom he not only killed in battle, but basely murdered in cold blood after submission. I have been assured that he once shut up a number of his own crew in a wooden tank in which they kept their water, and threw them all overboard. I was present at the last interview he ever had with the English. It was at the British Resident's, in the presence of that accomplished man Colonel Stannus, and a more ferocious barbarian I never beheld. His dress was disgustingly simple. It consisted of a shirt which did not appear to have been taken off from the time it was first put on; no trousers covered his lank legs, a large abba encircled his meagre trunk, and a ragged keffiah was thrown loosely over his head. His body was pierced with innumerable bullet wounds, and his face fearfully distorted by several scars, and by the loss of an eye. His left arm had been severely wounded by grape shot, and the bone between the elbow and the shoulder being completely shivered to pieces, the fragments worked themselves out, exhibiting the singular appearance of the arm and elbow adhering to the shoulder, by flesh and tendons alone. Notwithstanding this, he prided himself in being able to use

the *yambeak* with great effect, and it was one of his favourite remarks that he desired nothing better than the cutting of as many throats, as he could effectually open with his boneless arm.

This brutal corsair put to sea on a cruising expedition, accompanied by a fleet of Joassamee boats which escaped the notice of the late expedition. A desperate action was fought between Rahmah's fleet and the Utto-bees of Bahrein, in which the former were victorious. Among his captures were two bughalabs from Bussorah, with horses belonging to the Company, these he transshipped, and had conveyed to Bombay, where they safely arrived. Subsequently, he cruized off Bahrein for the purpose of intercepting the Joassamee boats which frequented that island for dates and rice. In his action with them he sunk four after taking out their cargoes, four others he blew up, not having crews to man them, and the same number he brought into Bushire roads. He then sailed to the southward and continued to cruize between the piratical ports and the pearl bank off Bahrein, pursuing his course of lawless rapine. No corner of the Gulf was safe from his presence, he swept from shore to shore, and passed from isle to isle, with the gloom of a spirit, and the speed of lightning. But here his career was destined to close: he encountered a large bughalah, and on rashly attempting to board her, was overpowered by a superior force. Hastily demanding of his crew whether they would not rather perish by the destruction of their enemies, he went below, attached a match to a powder barrel, and returning on deck ascended the poop with his only son in his arms, when the match communicated. The vessels still grappling together burst into a thousand atoms, and were hurled into the air in the midst of a volcano of flames, and blazing timbers, and when the terrific explosion had subsided, the bodies of the combatants were washed by the agitated waves on the shores of Bahrein.

Thus terminated the career of a man who had infested the Gulf for five and twenty years, and who had excited no less attention from the Bombay Government than the Persian, whose efforts were unable to destroy his squadron. His character and conduct were stained with the common vices of his order. By exhibiting the ferocity of a robber, and the baseness of a traitor, he obtained all his power; and his insatiable thirst for plunder effected his annihilation.

To return to the exploits of the Joassamees, we find that in consequence of some depredations committed on the trade, remonstrances were sent to the chiefs of the Wahabees and the Joassamees, on the impropriety of their proceedings. A reply was returned from Hussein-Ben-Rahmah, the chief of Rasul-Khymah, stating that he was not aware of any vessels under British colours having been captured by the Joassamees, but that should it be the case,

such would be restored. He added, that in future he would issue instructions to his tribe, not to molest or even approach any vessel bearing the British flag, as he did not wish to interrupt the trade in any way. He admitted, however, that his cruisers had paid no very friendly visits to the northern ports of India.

A vakeel also arrived at Bushire, with letters from the Wahabee chief, wherein the conduct of Hussein-bin-Rahmah was severely censured. The vakeel stated that the Joassamees were most anxious to be on good terms with the British, whose good-will they would study hereafter to merit, and would respect both our flag and subjects; but they hoped we would not insist on their relinquishing their claims against those states who were at enmity with them, for according to the Arab law, *blood* could only be repaid by *blood*, and if they could not follow this mode of warfare, they would not only lose their rank amongst the Arab states, but their enemies would enter their very doors to attack them. They were moreover compelled by the Wahabee chief to war against those Mahomedan states that had not embraced the religion of the Wahabee. He concluded by observing, that if we would answer for the Arab states not molesting them, and would also shield them from the vengeance of the Wahabee chief for not obeying his command, they would utterly abandon the course of life they were pursuing; but otherwise their situation in the Gulf was such, that they were compelled to be at enmity with the greater part of it.

The Resident admitted the truth of this statement as regarded their very peculiar situation, and the system among the Arabs, as also in respect to the tenets of their religion, so different from other Mahomedan sects, which rendered them the enemies of all other followers of Islam, that he deemed it advisable to overlook the past on certain conditions, which he then conceived sufficient to make their promises binding.

Notwithstanding this, however, some vessel having on board the British pass, were taken off Porebunder, and a boat was dispatched to Rasul-Khymah with letters to Hussein-bin-Rahmah, and his vakeel, who had entered into an engagement of a friendly tenor. The commander of the Resident's boat soon returned in a most deplorable state. The chief of Sharga, to which place the boat first proceeded, took eighty frazils of dates out of her, and seemed disposed to keep the boat also; and on anchoring off the town of Rasul-Khymah a vessel came alongside, and enquired what she wanted. On being informed, they greeted each other, and it was recommended that the Resident's boat should get under weigh and stand into the bay for her security; they offered to pilot her, and on weighing anchor they took her in tow; shortly afterwards about twenty armed men started up from the bottom of the Joassamee boat, and drew their sabres, threatening to murder all the crew of

the Resident's vessel, who instantly cut the tow rope, and pulling off to sea, escaped with the greatest difficulty.

The attack on this boat which had been dispatched on the faith of engagements so very recently made, and which had actually arrived at the very threshold of their dwellings, proved what little reliance could be placed on any treaty with such a lawless banditti. The act was at variance, also, with the conduct which so strongly characterizes the Arabs, who fulfil the obligations of hospitality even towards an enemy seeking their protection, and reposing in their confidence. This flagrant breach of faith sufficiently proved a determination on the part of the Joassamees of attacking all vessels they might fall in with.

This attack was followed by their capturing a bughalah belonging to the Imaum of Muscat, whilst at anchor in Mogoo bay. The people of Mogoo were privy to this depredation, and had in fact given information of the bughalah being there. She was laden with horses for the remount of this Majesty's 17th Dragoons, and also with sulphur on account of Government. Six vessels were, moreover, captured off the coast Curachce and Sind.

The brilliant successes that attended the subsequent cruises, undertaken by the Joassamees, added so much to their strength, that it induced most of the other ports on the coast from Cape Nabon to the southward to follow the same system. The Sheikh of Charrack in particular, was encouraged to form a connection with Rasul-Khymah, and Abdallah-bin-Ahmed, of Bahrein, openly avowed his determination of prosecuting piracy, as the surest and speediest mode of acquiring wealth.

A ship belonging to the port of Bombay, sailing under British colors, was so late as the year 1816 captured by them off Muscat, the greater part of the crew were put to death, and a ransom exacted for the release of the survivors. They also engaged and beat off the Imaum's fleet, and had very nearly taken the *Caroline*, a fine 32 gun frigate. The audacity of these pirates increased to such a degree that they attacked the Honorable Company's cruiser *Aurora*, gave chase to, and fired into the American ship *Persian*, and so great was the dread entertained of the Joassamees, that the resident in the Gulf could not even obtain a vessel to dispatch to Rasul-Khymah for the conveyance of letters of remonstrance to the chiefs in regard to these depredations.

Three vessels belonging to Surat were taken in the Arabian Gulf sailing under British colors, and many of their crews were murdered. The loss of property by these captures was estimated at a crore of rupees.

Many other captures were made of vessels sailing under our protection, attended by similar acts of atrocity, and when a deputation was sent to Rasul-Khymah to obtain redress for the capture of the vessels in the Arabian Gulf, it totally failed. The Joassamees explicitly and boldly replied that they would respect the sect of chieftains, and their property, but none other. They added that they did not consider any part of westward India belonging to the British, except Bombay and Mangalore, and that if we interfered in favour of the Hindoos, and other unbelievers of India, we might just as well grasp at all Arabia, when nothing would be left for them to plunder.

The crews from a squadron of Joassamee boats, landed in the month of October, of the same year, on the island of Bushead, and burnt all the villages at its eastern point, carrying off cattle and killing hundreds of the inhabitants.

At the close of the year we find them in the harbour of Assaloo, taking five freighted bughalahs, valued at three lakhs of rupees, and murdering all on board. The inhabitants of Bushire were greatly alarmed, from the Joassamees contemplating an attack on the city of Busorah. The Governor of Bushire could scarcely restrain the inhabitants from flying into the interior of the country.

The Joassamee fleet remained twelve days at Assooloo, and then proceeded to Kongoon, but finding that they were likely to meet with a warm reception, they weighed, and standing to the northward, anchored off Zaire, where a landing was effected, and all the date groves destroyed. They were repulsed, however, in an action with the inhabitants, and obliged to take to their boats.

Apprehending an attack by the Turkish troops, the Joassamee chief sent a number of people from Rasul-Khymah to build a fort at Bassadore on the west end of the island of Kishon, which they intended to garrison. About this period, the Bombay Government landed a force on the island, and took such effectual measures for suppressing piracy, that the Joassamees ceased from cruising over the Gulf, and have ever since confined themselves to petty piracies amongst their own tribes, which chiefly inhabit the Arabian coast. Our own vessels of war are constantly making the tour of the Gulf, and have no difficulty in checking all open ruptures, so that we may confidently assert that as long as the newly built 18 gun sloops are kept afloat in the Gulf of Persia, we shall hear of few piracies, and still fewer captures.—*Bombay Courier*.

Poona, July 24, 1835.]

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLVI.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

The second point which claims attention in considering the future operations of the new Government, is the existing necessity for the creation of private property in land, and of imposing some restriction on taxation. Those who have read these papers, and have looked over some of our regulations, and have there found rules without end for ascertaining the rights of the different classes of people, for decisions regarding land, and other points of this nature, will be startled at this. But the truth is, that in the Western Provinces, private property in land has yet no existence. It did exist under the native governments, but among other blessings which the English have bestowed on the Indians is that of decreasing their cares by annihilating their right to the land. I am not aware that any enactment was ever passed to that effect; we have gone a shorter and more simple way to work: we have merely arrogated to ourselves the right to assess the land at our own valuation and to sell it by auction when the rent was not paid; and we have rigidly enforced this assumed prerogative: as long as such a system is in force, it is idle to talk of any private property in land. But again and again let it be urged on our rulers, that direct taxation has attained its extreme limits as far as regards the net revenue to be raised thereby; that a moderate permanent demand on the land will be the foundation of the prosperity of the country; and that the ultimate result of a liberal policy on this head will be increased revenue to Government, while the condition of the people will be infinitely improved. When the natives of India see any prospect of advantage or profit from the adoption of a better system of agriculture, they will not be slow to follow the example which may be set them. Their superior condition will then produce an increase in the excise and customs, while the expense of collecting the revenue will be considerably lessened.

It is indeed encouraging to perceive that already better principles and feelings are in progress of adoption. The settlement which is about to be formed for twenty years is based on a moderate assessment of rent, so as to leave profit to the cultivators, and several functionaries in high office are anxious that as soon as completed it should be declared permanent. It is most fervently to be hoped that our rulers will have their eyes sufficiently opened to their true interests to induce them to agree to the proposition.

Third.—As connected with this subject I may be allowed to express the hope that Government will be bold enough to make a

serious innovation in the Mahomedan-Hindoo law of inheritance and succession to real property. Under the existing law and practise, it is almost impossible that there can ever be a respectable middle class of landed proprietors to form the link so much wanted between the rulers and the common people: and I am convinced that a modified law of primogeniture might be introduced into India, in such a manner as not only to leave no cause of complaint to the people on the score of interference in their peculiar customs, but so as to make them ere long feel and acknowledge that it was beneficial to their interests. This subject will hereafter be alluded to more in detail.

Fourth.—To establish the liberty of the press by law has, to his shame be it spoken, been left by Lord William to his successor. Sir Charles Metcalfe has been bold enough to carry into effect that which Lord William dared not do. But Lord William's moral courage was not of that order which would prompt him to enact any measure which he feared might incur the displeasure of his immediate masters, the Court of Directors. Many of the old school anticipate great danger to our Indian dominions from this proceeding, and in confirmation of their fears, they point to what they consider the alteration which has taken place during the last few years in the feelings of the people towards the English, and the tone in which they express themselves. "This," they exclaim, "is the work of the Press! and it will end in the expulsion of the English from India." They are greatly mistaken. The Press has had no share in the creation of these sentiments on the part of the people. Hatred and dislike to the English have long been deeply engraven on their hearts, and though a lamentable consideration, it is but too true, that from the treatment they have hitherto received at our hands, it would be wonderful were it otherwise. The Press has during the last five years undoubtedly been the means of giving us some insight into the feelings of the natives, and has pointed out our own misconduct. Instead of congratulating ourselves on the innumerable blessings for which they are indebted to us, and in utter ignorance of their real sentiments enjoying ourselves in fancied security and desecrating on the respect and esteem in which we suppose ourselves to be held by them, we now see not only the hollowness of the ground on which we stand, but the best mode of consolidating it and preventing it sinking under our feet. For this we are indebted to the free expression of opinion which has informed us of our danger, but which has

had no hand in its existence. Notwithstanding the assertions of those who, unable to shut their eyes to the real state of affairs, are willing nevertheless to account for it in any way which should save their own credit, I again and again repeat, that there is nothing in the circumstances of our being conquerors, foreigners, or of a different faith and colour from our Indian fellow subjects, that would of themselves excite in them hostility or aversion. The real cause is our own short-sighted policy and cupidity; and the consequent extortion and misgovernment which we have practised. The people of India, as I have before observed, have so long been accustomed to the dominion of strangers and conquerors of various nations and tribes that they are almost indifferent about the matter. The individual character of their Superior Authority is all they regard; and if we act so as to merit their esteem and confidence so assuredly will it be conceded to us, of which abundant proof may be adduced.

But the freedom of the Press is not yet legally established, and we may still be disappointed. Sir Charles Metcalfe is but soliciting, and may be relieved before he has completed the measure, while the new Governor may be of different politics. But after all, no local act can permanently establish the desired object: it will still be at the mercy of any Governor under that accommodating plea "political expediency." Nothing short of an act of Parliament can place it on a secure foundation; and until this be obtained the subject must be unceasingly agitated.

Fifth.—THE CHOICE OF A PROPER LANGUAGE AND CHARACTER FOR THE PROCEEDINGS OF GOVERNMENT AND OFFICIAL BUSINESS.—Here again Lord William has allowed¹ to escape him a noble opportunity of breaking through old prejudices, and doing an act of justice to the people. It is idle to suppose that the mass of any numerically great nation will voluntarily change their own language or written character; and a monstrous piece of injustice to attempt to compel them so to do; with the alternative of throwing great hindrance in the way of distributing justice. So much has been said in the late discussions on this head, that little room is left for any fresh observations. With the exception of a few bigots of the old school, whose sole reply (by them intended for argument) is the *ultima ratio* of those who have not a single reason to advance—"If it were better why was it not introduced before;" it is universally allowed that the Persian jargon (for it is nothing more) used in the Courts, must be exploded. Some who appear to have lost sight of the dictates of common sense advocate the adoption of English, while a few whose understandings have not been quite blinded by the real state of things, are fully aware that the vernacular must ultimately become the language of business.

This advance ground has been gained, but then comes the battle whether the Persian, English, or Nagree written character shall be adopted. The first of these is foreign to the

people which one would imagine a sufficient reason for its rejection. The very advantage which it possesses in expressing the Persian language is lost: the Persian language in its own character is certainly written faster than either Nagree or English. If this however, be an argument for its adoption here, it would apply with equal force to its introduction into the Courts in England, for it is not at all more a foreign language there than here; but the Hindoostanee language in the Persian character, is neither written nor decyphered quicker than when its own letters, the Nagree, are used. In fact the adoption of the Persian character to write the Hindoostanee language is as to select the English would be. As to the Romanizing nonsense which has turned the heads of so many men from whom one expected more sense, it is supported by vanity, indolence, and ignorance of human nature. The grand object of its advocates is to transmit their names to posterity as the founders, or at least propagators of a new alphabet, and these are joined by others who do not like the trouble of learning the oriental letters, while both parties are so ignorant of the world, and so misled by their visions of future fame as to overlook the impracticability of the scheme. It is truly lamentable to see men wasting in such absurdities those talents and that benevolence of feeling which might be so much better employed. That a certain portion of the people will learn to write their own language in the Roman character no one doubts. Those who aspire to official employment will qualify themselves in any way that may be pointed out, whether it be to acquire Greek or the Chinese language: but to imagine that the mass of the people will for the sake of handing down to posterity the names of a few visionary enthusiasts, give up their own character which has been in use for centuries, is about as rational an anticipation as that the English may be induced to write their language in the Nagree. If it were merely a speculation to amuse a few individuals and gratify their vanity at their own expense, it would signify little, and certainly would not deserve the attention which it has received from the public: but the mischief of it is, that influence and official authority have lent their sanction to the scheme² and time

* In addition to which some of those in office who have been bitten by the mania, are in the habit of franking the Romanizing papers to the different stations in the interior, to the great benefit of the bookseller who supplied them; whose sale is thereby doubtless, considerably increased. With all their mania the Romanizers have not had the sense to select the best system for expressing Hindoostanee in the Roman character. Sir William Jones's may be more classical, but there are some sounds in the Hindoostanee which he has given no symbol to represent. The fact was he did not understand Hindoostanee sufficiently to know what sounds and symbols were required. Gilchrist, who was well acquainted with the language, has invented a much better system of expressing its sounds in the Roman character. The Romanizers of the present day were not even satisfied with Sir William Jones's plan, but must add a number of modifications of their own invention and stupid enough they are. The distinguishing of letters by dots and dashes is one of the worst that could be devised: simply because in quick writing these dots and dashes would be omitted or placed wrong: and the result would be of writing Oordo in the

and money are thrown away which might be so much better employed, while all real advancement in knowledge and all real improvement are retarded. There is one comfort however, that the mania will not last. It will rise and fall with its originators. When some of these shall have returned to England and others have departed this life, "its memorial will perish with them," save that perhaps a melancholy voice will now and then be heard lamenting the time lost in its acquirement and the uselessness of the labour undergone. Had those who have wasted so much talent, time, and money, devoted these valuable and responsible means of usefulness to the instruction of the people, or to the translation of works of information and improvement into the vernacular language and character, they would so far have conferred a solid benefit, the advantages of which would have been felt for ages to come. When a horticulturist introduces exotic trees into a climate uncongenial to their growth, he may by extraordinary culture contrive to keep them alive, and perhaps enable them to produce some tasteless and degenerate fruit; but no sooner has he quitted the scene of his experiments, than the trees, deprived of their artificial stimulus, languish and die away, and it is perceived that the soil might have been occupied to much greater purpose by trees of indigenous growth, which required only the sun and air to nourish them, and under the shade of which many might have rejoiced.

I do not deny that the publication of oriental books, particularly such as Dictionaries, Grammars and Vocabularies, in the Roman character, may be useful to Englishmen: with such facilities many would acquire some colloquial knowledge of the language of those with whom they were destined to transact business, who otherwise would have remained ignorant, owing to their dislike to take the trouble of learning a new character. But the general education of a whole nation can only be attempted with any hope of success in the vernacular tongue and letters: and they have a right to demand in common justice that these shall be the medium of communication in the Courts and Government offices. As to the desideratum of an universal character to express all languages, there is as much chance of such a thing being invented and brought into general use as there is that all nations will learn the same language. Have the visionaries who urge this ever really considered the matter with attention, and the immense number of characters or cyphers that they will have to invent? we have twenty-six letters in the English alphabet, some of which have each two sounds, and such in the universal character ought each to have a corresponding letter. The Hindoostanee or Ordoo contains

some fourteen or fifteen letters which have sounds unknown to us: the Persian has eight or ten which have no corresponding signs or symbols in either English or Ordoo: there is probably not a language in the world which does not possess some sounds peculiar to itself unknown in any others. To comprise the whole the universal character must contain some five hundred or more letters, and supposing it possible to form such a character, *cui bono?* who has leisure or ability to learn one twentieth or thirtieth part of the number of the known languages, so as to turn his acquirements to any useful purpose? for a language is only the key, not knowledge in itself. But supposing it to be in the power of any individual to master all the languages in the world, why should he invent new symbols and reject those already in use.

But to the point. The character already in use among the people ought to be that of the Courts and Government offices, *i. e.* the Bengali for Bengal proper, and the Nagree for Hindoostan. The latter is certainly a stiff character, and not written quite so quickly as either Persian or English, but this is a trifling disadvantage compared with the advantages of having but one character in use all over the country.

At present it is not uncommon to see filed in one suit on trial, papers in Persian, in the Ordoo language and Persian character, in Nagree, and in the Mahajunnee. The old objection, that the Nagree is with difficulty decyphered, has been over and over again answered. Those who are well taught will read it with fluency. The varieties in the letters are not greater than exist in our own English alphabet; and not only would these gradually die away, but the letters would, in all probability, be simplified, and a much quicker mode of writing introduced by practice. Let any one examine English manuscripts of only two or even one century old, and observe the flourishes and turns attached to half the alphabet, to be convinced of the truth of this observation. The grand advantage, however, would be an improvement in the administration of justice, and the stimulus which it would give to the education and improvement of the people. The mass of the people would then be able to read and comprehend legal proceedings, and in minor suits and trials could manage their own business instead of being at the mercy of a set of low attorneys whom they are now obliged to employ. As to education, ask a shop-keeper, a farmer, a village accountant (*putwarree*) a servant, or indeed any of the lower or middling classes "why do you not teach your son English or Persian, which would qualify him for Government employment?" His answer will be "my son's labour is too valuable to me to allow him to spend many years in studying a foreign language, nor could I afford the expense requisite to pay the tutor"—urge him to teach his children to write their own language in the Persian or Roman character—he replies "this might enable him to keep his own

Roman character, that all distinction between the soft and harsh *d*, *t*, and other letters would be lost; and then the pronunciation would become confused. Our *d* may answer to the Hindoo soft *d*, but instead of *d* in Italian, or *d* with a dot, to represent the harsh Hindoo *d*, it would have been far better to have invented a new character.

accounts but would be useless in the transaction of business with his own countrymen." But when the question was merely to learn a slight variety of the alphabet already in general use there can be no doubt, but that the Nagree prescribed for the Government offices would immediately be generally adopted all over the country. To the English functionaries the advantage would be immense in having but one language and character to acquire instead of two or three; and they would of course be much sooner and much better qualified than they now are to administer justice and transact the business of the country.

The grand objection, after all, which influences the majority of the existing race of Government functionaries to oppose this most desirable change, however reluctant they may be to confess it, even to themselves—is the dislike to the trouble of having to acquire a new character after having been accustomed to an old one. But surely such a feeling as this ought not to be allowed to stand in competition with the welfare of a whole people which would be promoted by an improved system of the administration of justice and the spread of education. Nothing short of a positive order from Government will effect the change. But let it be once issued, and the object will be attained without further difficulty. It is like a project for introducing a new and improved system of drill for the army. If the Commander-in-Chief were to consult every officer, and listen to the variety of opinions which would be offered, he would never arrive at any satisfactory conclusion, nor would the change be adopted, the main objection being in reality the dislike which the officers had to go to school again. The military chief would pursue a different plan. He would consult a few officers of intelligence and ability, and being himself satisfied with the superiority of the plan about to be substituted would order it to be introduced into the army. This would speedily be effected, and in a few years the old system would be forgotten, or only remembered as an obsolete practice which was happily exploded.

Let this example be followed in regard to the abolition of Persian and the introduction of Bengallee and Hindoostance for transacting the business of Government, the beneficial effects would ere long be apparent. Justice would be better administered. Translations would be made into the books composed in them, and in a very few years we should look back upon the exploded system, wondering at the absurdity of our predecessors who had maintained it so long. At the same time to promote still further the improvement of the people, let us as much as possible diffuse instruction in the English language, and in the course of twenty or thirty years, when the present race of native officials shall have passed away, it is probable that from Calcutta to the Sutledge, there will not be found five hundred natives acquainted

with the Persian language or character. All that is necessary to prevent a check to business is to prescribe a certain period, within which, all now officially appointed, must either qualify themselves in the new mode or quit their situations: and with the exception here and there of a bigotted individual or some who were tired of work and had accumulated a sufficiency to live in independence, it would not, when the time arrived for the change, be necessary to discharge a single officer, English or Native.

Sixth.—TEST OF LANGUAGE.—A law, fixed as those of the Medes and Persians, should be enacted, that no one in the employ of Government, civil or military, should be vested with any authority or controul over the people, until he had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the vernacular language and writings. One of the arguments for introducing English into the Courts is, that Judges at least could understand the proceedings, whereas at present neither party do. This is true enough and lamentable also, particularly as it is caused by our own absurdity in making use of a language foreign to both parties. But it is one of the disgraceful instances of the little attention paid by the British Indian Government to the real interests of its native subjects. Almost daily are Englishmen placed in command of troops,—in staff employ,—in situations where they have to superintend mercantile transactions of considerable importance, or large bodies of native workmen;—may even to preside in court, as Judges and Magistrates (for though they are designated by the titles of assistant to a Political Agent or others, this is in reality their duty) who for any thing that Government know or care, may be quite unable to hold the slightest communication with the people. While such a state of things as this exists, surely such a law as is proposed is absolutely necessary.

Seventh.—PURVEYANCE AND FORCED-LABOUR SYSTEM.—I must be allowed to request the Members of Government would once more turn to No. 25. of these papers, treating of this head, and describing the infamous extortion and oppressions which are practised. If they think them exaggerated, let them appoint a committee of impartial men to investigate the matter, and then some remedy might be speedily hoped for.

Eighth.—CODE OF LAWS. The Law Commission is, I believe, already employed in consolidating and revising this; and though the work proceeds but slowly the boon will be great when we receive it. One only point I shall here notice. Many very useful modifications, or new enactments, are from time to time proposed by various Judges and other functionaries to the superior Courts and Boards, and even to Government, most of which are deposited in the office, and remain in oblivion. I do not blame the higher authorities for this, as I am well aware their time is fully occupied in the current duties of their respective offices;

but now, under the new Law Commission, we hope a different course will be pursued. It should be the duty of the Secretary to the Commission carefully to note down every suggestion made relative to the modification of the existing laws; to bring the same before the members, who decide upon the rejection or adoption of what was proposed; and in the latter case, whether the amendment should be immediately brought into force, or placed on record to be again brought forward at a general revision.

One point requires speedy attention, i. e., to check the arbitrary, unjust, and illegal measures of the Supreme Court in extending its process all over the country; and to annihilate "constructive residence," and all the rest of the technical jargon and illegality contrived to fleece honest men for the support of the dignity of the court and for the benefit of the lawyers.

Ninth.—CUSTOMS AND TRANSIT DUTIES.—This withering system so destructive of all commerce and manufactures, has been so often alluded to, that little is left to say, and indeed there is but one opinion on the subject. No man doubts that ultimately, if these vexatious restrictions were abolished, the revenue would increase while the people would be relieved from incalculable oppression and inconvenience. All are agreed on this point; all that we want is a Governor with sufficient moral courage to face the storm which the Court of Directors would probably thunder in his ear, on perceiving the immediate deficit. Let us also hope that our rulers both here and in England may unite their strength in endeavouring to procure from Parliament the abolition of the unjust taxation of India in the form of high duties on her staple commodities. On this head, indeed, the prospects for India are cheering. Owing to the popularity-hunting measures of the Whigs, the West Indies will very soon follow the fate of St. Domingo, the field will be open for India, and the superior cheapness with which we can raise colonial produce here will ensure us the monopoly which the West Indies have hitherto enjoyed by means of unjust laws and corrupt influence.

Tenth.—TEST OF ASCERTAINING THE CHARACTER OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.—Let us hope that this subject will meet with speedy attention. So far from complaining of the establishment of a test of this nature, all in the Government employ who possess any good feeling, and a real wish to do their duty so as to promote the welfare of the people, would rejoice in the establishment of some system by which the able and zealous might receive the reward of their exertions, while the indolent and inefficient officers would be kept in subordinate situations. But this neither has nor will be accomplished by a system of secret espionage. Let us hope that our next Governor may, unlike Lord William Bentinck, be one who knows how to raise a man in his own estimation by confidence and encouragement; and that needless distrust, suspicion, and detraction must

ultimately destroy all high principle and probity together with zeal and ardour for the public good.

Official reports are a legitimate source for ascertaining the character of public functionaries. There can be no objection that the head of an office should report on the qualifications of those who are placed under him: only let the reports be public and let them be shown to those whom they concern. But although in theory it sounds well, little practical utility will be derived from these reports, unless some defined principle be laid down on which they are to be made. At present, all is vague, depending entirely on the character of the reporting officer, and as almost every man prefers his own opinions to those of another, he will be guided by his own practice and conduct in estimating the behaviour of his subordinates: the nearer this approaches to his own standard the more efficient will he consider them. I will put aside cases where personal friendship or personal dislike operate to produce a favorable or unfavorable report of those under the authority reporter—of which, however, India will afford but too many instances—and will view the subject in another light, viz., that owing to our exclusive service of routine, many of the higher functionaries are, as public officers, greatly inferior to their juniors. For instance, Mr. A. the Commissioner is desired to report on the qualifications of the Collectors under him; but Mr. A., as all who suffer from being subject to his authority well know, is a fool, utterly ignorant of business and the customs of the people,—and in reality quite unfit to hold even the situation of a Deputy-Collector or Head Assistant. On the other hand, one or two of the Collectors under him are able and active men who are promoting the public good; but the measures they wish to introduce are very different from those prescribed by the Commissioner; and as fools have generally the highest opinion of themselves, he finds fault with them in his reports to Government: unfortunately he is not obliged to enter into particulars and state the reasons which induce him to disapprove of their conduct: he only reports in general terms that he has cause to be dissatisfied with the proceedings of Mr. C. or Mr. B. so if Government should be ignorant of his real character, the reports of a fool have the power of injuring the prospects of really efficient men. This is no imaginary case; it has taken place and is going on at this very moment. Some Commissioners and Judges stand high in the opinion of the Board who are notorious among the people for their inefficiency, and in one or two cases for corruption.

The real standard of the character of a public officer ought to be, the opinion of the people: but it will be a long time before the free expression of this will readily find access to Government. In the mean time a test may at least be established on certain fixed principles. If public functionaries before being appointed to any new situation, were obliged

THE LAW COMMISSION.

to pass an examination regarding a knowledge of the laws and customs of the people, the Regulations of Government, the best practical mode of doing business and of regulating an office, on a system defined by Government, and not left to the caprice of each examining officer, it would at least insure that they possessed the ground—work of knowledge, without which no man can be fit for public employment—but this has been already treated of more in detail in No 31, to which I beg to refer those of my readers who are interested in the subject. Let also reports be made; but instead of being confined to general terms, let every reporting officer be obliged to state his reasons for the censure or approbation he bestows; and to send a copy of his report to those whose conduct is animadverted on.

Eleventh.—The Anomaly and indecision which has hitherto characterized the British Indian Government should be abandoned for a system founded on fixed principles. For numerous instances of the absurdities induced by the present mode of conducting affairs by temporary rules arising from particular occasions, but made generally applicable. See No. 27.

Twelfth.—The Impediment to improvement caused by the present mode of conducting the service of Government, that is, the inveterate prejudice in favor of the abilities and capacities of our own countrymen for all and every

appointment to the injury and exclusion of the natives: so that, to give a few instances, a man who hardly knows a horse from a cow is placed in charge of a large stud; another, equally ignorant of the duties it involves, is appointed civil engineer and architect;—a third who knows neither how to draw or to take an observation, or the use of a single surveying instrument, is employed in making a map of a district;—and so on—numerous instances of which will be found in detail in No. 29.

Thirteenth.—INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND NATIVES.—To this subject I have already devoted several papers, and shall shortly offer some additional observations in detail which would exceed the limits of the present number.

It will be sufficient at present to suggest the propriety, not to say necessity, of some rules on the subject being laid down by Government for the regulation of all that relates to official intercourse, and that it should no longer be left to individual caprice or inclination.

Some points on which I have not entered sufficiently into detail in this number must be left for future discussion, and others on which I have not touched, will be hereafter brought forward.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

May 15, 1835.

THE LAW COMMISSION.

No. I.

In this country where there are few and insufficient means of conveying to Government what may be called, even here, public opinion—where the press still labors under the subdued spirit of a long period of thralldom, from which it is now only slowly emerging—where there is no assembly for the public discussion of measures of Government—where information regarding the defects of the existing administration, the wants and feelings of the great mass of people inhabiting the vast countries under the British crown, is only obtained by private (private as relating to the public,) official reports drawn from individual *employés*, without that check of public scrutiny and comment, which is requisite either to secure faithfulness or completeness—where even those reports, such as they are, are communicated only to the Government of one portion of these dominions, I presume, the communication of the reflections of individuals on such subjects as may have engaged their attention, will not to be

unacceptable to a body assembled for deliberation on one of the most responsible and important duties that can be intrusted to them. Some suggestions may point out subjects worthy of consideration: some information may be given deserving farther inquiry; something may be brought forward that might otherwise be overlooked. With these sentiments and with a hope of being in some degree useful, even if it were only to provoke discussion, it is my intention to address you from time to time, relating to the high and interesting duty you are now entering on.

I shall only give a hasty glance at the different judiciary systems existing in this country:—

1st.—His Majesty's Supreme Courts at the three presidencies, with jurisdiction over all British Europeans, servants of Government, and the native and other population within a limited space of the Courts. The laws, civil and criminal, within such jurisdiction being,

with certain exceptions, the English code administered according to English practice, by English lawyers.

2d.—The Courts of the Honourable Company, having jurisdiction over all others within the British territories under Fort William, guided by laws enacted from time to time by the Governor-General in Council, the civil code being that of the Hindoos, in cases where Hindoos are parties; the criminal being that of Mahommed, whether the accused be Hindoo or Musselmaun, with certain modifications. The rules of procedure being provided for by express enactments equally applicable to all. The whole administered by judges selected from the covenanted civil servants: in small causes by native judges; and in criminal causes by Mahommedan Law officers sitting as judges of the law and of the fact, along with the covenanted judge. The language of record is Persian.

3d.—In the presidency of Madras the Mahommedan code is also the law in criminal cases as in Bengal. The rules of procedure are different in many respects from those of the sister presidency.

4th.—The Bombay code differs essentially from the other two. The criminal judicature is administered under express laws made by the Government, and not under the law of the koran. Civil justice is dispensed according to the law of the defendant and the common law of the place. The procedure in all cases is determined by the enactments of Government, and equally applicable to all. The language of record, is the language of the province where the judge sits. The laws are administered by covenanted servants and by native judges; the latter alone having original jurisdiction in civil causes, the European judge being only appellate, excepting where an European is a party.

All of these codes are defective in many respects. Much that is good is to be found in them, and although the recognition of the Mahommedan law seems to those who are at all acquainted with its absurdities, an anomaly, it is to be remembered that it has been much qualified in practice, and in these enlightened times when people begin to think for themselves, and are emancipating themselves from the despotism so long exercised by English lawyers, I will venture to say that the Mahommedan or any other code contains not more fallacies, absurdities, unsound maxims and rules than the English code does. I think I may even venture to appeal to the members of the English bar in your Committee for their assent: they are, I hope and believe, too enlightened, liberal and philosophical to be influenced by the prejudices of education and professional partiality; no, I trust that your whole Committee are guided but by one feeling to make use of that high talent, experience and knowledge you are possessed of, for the single-

minded object of conferring on the many millions who are subject to our Government, such a code of laws as shall insure to the utmost of your ability, an efficient, simple and impartial administration of justice.

With this great and philanthropic end in view, the first important question that arises is, whether there should be one law for Europeans, and another law for natives, or one code to embrace all classes?

I shall first consider the criminal administration. The same obstacles that present themselves in civil judicature, do not seem to apply to this question. The greater crimes are sufficiently marked in the minds of the least enlightened even of our native subjects, to make them aware that their commission will subject them to punishment. There are, no doubt, some offences which by English feeling are more or less heinous than the native laws consider them, but some of these emanate from priestcraft and religion, such as protection given to Brahmins, suttees, slavery, bigamy, cows and other sacred animals, &c.; but the distinction in favour of classes and peculiarities, have been in numerous instances removed without offence; and so long as an action not already known to be criminal, but which may in our view be a moral offence, is not made punishable, it is not to be expected that any enactments for offences against the person or property would either be not understood or acknowledged. By attaching a punishment to what is in our opinion an offence against morality, might no doubt operate in deterring from its commission, but when the public is not concerned, I would rather that conviction of its criminality were obtained through education, than attention to a precept enforced by the sword of justice.

But in framing a code, offences against the property and person are the great objects of legislation, and if one law for such can be made applicable to all, offences against morality will not form an insurmountable obstacle. I have already alluded to the great innovations that have been wisely introduced in the Bengal and Madras codes on the Mahommedan criminal law, without any evil effect, nor do we learn from history that its introduction by the Musselman conquerors in suppression of the Hindoo system created political or other dangers.

We have lately seen the successful prohibition of suttees by a final enactment. In various parts of Hindostan we have seen the slaughter of cows, &c., without commotion, or other clamour than what may have been made by interested Brahmins. We have the instance of the good Schwartz, when protected by the ruling authority, preaching against Hindooism, without endangering the peace of the country. We now see Missionaries preaching and instructing without offence to the people in places where under native Governments they would have run the risk of

their lives: the great body of the people, the ryots—are passive. They may be ruled with a rod of iron or with the gentlest sway. They will be happier under the one than the other, but they seldom become agitated. The *priests* are more loud and chieftains may complain or threaten, and with money they may buy the services of the idle or the starving, but where are there any such now remaining capable of seriously disturbing our Government! It is not, therefore, I conceive, any political consideration that need influence you.

The consideration of these subjects, combined with the experience I have of the operation of our laws, and of the native character, lead me to think it very practicable and most desirable, that there should be only one Penal code for the four presidencies.

From this code should not be excepted the native inhabitants of the capitals where H. M.'s Courts are situated. If English law is to be continued, let it be confined to those for whom it was made. I would have said also, for those who understand it: this I believe, however, no one pretends to do. It is cumbersome, vexatious, causing litigation, incomprehensible, expensive both to the state and the litigants, mischievous and inefficient. If any one really think otherwise I would beg to refer him to the records of public opinion in England, to our experience here, to the proceedings in Parliament, and if he has been so unfortunate, to his own experience. The English criminal code is undergoing a change, but when it will be completed is beyond our reach to divine, and if ever finished, the different state of society there from what it is here, and various other circumstances, must always render it a much more complex system than seems to be requisite in this country.

If insurmountable difficulties be not apprehended to framing a code that shall be applicable to such a variety of people, habits, religion and language as exists in British India, I cannot think but that the same laws might govern the comparative handful of Europeans. You are not trammelled with what some still call the *beautiful system* of the British code. Laws founded on reason, on just principles, and defining how crimes shall be punished, would be partial if exceptions were made. If for Europeans as a class, why not one for rich and another for poor Europeans? introduce the benefit of clergy and punish an uneducated man more severely for a theft than an educated one. It is education that makes a great distinction between the generality of Europeans and natives, and if that be the ground of an argument for having different criminal codes, the same would require a graduated code for the different degrees of civilization among Englishmen. Still there would be no necessity for distinguishing Europeans, they would come into the same places on the scale with natives who are their equals. A Ram Mohun Roy, for

instance, and Shibajee Dagajee, Esqrs., or some of the other justices of Bombay, could perhaps be put on their trial with some of their educated but fair brethren.

The codes now in force in India embrace all classes of the native inhabitants, however varied their religion, their language, their degrees of civilization; and however different may have been the laws supplanted, Englishmen are already in many cases subject to the same laws. Our Military Courts are widely different in practice from the Court of King's Bench, but we do not hear that they are defective in essentials, and they have no lawyers attached to them. They have jurisdiction over both natives and Europeans, therefore having these examples of the well-working of a system to a limited extent widely differing from Courts of Law in England, where is the cause of doubt that laws may be made to embrace all within its jurisdiction, whether black or white, Hindoo or Christian, Mahomedan or Jew?

Alluding to this subject in connection with colonization, the Governor-General, in discussing a judicial system to meet the supposed influx of Europeans, observes in one of his minutes, that he does not anticipate from their presence any occasion of dispute which a tolerable judiciary establishment would not be competent to settle; that he would rather expect increased facilities; and in this opinion the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court concurred. In the course of this discussion, plans as various as the number of proposers, were suggested. Lord William Bentinck alone, and wisely, suspended his opinion of what the laws should be, but decidedly thought there should be only one jurisdiction. Mr. Holt McKenzie recommended one code of laws for *all classes*. Sir C. Grey would separate each presidency into several divisions, each being governed by "a different but a single and uniform system of Regulations." Sir J. Franks boldly proposed the introduction of English law, English language and of course *English lawyers*. But there is another suggestion—an after-thought apparently. It is to form a snug jurisdiction of 50 miles diameter round Calcutta (it says not whether the radius of the Bombay and Madras Courts are to be extended) containing a population nearly equal to half that of England, for which one code should be framed for *all* within it. The variety of people scattered over Hindoostan: the intricacies of land tenures: the peculiar usages to be found among the people, their own incapacity in short, are the reasons for not extending the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court farther. Beyond this circle no alteration is thought necessary on this new plan: the Judges say that Europeans who may from choice pass the barrier, *may very properly be subject to whatever Regulations Government may pass; and they have no doubt that Government would find no difficulty in preventing evils.* From these diversified, and with all

deference I would say, lamentably ill-digested propositions, I apprehend you will gain only two consistent results, viz., that *one code* may be framed for all classes, native and European, and that the *Judges of the Supreme Court should be placed at the head of it*. The idea of experimentalizing on the "intricate land tenures—peculiar usages and customs"—at the expense of 5 or 6 millions of people, appears to me as wicked as it is unsound in conception; for if a *good and complete* code can be made for such a population, it would surely be the duty of Government to extend its protection to the whole country. If such cannot be found, how unjust to subject so many to it. No allusion seems to have been made to the distinction between a penal and civil code, it is to be concluded then that it never presented itself, or that no impediments were noticed to the one more than to the other!

The possibility of adopting one set of laws for civil judicature is the next important question I would refer to. To sweep away the religious or written and the common laws of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, I conceive to be neither practicable nor adviseable. Their rights and usages are so interwoven with their religion, an attempt to efface the one would be an attack on the other; but a great deal might be done to obtain uniformity and distinctness by determining what are their written laws, and it is remarkable how nearly they will be found to correspond throughout the greater part of India. The law of inheritance for instance, and bailment, excepting possibly in the southern parts of the peninsula, hardly vary at all, and so it will be found in many other points. Let them be collected with the assistance of learned men and promulgated as sanctioned

by religion and the practice of the day. This might also be done in regard to British Europeans and others not included in either of the great classes of Hindoos and Mahomedans, as half-castes, converted native Christians, Parsees, Armenians, &c. This is a subject leading to many difficulties, much discussion and great research, which I may revert to on another occasion.

I now would refer to the law of procedure in civil cases, and in regard to it, I do not suppose there will be any difference of opinion, that it may and ought to be the same in all cases. No reason occurs to me why the forms should be different in one case than another: why the same gradation of appeal should not be had: why advantages and disadvantages experienced by one should not be felt by another. The common law of one may differ from that of another class as the written law may also do, whilst the procedure is the same; at least, I am not aware that any valid objection exists.

You have now an opportunity of giving us a penal code and laws of procedure that shall be simple and comprehensive, equally applicable to all classes of persons, by which all clashing of jurisdictions shall be avoided, by which all invidious exceptions and distinctions shall be abolished, and by which the native subjects by being esteemed worthy of being put under the same laws as ourselves, may learn to esteem themselves, and to deserve being raised in the scale of civilization.

I am, your obedient servant,

Anyore, April, 1835.

Q.

No. II.

Having in my last letter suggested the practicability of adopting one set of laws for all classes, I would now consider what general features should characterize such laws, viz., whether in the penal code, crimes should be severally defined as in English law with the penalty of each specified and determined, or whether they should be classed, the maximum of punishment only being specified for each class or crime, and a discretionary power placed in the hands of the judge to apportion the penalties according to the circumstances attending the offence.

There are numerous and great objections to the first proposition, and until there shall be a language invented capable of clearly expressing what the legislator would express, and intellect found capable of using such language so as to embrace all matters requiring definition in such a system, it may be wise not to make the attempt. How endless are

the inaccuracies, the defects of omission and commission of the English code, which is based on the principle of making no man answerable for his actions, however criminal, unless the act shall have been previously imagined and defined in the precise manner in which it may be committed! This is in practice that every person may know the unvarying penalty of an action committed according to law, that he may weigh well the risk, and consider whether he cannot do it in some slight manner different from the definition, and so be beyond the law. To what absurdities has the attempt not led to! How eminently contrived is the British code to screen the culprit! Let us give an instance or two. Suppose a man steals a young cow that has not had a calf, common sense would convict him if it were proved that he stole the animal; but English law says no, it is in the indictment that he stole a cow, and the animal being a young cow or heifer, he is not guilty! John

Elliot is charged with murder. It is proved against him, but the law used to say, or still says, he is not guilty, because his name in the indictment is spelt with *one t*, whereas it ought to have had *two t's*. A robber knocks at a door which is opened by the servant when the robber walks in. He is charged with burglary which is defined to be *breaking*, entering, &c. He pleads no breaking; but the law says yes, *walking in is breaking!* The law might just as well say 12 o'clock at night is noon-day. It will be recollected that in this country an officer was found guilty of arson and transported for setting fire to a bearer's hut worth about 5 rupees and within his own premises. A robbery the most atrocious in intention, but accidentally amounting in value a penny below a fixed sum, is punished as a trifling crime, had the penny exceeded the sum it would have been death. But enough of examples, they might be given without number. It doubtless is most desirable that as far as possible it should be declared what are crimes and the extent of punishment attached to them, but the attempt at too much nicety and refinement, has, I believe, been practically found in Great Britain to be fraught with evil to the good, and a protection to the wicked. This is inverting the intent of all legislation, and as I am one of those who never could concur in the mistaken feeling of aiding a culprit, which John Bull only pitying the individual before him, thinks is magnanimous generosity, I hope this rock will be avoided. He does not reflect on the injury he does to the public—the impulse of the moment is enough for him. Let the prisoner have the benefit of a flaw—free him if possible: and it is wonderful how few attempts have been made to inculcate a sounder or more beneficial reasoning. The operation of the Poor Laws is another example of mistaken legislation and first-cousin to the other, to which the eyes of the public are now opened, through the understanding I hope rather than by the effect on the purse.

The inhabitants of India are a simple people and little educated. They do not appear yet ready for any complicated scheme. Short and easy as the existing laws *comparatively* are, how little do they appreciate the principles on which they are founded. With reference, therefore, to the state of society, and the experience of the inadequacy of the English code, I would submit, that it should not be adopted as your model and guide.

The classification of crimes presents itself as the simplest mode, whether it be to classify crimes with reference to certain punishments,

or to classify offences of one description, as against the public, against the person, against the Government, against morality, &c., each offence having the extent of punishment attached to it. This last is the system of the Bombay code, issued during Mr. Elphinstone's Government, which I may here remark is the only attempt at systematic codification that has yet been made in the country, and emanating from a man of extraordinary talent, it evinces more enlightened views and simplicity in its arrangement, than can be found in the laws of the other presidencies. It will well repay its study, and cannot but afford many useful and important suggestions in the great work you are engaged in. It has received from subsequent governments, I perceive, many additions, and undergone considerable alteration, but the new or supplementary laws do not appear to have been framed with the proper carefulness, and it is by no means evident that they are improvements.

With reference to an objection to a latitude being left with the judge which may be urged, I do not think it tenable; it is founded on an impossibility, for if no latitude be placed in his hands, every possible shade of crime, including time, place, circumstances of the individual intention, extenuation and a thousand other particulars must be defined and a punishment attached to each imaginable degree of offence. This I conceive to be impossible, and therefore that some latitude *must* be exercised by the judge. The question then is the degree, and it is no easy matter to argue in favor of control within the limit laid down as the extreme penalty, without running into the error we wish to avoid. The question might be affected by the existence or non-existence of jurors to find the fact, but having fixed a boundary which the judge shall not pass, I would be glad to hear the arguments, why the apportioning the punishment should not rest with the judge, whose sentences might be open to review by a higher tribunal. Carefulness in the selection of judges, and the *free comment of public opinion* on their conduct, appear to be the best safeguards against the abuse of power. We know what evasions daily take place in the courts of English law, because no discretionary power is allowed to the judges, and the evils arising therefrom must be known to all. When the fact is determined by a jury, the power of the judge must be less than when he gives both the verdict and applies the law; but as I may take another occasion to speak of juries,

I now remain, your obedient servant,
Anyore, May, 1835. Q.

No. III.

In the preceding letters I have taken a general view of the feasibility of making penal and civil codes of laws that may suit all classes of British subjects in this country. I shall now take leave to discuss the system of adjudication that may be most desirable for the

administration of these codes, involving the gradation of Courts of original jurisdiction and appeal, whether they should be fixed or ambulatory, whether there should be one or more Judges in each.

It has been argued by a very philosophical

writer on jurisprudence, that if the very best person be selected to try a cause in appeal, no number of appeals, or number of judges, can improve the decision, and hence the corollary that if the *very best source* be applied to in the first instance no appeal would be requisite; but *practically* speaking, it is not probable that the person selected is either perfect or the *very best*. He may or may not be the best *procurable*, but there may be others better or equal, and we all know that the most upright and able men are not invariably capable of exerting the qualities required to come to a correct conclusion in a like degree. Errors of judgment will occur; there may be deficiency of information, and oversight may take place. Supposing the judge to be as good as the last, it is probable that the error, oversight or deficiency of information, will be detected, because he has fewer points to consider, and the result will be the best attainable. It seems therefore most desirable that there should be an appeal even if the *best* instruments were procurable, but there I am inclined to think it should end, excepting for special reasons to be alluded to. Beyond that, in common circumstances, it is not probable that the decision will be better, if the two first Courts be filled by well selected persons. In this country, however, the best persons are not always available, and if available, yet in very many cases they would not approach what is desirable; it becomes therefore a question how to remedy, as far as our limited means admitted, defects of the instruments.

If the Judge in appeal come to the same view of a case as the Judge who first tried it, it is to be presumed that the decision is a good one: a third Judge might differ, so might a fourth and so on: a limit must be put somewhere, and I am disposed to think that the evil attending farther litigation in such cases would out-balance any attainable good. Nevertheless when the Judge in appeal differs from the first authority, there is doubt which is right—to remove which doubt an appeal might then be admitted to a third tribunal, where all litigation in *ordinary* cases should certainly terminate. The extraordinary circumstances which would justify a departure from the above system, are manifest error of judgment, opposition to a known law or custom, the discovery of important evidence not known at the time of trial, or such other special reasons *as evidently* require re-investigation; and the remedial course that presents itself is by special appeal to a tribunal that should be final in all cases whatever. Thus, then, we have a Court of original jurisdiction—a Court of appeal therefrom—a third Court for the trial only of causes in which the two inferior Courts differ in opinion, and a Supreme Court of control to which appeals on special grounds alone would be admissible.

Having now outlined a system, I shall endeavour to go somewhat more into detail. The whole country being divided into *zillas* so much of the arrangement is prepared. In each *zilla* I would institute two descriptions

of Courts, one presided in by one native judge, the other by one European civilian. I would propose for the native judge original jurisdiction only, and to a limited amount. My reasons for so doing are, shortly, the general comparative deficiency of education and knowledge on the part of natives, and a want of moral courage which may be taken in two senses, viz., both in withstanding temptation, and the influence of rank or other superiority or interest. It may be urged that if these objections exist, they ought to have no authority at all; but although they may not be the fittest persons for a great or difficult trust, the same prejudicial causes may not affect a small or simple one. From the decision of the Native an appeal should lie to the European judge. To the latter I would give original jurisdiction in all cases not cognizable by the subordinate Court. Farther it would possibly be also very advisable to erect one Court for small causes to be held by an European civilian, having a co-equal jurisdiction with the native judge, it being optional with the plaintiff to carry his suit to either Court, and perhaps this latitude might be advantageously extended so as to allow, in all cases where both parties wished it, the suit, whatever the amount might be, to be referred to *any* Court. The proposition of a concurrent European and native Court is suggested by a very general impression I believe to exist, of the superior probity and independence of character of the European. He is thought to act with the best intention, he is free from the bias of the native religious prejudices and he is removed from all party feeling or the influence of party interests. The preference given to either description of authority, would likewise afford a practical proof of the feeling and estimation of the people in regard to our judicial administration. There is beyond this another important consideration in favor of this jurisdiction: it would be a school for young civilians from among whom the Bench is to be filled; and I need not do more than allude to the lamentable inefficiency and contempt that must be the consequence of the appointment of a man to so high an office, who without any experience or practical knowledge, is called upon perhaps the first day he takes his seat, to decide on the approbation of property to the amount of lakhs of rupees, in a case of life or death of a fellow creature, or to sit on appeals from experienced native Judges to whom he must feel himself inferior in the practical application of our laws, at the same time possibly little accustomed to study the principles of jurisprudence or the value of evidence. A familiarity with these is the acquisition of study combined with experience only, and it seems scarcely necessary to urge on your attention the necessity of creating this or some preferable mode of legal education of our jurists, in order to qualify our Judges to correct and control effectually the subordinate Courts, and to prevent our judiciary administration from falling into contempt.

To proceed with the detail of Civil Courts,

I would establish a Sudder Court at each Presidency to exercise jurisdiction over all the other Courts, to consist of at least three Judges, for the hearing of appeals from the decisions of Zilla Judges, to regulate and control the practice, receive and digest all returns and reports, to consider proposed laws, and to bring before higher authority all matters of importance. The sittings of this Court would be well arranged on the plan existing at Bombay, somewhat improved. By it one Judge sits on an appeal, and if he concur in the last decision he passes a decree—if he do not concur, he submits it with his minutes, which contain his opinion and reasons for it, to a Court consisting of not less than three Judges. This system seems to be much preferable to that of the Sudder Dewany Adalut in Calcutta, where one Judge sits at a time, and a case may pass from one to another through four or five Judges, thereby multiplying the appeals most unnecessarily without responsibility being fixed on any one, thus losing both the benefit attached to individual responsibility, and the advantage of consultation and interchange of opinion, which on difficult points of law, evidence or practice (and that must exist where so many opinions arise) is of the greatest advantage. The Bombay plan is not altogether free from the objection of the absence of individual responsibility, but this might be obviated in a great measure by its being required of the single Judge to deliver his opinion publicly to the parties, on submitting it to a full Court. But it is not apparent why in this Court, which would be composed of the very best Judges procurable, the sitting Judge, if he concur with either of the decisions of the lower Courts, (when the case has been before more than one) should not pass a decree accordingly, it being always in his power to refer for the determination of a full Bench any point of law or of great difficulty? To the composition of this Court, I shall refer hereafter. I would now consider the administration of the criminal branch, and in this it seems advantageous to give a limited Magisterial power to the Revenue functionaries. The establishment of the Collector being most available, and being best informed respecting the character of the inhabitants, promises to be the most efficient in the apprehension of criminals: the officers on it are scattered over the zilla: they move from place to place, and with such advantages the revenue officers, native and European, being invested with power to punish crimes of inferior degree, would effect promptness which is important, and save the vexation and loss of time to prosecutors and witnesses very much felt although not much known. Such a jurisdiction would also be useful in inducing a study of the laws and judicial proceedings, and assist in the preparation for higher judicial authority.

In Madras the native Judges have considerable criminal power, and I do not see why it should not be conferred on them generally. The higher jurisdiction would probably be

better in the hands of the Zilla Judge, and if he be properly selected, he might be intrusted with life and death, but for greater security very heavy sentences might be referred to the Sudder Court for confirmation. The advantage of so great power being deposited in the hands of the Zilla Judge, would consist in the avoidance of delay; he being always on the spot, the trial ought to take place as soon as the committing authority sends up the case. But for this—it is however a strong objection—a Court of Circuit would be preferable. The Sudder Adawlut should have similar power of general control in this as in the Civil branch, with authority to mitigate and annul sentences, to inquire into systems of prison discipline, to receive complaints against the executive officers, rectify abuses, &c. &c.—There is still something wanting in the shape of a more active and accessible superintendence than this system provides for; and with reference to the magnitude of jurisdictions, to the great powers to be intrusted to individuals, to the character of one class of them and of the community, and to the want of proper *publicity*, some visiting authority seems to be essential, armed with sufficient power.

Revenue and Judicial Commissioners are employed in the Calcutta and Agra Presidencies with that view. This appears to be a combination of duties, one of which will be indifferently performed. To be efficient there should be a Commissioner for each department, in which case the judicial officer ought to be unceasing in moving from zilla to zilla, to prevent delays and accumulation of business, and being necessarily a servant of considerable standing, due consideration to climate, health and circumstances would not be afforded, were such an officer compelled to perform such continued and harassing duty. His establishment would also necessarily be an expensive one, and unless the experiment is thought to have eminently succeeded, some other plan must be devised; and since the Presidency of Bengal has been divided, may it not be practicable for one of the Puisne Judges of the Sudder Adawlut Court, in rotation, to visit the Courts subordinate to it once a year, not for the trial of civil or criminal cases, unless when deputed, but for the general purposes of inquiry and supervision? Such seems to be done in the Bombay Presidency as provided in Regulation passed in 18—, and if it have been found to be of benefit there, it might be introduced in all the other Presidencies, and it would possibly be upon the whole the best and the most economical mode within the reach of Government. This is the only ambulatory Court that seems to be either requisite or advantageous.

I now come to the last and Supreme Tribunal. It should be situated in Calcutta on account of its wealth, extent of its population both native and European, and its being the usual seat of the Government of India and Law Commission. Appeals from all the Sudder Courts of the Presidencies should be made to it: interpretation of the laws should be vested in it: it should have authority over the Sudder Courts, corresponding with theirs

over those of the districts, but it does not appear advisable that it should exercise any jurisdiction in criminal trials. Of whom this Court should be composed is a *questio vexata*—a bone of contention, and I beg leave to postpone it, and also that relating to the Sudder Court to a future opportunity.

I am, your obedient servant,

Anynore, May, 1835.

Q.

No. IV.

The composition of the Supreme Court of India, and of the Sudder Udaltut at each presidency, is a proposition of vast importance and of great difficulty. Many interests are involved in it, the welfare of millions will be affected by it, and there are the prejudices and arguments of a powerful body to meet. Were His Majesty's Courts, as now constituted, proposed to be abolished, the whole Bar of India and England would rise *en masse*: Coke upon Littleton, the Pauctects, Blackstone, indeed the whole of the "*beautiful system*" would be levelled at the unheard of wickedness: but this is to be expected.

I shall take the liberty in the first place to quote from a learned author, the following sentence regarding the qualifications a Judge ought to possess, the justness of which I presume no one will dispute: "In tracing the truth through the mazes of Indian evidence there is required in the Judge, not only much acuteness and sagacity, but great acquaintance with the habits and manners of the people; that he may be able to interpret the innumerable indications, which are given by peculiar modes of expression and deportment. The extraordinary disadvantages under which Englishmen, totally unacquainted with the manners of the Indians, labor, when they begin to seek their way through the labyrinth of Indian testimony, can easily be conceived;" and now let us consider who are the people, and what is the language that people are conversant with, over whom the Judge is to preside? The people consist of two great classes, viz. Hindoos and Mahomedans, together amounting to 60 or 80 millions, and of Europeans amounting to about 40 or 50,000, military included. The vernacular languages of the people are various, but there is one

language (Hindoostannee) spoken or understood in nearly every part of these dominions, English is understood only by Englishmen, and a few natives at the presidencies very imperfectly.

Let us now consider the nature of the laws of these people. The Hindoos are governed in civil matters by their own written and common-law, the former of which is in general distinct, comprehensive and similar throughout; and in many respects excellent in principle. The Mahomedans are governed by their written law of the Koran: it differs essentially from the Hindoo law, as both do from the English system. The criminal codes of the three nations are as varying as the civil: the Hindoo and Mahomedan—absurd, cruel and partial: the English criminal code, is scarcely entitled to a different character: the criminal code now to be promulgated will correspond with none of these, it will stand by itself.

Let us now think how these different codes are to be administered. The Hindoo code is expounded by Hindoo lawyers—it is applied by natives and Europeans, the latter having spent the best part of their lives among the people, and in studying their language, their laws and usages. The Mahomedan one is administered in the same manner. The language used in *viva voce* pleadings, if Hindostannee were universally introduced, would be understood by the judge, the parties and the public generally. The English code is expounded and applied by English bred lawyers: the language used in both the written and *viva voce* pleadings, would be understood by the judge, the parties of English and any Englishmen who might be present, but not by

the public. Extend this law to the natives, and the pleadings, written or oral, would be understood by *none* but the judge and the counsel: the Provincial Courts *then* might as well sit with closed doors. Now suppose Sir J. Franks's proposition of introducing this English law and language were adopted, will any person be found to say that, a law, incomprehensible to the people, directly opposed to their religion and usages, subversive of both—the language of its process and of the judge unintelligible, is fit or justifiable? If there is, I for one would not stop to argue with him.

If it be admitted then that the English code cannot be the one for India, and the definition of the necessary qualities of a Judge, being also conceded, it requires not much wisdom to decide that an English Barrister full of the prejudices, technicalities of English practice, fresh from Westminster, is the most disqualified of all for sitting in judgment in a suit between two Hindoos or Mahommedans, speaking to him in unknown tongues. We must I think look elsewhere. The mere transfer to India of an English Barrister, although it may make him much richer and much *grander*, does not instil the necessary knowledge, nor make him better acquainted with the language and character of the people, their laws and usages, than if he had never left Lincoln's Inn. An English lawyer, I am free to allow, is a most valuable adviser: his education we are assured, has been liberal: he has been accustomed to reflect on general principles, on the effect of their application in practice: he has been accustomed to search into the motives and influencing causes of the actions of men; and if we combine the learning of an English barrister (not the mere practical man) with the requisite knowledge of the native character and languages, I have no hesitation in saying that he would be very far superior and better qualified to sit on the Bench of India than our self-taught Judges; and although Government may still feel it advisable and necessary to look to their Civil Service for the fittest instruments for the Sudder Udaluts, the talents and acquirements of a few such men as I have spoken of, may I think be obtained, and be put in requisition with eminent advantage to the public,—and I am now to endeavour to shew how.

In the first place, assuming that English law is *not* to be the law of the land, but a new code of penal law to be created for all

classes, and a modified form of the civil code of each class determined, his Majesty's Courts being no longer applicable, may be abolished. In their stead I would propose that there be a Judge at the presidencies as in the zillahs, and that his Court should have all original jurisdiction. The Judge might be selected with particular reference to the nature of the population, being partly European, and this Court might be open both to the bar and the Civil Service; and that the one of the Judges of the Sudder Udalut should be an English-bred barrister. It would then be a subject for deliberation, whether in all cases in which Europeans are the parties, the Barrister-Judge *alone* should not sit in the first instance; and whether in cases brought from the zillahs in appeal (which it would be impossible to translate,) he should only be called in on points of law or practice, referred by any of the other Judges. In cases originating at the presidencies wherein one or both of the parties might be a native, I would submit whether any of the Judges should not be competent to sit. If such a system did not supply *all* desiderata, it would have the merit of saving a large expenditure of money to the state, by the consequent abolition of His Majesty's Supreme Courts, and all their worse than useless and extravagant appendages.

In regard to the Supreme Court of India, the same arguments that have led me to hint at the formation of the Sudder Udaluts for the presidencies, where the great resort of Europeans may be expected to be, and where some idea of English practice and pleading has been acquired, lead to the opinion that the Supreme Tribunal should be composed of materials drawn from the same sources. If the Sudder Udaluts can be filled up from the Provincial Bench and the English bar, the Supreme Court might consist of the most careful selections from the Sudder Courts of each Presidency. In it as in the others, one English lawyer of eminence would hold a place, he might be also the Member of the Council of India, whose functions being limited by the charter to legislation, his duties in the Supreme Court would make him better qualified to advise the Government in its legislative capacity, and the cognizance of the Supreme Court being confined to subjects of the most prominent importance, the business of both offices would not, in all probability, be overwhelming.

Hurkaru.]

I am, &c.

Q.

LIEUTENANT TREVELYAN'S MISSION.

[Continued from page 371.]

The following is a continuation of the Mission of Lieutenant Trevelyan to the westward:—

The progress of Lieut. Trevelyan's Mission to the westward has already been traced up to the time when "all the high contracting parties" were assembled on the Beekaner frontier preparatory to an interview between the Rajpoot chiefs; but before an account is given of this meeting, it will be as well to give you a memorandum of my own movements in Scind from the beginning of April to the first week in May.

It has already been stated that after remaining some days at Jeisulmere our party was broken up on the 2d April, when we all moved northward and remained for three days upon the Rawul's frontier, at a place called Kohareesir, whence Lieut. Trevelyan returned to Jeisulmere, while Lieut. Mackeson and myself started for Nohur or Islangurh on the evening of the 5th April, and commenced our journey across the desert by making a march of 23 kos, there being no intermediate village between Kohareesir and Islangurh. The baggage camels accomplished this distance in 16 hours, but our *sandnees* did it in less than 8 hours.

Nohur or Islangurh was an ancient possession of the Jeisulmere family, who seem to have been deprived of it by the Doodpotra chieftains in rather a summary manner: it has an old fort enclosing an area about 80 yards square, with very lofty ramparts from 30 to 50 feet high, and a high gate way in the N. E. angle covered by a low outwork; there are numerous bastions on the north and east faces, but scarcely any on the other two sides. It has neither *rence* nor ditch, and is disadvantageously situated in a deep basin, half a mile or three quarters of a mile in diameter, surrounded by sandhills from 50 to 80 feet high, so that the few guns on its walls would soon be silenced. There are a few buildings in the fort, and two wells outside, with some straggling houses and a bunya.

We quitted Islangurh on the evening of the 6th April, with the pleasant prospect of 40 koss of desert before us; but a tent was directed to be pitched half way across the wilderness, and a large supply of water was carried forward on camels, which enabled us to divide this long journey into two stages, each averaging 20 kos. The baggage camels accomplished the longer half of the journey (about 23 *kueha* kos) in 12½ or 13 hours, our own progress being just twice as quick, for we were only 6½ hours on the road, though there were very heavy sandhills during the first half of the journey.

During the following night we fairly left the desert behind us, and on the morning of the

8th April arrived at Khanpoor, after a march of 17 kos, which occupied us 6½ hours, for we lost our way within a short distance of that city and became practically acquainted with the fertile soil of Scind, by wading for a good hour among swampy rice fields. The baggage cattle kept to the proper road, and accomplished their march in 12½ hours, completing the 63 kos from Kohareesir in 3 days. The distance is nearly 100 miles, of which 60 miles are sandy, and there is a good hard road for the first and last 20 miles on each side of the desert. Water is found at Danwur, 3 kos north of Kohareesir, and at Moreed-ka-Kot, 12 or 14 kos (23 miles) from Khanpoor, but neither place is inhabited.

As the Khan, or Nuwab, Buhawul Khan happened to be at Khanpoor when we arrived, we paid our respects to him on the evening of the 8th April, but on the following day I had a much better opportunity of seeing this chief in full *Darbar*, it being the great Mosulman festival called *Eed*. The Khan and his principal sirdars went out at 2 A. M. to pray on the plain, where a tent was pitched to serve as an *Eedgah*; and a square was formed round it by perhaps 500 foot soldiers, part of whom were clothed in a uniform of red trowsers and caps with blue jackets. The chief was richly dressed with strings of fine pearls, and very large emeralds on his head and round his neck, an immense emerald, set in gold, acted as a *bazoo bund* or armband, and a rosary of pearls was in his hand, with emerald beads strung on it at intervals, as in those of the Roman Catholic church, though the latter are seldom of such costly materials. When the out of doors ceremonials were over, the whole cavalcade returned to the Khan's residence, when some *doomba* or fat-tailed sheep and some goats were slaughtered in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice, and a salute was fired while this took place. The sirdars paid their respects and offered their congratulations to the Khan upon this great feast, and after sitting with him in court a few minutes I returned to camp, Lieut. Mackeson being too unwell to be present.

Another ceremony took place on the 11th April, but of a very different nature, for a "courpleniére" was assembled to witness the delivery of a *khureeta* from the Governor-General, announcing his departure from India, and forwarding a supplementary treaty about the navigation of the Indus. A salute was fired on this occasion, and the two battalions of sepoy, who formed an avenue to the *darbar*, presented arms to Lieut. Mackeson as the bearer of the letter and treaty with the Supreme Government. More than half of the sepoy were dressed in white uniforms with black accoutrements, and were armed with firelocks, having a band of drums and fifes,

to the music of which they marched in very good time; the remainder, amounting to about 200 men, wore the coloured uniform already described, were armed with matchlocks, and had native music and colours. A Mr. Macpherson, who has been for some years at this court, is, I believe, employed to superintend the discipline of the regulars.

On the 12th April, the day following this ceremony, again visited the Khan for the purpose of taking our leave, as he had been remarkably civil to us during the four days we remained at Khanpoor. There is very little to be seen at this place, which is rather a mean looking town of 4,000 houses on the south bank of a navigable canal called Ikhtiarwah, with a ruinous old mud fort 200 yards long and 120 yards broad, at its north-west side. There are few pukka houses but a tolerable bazaar, running N. and S., divides the town into two parts, and has a second pretty good street running across its northern extremity. The Khan's residence is a mere *shikargah*, a temporary place of residence, surrounded by a thin mud wall, where he occasionally spends a few days; but his principal abode is at Dilawur in the desert, or at a place called Dera near Ahmudpoor.

We quitted Khanpoor early in the morning of the 13th April, and made a march of 18 kos, via Jujwa and Ghonspoor to Mithun-kot, in Runjeet Singh's territory, on the right bank of the Indus. We crossed that noble river, 3 miles from Mithun-kot, almost immediately below the junction of the Punjnad, where its stream is 2,087 yards or more than a mile and a quarter in breadth. The banks are very low, and the water very muddy, nor is the stream of very great depth except the main channel; but with all these drawbacks it is a magnificent sheet of water, a very prince of rivers, and well worth the trouble that our Government are taking in opening its navigation to all the world. Mithun-kot is a small town and not likely to be of much importance for many years, its situation being rather unfavorable, as it is quite surrounded by water when the river rises, and the only high ground near it is already covered with houses, so that there is little or no room for farther improvement. The Sikh chieftain's *kardars* or local officers were very attentive to us during our three days stay at this place, and offered me the usual present of 500 rupees as a compliment upon entering Runjeet Singh's country, which was, of course, refused.

We quitted Mithun-kot on the 16th April, and sailed up the river Punjnad, past Dhaka and Sctpore to Mukhun Bela Ghat near Ooch, a little below the infall of the river Gharra, where we arrived on the 18th April. We saw little or no appearance of traffic on the water during our voyage up the whole length of the Punjnad, almost the only boats visible being those at the ferries: we saw, however, one or two ragamuffins swimming about on inflated skins, like the common water bag, by means of which it is said that they frequently cross the river and commit depredations on the op-

posite bank. After remaining three days in the vicinity of Ooch, (a very old city of about two thousand houses, where there is a covered bazaar and tombs of some celebrated Mosulman saints) I quitted the boats, and marched 13 kos inland from Mukhun Bela Ghat to Ahmudpoor, where the Nuwab Buhawul Khan had also arrived during our absence on the river.

Ahmudpoor is a considerable city, inferior only to Buhawulpoor, and lies on rather low ground on the west bank of a large canal called Koetubawah, which irrigates the country all round it; but there is much *kulua zumeen* or unproductive salt ground, and much jungle of *jahoo* or tamarisk. The city contains perhaps 6,000 houses, and has a good bazaar running north and south with a large mosque on its west side, which is the most conspicuous building in the town. On the north side are some good gardens, and on the west side is an old mud fort about 150 yards long and 120 yards wide, the walls of which appear to be very thin and are from 20 to 24 feet high. The exceeding lowness of the houses which look still lower from being flat roofed, and the small shops with little pin-houses, projecting barely two feet and sometimes smeared with clay, give the city rather a mean appearance. There seem to be no manufactures of any notoriety, and the water and air do not agree with foreigners who are said to complain of loss of appetite and indigestion, which is not surprising when even the towns-people look sickly. The Khan Buhawul Khan occasionally resides at Dera, about 3 miles south-east of Ahmudpoor, just within the limits of the sandy desert which comes within a kos of the city, and may almost be said to be divided from it by the Koetubwah canal. Lieutenant Mackeson, agent for the navigation of the Indus, has also a house at Ahmudpoor, about a mile and a half west of the town, where I remained for ten days previous to re-crossing the Great Desert between Buhawulpoor and the Beckaner frontier.

I quitted Ahmudpoor a little after midnight on the 30th April, and marched 20 kos north-eastward to Buhawulpoor, arriving there on the morning of the 1st May, and remaining there three days to fix the geographical position of this city, and to examine whatever might be worth seeing in its neighbourhood. Its curiosities, however, are but few, the gardens and the manufacture of silk stuffs being almost the only things worthy of notice. Though Buhawulpoor is a city of 8,000 houses, with two large bazaars, it has the same shabby appearance that characterizes Khanpoor and Ahmudpoor: there is no fort, and scarcely any town wall, though there is something that may once have been a mud rampart, with four gateways, looking toward Mooltan, Khairpoor, Beckaner, and Ahmudpoor. The gardens are 17 in number, lying chiefly on the north side of the city, and produce mangoes, grapes, peaches, almonds, apples, quinces, figs, pomegranates, &c. There are a few weeping willows, and another kind of willow called *bed*

moosh, from which is extracted a cooling liquor much used in Scind, and generally imported from Cashmere.

The Gharra river runs about 2 miles N. W. of the city with a full muddy stream half a mile wide, running perhaps one and a half mile per hour. The desert comes up to within 3 miles of the S. E. side of the city, so that Buhawulpoor lies in a kind of gorge between the river and the desert. In coming along the road from Ahmudpoor, we skirted the desert so closely that at one place there was scarcely room for two carts to pass each other in the narrow tract between the sand hills on our right and the canal on our left, which thus became a positive boundary between the *Rhoca* or wilderness and the *Scind* or Netherlands, by which terms is understood all the grounds near the banks of a river, where water is found close to the surface, and which is generally known in Hindoostan by the name of *khadir*.

The water at Buhawulpoor is remarkably sweet, and Persian wheels are seen in every direction raising it either out of shallow wells or out of small cuts and branches drawn from the larger canals. On arriving in Buhawul Khan's country after traversing the sterile regions of Beekauer and Jeisulmere, it was a pleasing relief to see the country sheeted for miles with crops of green corn, with good water at 13 or 15 cubits from the surface, instead of a brackish commodity at 250 or 300 feet. The appearance of the people, too, was as noble as that of the country, the slovenly looking *Rangurs* and *Juts* being exchanged for *Beloches* in loose, flowing and graceful robes, who seemed to be the fighting portion of the community, while the labouring part of the population were readily distinguished by their dark blue *dhotees* or waistclothes. A number of the people, both male and female, (particularly the elderly women) have a singular fancy for dying their hair red; and another curious custom is that of large parties of females, who call themselves *saidzadees* or descendants of the Prophet, going about begging under the cover of large white veils which cover them from head to foot, and from which they derive their names of *mastoor* or veiled. They are very pertinacious in their demand for alms, and a number of little eyelet holes worked in the veil, enables them to see without being seen. The snuff-taking propensity of the lower orders is another thing likely to attract the notice of a traveller, who has seldom seen native carpenters or bricklayers sitting at work with a little snuff box beside them, and taking a pinch every now and then with the zest, if not the grace of a Brummel.

The piles of apples in the market places, the windlasses at the wells, and other such trifles as these, strongly remind one of home; and I could hardly help laughing when an enthusiastic *shikarce* described with most appropriate gestures the way in which one of their dogs would shake a pig by the ear, in the exact fashion that a Suffolk farmer might nar-

rate the "sowling" of a hog, which is the technical name for this feat. A very superior breed of dogs of great size and strength is brought from the lower parts of Scind towards Hyderabad, and the Khan Buhawul keeps several of them, being himself a very keen sportsman. Deer, hogs, and neelgai are his principal game, and in the winter season he flies his hawks at the cranes which then emigrate in large numbers.

During the whole of our tour through this chief's territories every kind of hospitality was exercised on the part of the Khan: respectable men were sent to accompany us from place to place, and to furnish all kinds of supplies that might be required by the camp: orders were given to accommodate us in the Khan's own houses, where there happened to be any at the place where we alighted, and nothing was left undone that was necessary to mark his good will toward his guests, and through them toward the British Government. The present Khan, Buhawul Khan, (grandson to Mr. Elphinstone's acquaintance of the same name) is a good-looking, sensible man; courteous in his manners, rational in his conversation, and an accomplished scholar in his own Persian language; he is also a neat mechanic, and does not scorn to work occasionally with his own hands.

I quitted Buhawulpoor on the morning of the 4th May, and plunged again into the Great Desert, halting at Powarwala, a small village with half a dozen wells of tolerable water, 8 kos E. S. E. of the capital. Our next stage was 16 kos south-east to Moj Gurh, a considerable fort, the *killadar* of which came out at midnight with a considerable *sumarce* to escort me in due form into his fort. There was no village on the road between Powarwala and Moj Gurh, but there are a couple of wells at a place called Kala Pubar, nearly half way between these two places, and two kos left of the road by which we came.

The fort of Moj Gurh lies on firm ground, with low sandy eminences round it, but at a considerable distance: it is built of brick, with very lofty walls, apparently 50 feet high, including the parapet which may be 7 by 2½ feet, with a narrow terreplein of about four feet, and numerous bastions. On the west side is a mosque, with high dome, and in the south-east angle is a good *mahal* or dwelling house for the Khan. The body of the place may be 110 yards square, with an outwork on the east side to cover the gate and a kucha tank opposite the entrance. The access winds through three separate gate-ways, in each of which is a right angled turning, so that there may be said to be six gates, though the inner arches are not furnished with doors. Three or four pieces of cannon are mounted on the angles, and there are wells within the fort containing plenty of good water at a depth of 8 cubits from the surface.

On the night of the 5th May, I left Moj Gurh, and instead of following the route by Pogout as traversed by Mr. Elphinstone, struck down toward the Jeisulmere frontier and marched

12 kos south by west over a tolerably hard path, encamping in the desert at a place called Troohawalee, where there are a few herdsman's huts, and some pools of water that had fortunately been filled by the late rain: so that the people have an abundant supply of sweet water. The baggage was eight hours on the road, but the *sunaree* camels arrived in 3 hours, 40 minutes. On the following night we completed the remaining 14 kos to Rookhunpoor or Ghous Gurh, which lies 45 miles south by west from Moj Gurh, and is only 6 kos from the Jeisulmere frontier. The road from Troohawalee is rather heavy, there being much sand with intervals of hard ground, but we accomplished the distance in 5 hours, and the baggage camels did it in ten hours and a half. The *killadar* came out with his followers to meet me at midnight and lodged us all within the fort, as at Moj Gurh.

Rookhunpoor is a poor village of 260 or 270 houses, and the small fort called Ghous Gurh on its N. W. side, was built 70 years ago by Moobaruk Khan of Buhawulpoor. There are three wells, 42 cubits or 12 *poors* deep, with very salt water, and there are also numerous *koonds* or reservoirs for rain water close to the northward of the village, with a tank three quarters of a kos N. N. E. from it. The fort is about 80 yards square inside, and most empty; it has eight tolerably strong bastions but of the calcareous stone called *dhanla*, with 5 or 6 very small guns. The bastions are about 35 or 40 feet high and the wall 25 or 30 feet, including a parapet 12 feet high, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ thick, to the terreplein is 4 or 5 feet broad, and a long *renee* or outer wall thus round the fort at an interval of 18 or 25 feet on three sides, and triple that breadth on the one side where the gateways are. This *renee*, as well as the body of the place, is built of the same *dhanla bhata*, which is fashioned into blocks like large mud bricks, and appears to be very durable. Both the village and fort are built on solid ground, and there are low sand hills within long cannon shot of the latter on the south side.

On the night of the 7th May, we marched 12 kos S. E. over a rather heavy road from Rookhunpoor (Buhawul Khan's) to Birsilpoor, a large village, with a fort belonging to a Bhaatee Rao, named Saheb, who is nominally subject to the Rawul of Jeisulmere, but who is pretty independent, owing to his inaccessible situation in the desert. This chief accompanied me to the top of a high sand hill, quarter of a mile S. W. of the fort, which is quite commanded by it, the top of the highest house being depressed 2½. On this sand hill the Emperor Humaioon is said to have remained some days about 375 years ago, for the fort is of great antiquity (the natives say 1,700 years,) though built after those of Pooguf and Bikumpoor. It stands on a small rising ground, perhaps 20 feet high, in the middle of a hollow, and the walls are barely 30 feet high, and perhaps 90 yards square, with 4 or 5 bastions in each face. The gate is on the north side, covered with a curtain, and the interior of the fort is full of houses. The town of Birsilpoor contains 400 houses, and has many bunya's shops,

with eleven wells, one of which is in the fort, the water being very salt and 41 cubits from the surface, but there are many *koonds* of fresh water on the N. W. side of the town. The fort has neither ditch nor *fausse braye*, and is built of blocks of the calcareous stone already mentioned.

Our next march was a heavy stage of 16 kos S. E. by E. from Birsilpoor to Bangursir, where we arrived on the morning of the 9th May, being 5 hours 40 minutes on the road, the chief part of which ran over numerous *thuls* or sand hills, with intermediate hard flats called *duhur*. Bangursir is a Bhaatee village of 60 or 80 houses (with two bunyas) lying close to the Beekaner frontier: it has a small *gurhee* that does not deserve the name of a fort, having only a gateway with two bastions and a small house, all connected by a *dhoor kot*, or wall of earth and bushes, situated on a slight eminence surrounded by huts. There are two wells to westward of the village, with exceedingly salt water at 121 cubits depth, with a few *koonds* or reservoirs, and a tank almost dry. The following memorandum will show that Bangursir is not quite as cool as Landour, or Simla, or any of those pleasant places for "eating cold air!"

Thermometer on the table in my tent.

At 9 A. M. 101°, at noon 120°, at 1 P. M. 123°, at 2 P. M. 119°, at 3 P. M. 116° at 4 P. M. 113°, at 5 P. M. 111°, at 6 P. M. 105°.

so that the average heat for nine successive hours was nearly 113°, the minimum 101, the maximum 123°. Truly this was becoming practically acquainted with the pleasures of a Sirocca; a kind of shaking of hands with Phœbus.

As the 9th May was the day appointed for the arrival of the Rajas of Beekaner and Jeisulmere at their respective frontier villages of Guriala and Girrajsir, no time was to be lost on the road, so I quitted Bangursir on the evening of the 9th May, and made the best of my way to Guriala, 7 kos south of that place, but found that the Beekaneer Raja would not arrive until the next day, so I trotted on a couple of kos farther to the south-west, and reached Girrajsir at 10½ P. M., thus completing a march of 218 kos from Jeisulmere to Buhawulpoor, &c., in 15 stages, with a single camel, allowing him, however, numerous intermediate halts, so that the gallant "ship of the desert" ambled into camp as fresh as a daisy, though each of his marches with me had averaged 14½ kos.

On the 10th May all the great folks came tumbling in together, and had sundry meetings during our week's halt at this place.

Having already brought down the movements of all parties concerned in Lieut. Trevelyan's Mission to the period when the rulers of Beekaneer and Jeisulmere, encamped upon their respective frontiers at Guriala and Girrajsir, in readiness for a personal conference, as had been recommended to them by the British Government; I must now summon up spirits from the vasty deep (or borrow a hint

from Colonel O'Shaughnessy, which may do just as well) in order to give an adequate account of all that occurred at this grand interview.

All parties had assembled on the 10th May, the day originally named for the meeting, but the Jeisulmere people were so exhausted by the rapidity of their journey that it would have been unfair to have called "time" to a single second; so the 11th of May was allowed to pass quietly away in slumbers, that the weary lords might find rest, and be fresh for the fatigues of the ensuing day.

Early on the morning of the 12th, preparations were made for pitching a *doulut khana* or durbar tent, exactly on the boundary line between the two kingdoms; and in this instance the line was real and not metaphorical, for when the precise point had been ascertained by measurement with a perambulator, where the boundary crosses the road between Guriala and Girrajsir, pegs were driven into the ground, and a very long rope stretched between them, in such manner as to point out the line of demarcation in a way that was quite satisfactory to all parties.

A suit of tents was pitched on this line, enclosing an area 100 feet long and 24 feet broad, half of the space being on either side of the frontier, and the southern portion of this hall of audience was formed by Lieut. Trevelyan's own tent, in which a large *guddy* or throne was so arranged that one half of it might lie exactly in each country. All the exterior arrangements were made as nearly as possible on exactly the same principle, namely, that of observing strict impartiality towards both parties, for had the "reciprocity been all on one side," as our Irish friend has it, or had there been the least appearance of *turfdarree* or undue leaning toward either side, it might have marred the harmony of the meeting.

As the two chiefs were to approach the tents from opposite quarters, the guard of infantry accompanying the Mission, was divided into two parts, so as to form an avenue at each door; the party of Blair's horse was drawn up in a single line across the boundary and facing the durbar, while the brigade of guns intended to salute the two crowned heads, was drawn up in rear of the cavalry so as to have one gun on each side of the line as near as might be.

Though Alladin and his lamp are long ago gathered to the dust, yet are there kind fairies still wandering on earth who enabled the "interesting travellers" to make all these preparations during the 12th May; and on the evening of that day the tents and guards, horse and foot, guns, throne, carpets, *uttur*, *pawn*, opium, sugar, and all the proper paraphernalia of royalty were in readiness to celebrate the meeting of reconciliation between their Highnesses the Maharajah Rutun Singh Beekaner, and the Maharawal Guj Singh of Jeisulmere.

A signal gun was fired a little before sunset, and the Maharaja immediately put his cortège

in motion from Guriala, which was a mile and a half distant from the place of meeting: as the Maharawal had two miles to travel, he reached the ground a little later than his neighbour, which gavetime for separate salutes of seventeen guns to be fired for each of them before they alighted from their *khasa* or covered litters. There were altogether about three thousand men in the field, the numbers being pretty equal on both sides, and the imposing nature of the show was somewhat augmented by the richly caparisoned elephants and led horses, drums, colours, and such other foreign aids of ornaments as seemed essential to give proper éclat to this "field of the cloth of gold."

No *peshwace* or *istikbal* was sent out to meet either Prince, but each was received with presented arms by the guard as he approached the entrance of the tent: a host of *thakoors* or Rajpoot nobles, and some wealthy merchants accompanied them as they came in at opposite doors, and for the first time in their lives stood beneath the same roof. Lieut. Trevelyan had stationed himself in the middle of the tent, and as they approached the centre, extended a hand to each, and brought them gently together: each saluted the other courteously, and as they were performing the *bughul geeree* or ceremony of mutual embrace, the durbar resounded with congratulatory cries of "*moobaruk, moobaruk.*"

After this fraternal accolade they seated themselves together on the richly brocaded *gudder* that had been prepared for them, while their followers crowded into the tent *en masse* and soon shut out what little daylight remained. Many attempts were made to reduce this mass of courtiers into something like an organized shape, but it seemed as if nothing short of the *argumentum baculum* would answer the purpose, so they were made to sit down even where they had thrust themselves forward in their eager zeal to see the novel spectacle of "two kings of Brentford on one throne."

Though some of the spectators were adorned with rich jewels yet both of the principal personages had the good taste to attire themselves simply in the full white robe called *jama*, with the coloured turband peculiar to their respective courts; a dagger in the *kumurbund* was their only weapon, and a few pearls and emeralds almost their only ornaments. Lieut. Trevelyan was seated on the right of the Maharaja; Lieut. Boileau on the left of the Maharawal, and their ministers and other sirdars formed a circle round them, the privileged chiefs squatting themselves down on the carpet, while the inferiors stood without, to the no small stoppage of the free air of heaven.

By way of making darkness visible and letting in some little light upon the scene, four table shades were introduced, and when the candles appeared, both the Rajas rose from their seats and saluted each other, while the sirdars made the usual complimentary ejaculations and cried out the name of Luchmee Narain, or their favorite saint, a ceremony

seldom or never omitted at the time of lamp lighting.

This meeting between the chiefs of Beekancer and Jeisulmere was not a mere scene of dumb show, for they sat a long time together introducing the principal people on either side, talking with considerable familiarity, and praising the British authorities by whose friendly interposition this happy meeting had been brought about. A fortunate omen, too, occurred in the presence of a little field mouse which came running about in front of the *guddee*, and was received with a *salam* by the Rawul, who said that it was his *deuta* or "good spirit." In short the interview passed off admirably, and some good things were said about this auspicious conjunction of the sun and moon, for it so happens that the Rahto Raja is a *sooraj buns* or descendant of Apollo, while the Bhattee Rawul is a *chundur bunsee* deriving his lineage from Diana.

After a sufficient time had elapsed, *utur*, *paen*, &c. were introduced as a signal for parting, and here again great care was taken to dismiss both parties with equal honors: to effect this Lieut. Trevelyan quitted his post on the flank, and placing himself in front of the throne simultaneously applied the *utler* to both parties, one with each hand, to the greath delight of the Rawul, who was half afraid that his most powerful neighbour, who chanced to occupy the seat of honor on the right hand of the *guddee*, might perchance also come in for the first share in the ceremony of being anointed. Each prince returned the compliment of unction to both officers as to each other; and after the ceremonies of dismissal were performed, they both rose together from their seats, both stepped at once off the *guddee*, exchanged a mutual salute, and left the tent by opposite doors, as they had entered. No salute was fired at their departure, but each received a compliment from his own guns as they arrived at their respective camps.

This ended the first act of an interview that had been looked forward to with considerable anxiety, and the bringing about of which had cost an infinite deal of trouble, particularly to the officer employed in bringing the hitherto rival chiefs to meet each other at such a sultry season, and at such a distance from their capitals. When the first meeting had taken place, however, the succeeding visits were easily arranged, and it was agreed that the Rajas should call upon each other at their different camps, unattended by the British officers, whose presence might have been an incumbrance both in preventing the strictly private conversation which they wished to hold together; and also in checking the freedom of badinage usually resorted to when two such personages meet on a friendly visit, and cut together out of the same dish.

The conclusion of these ceremonies did not take place until the 16th May, when the Maharawal left his camp at Girajsir, crossed the boundary, and visited the Maharaja's camp, at Guriala, where he was received very kindly;

and after a long friendly interview was dismissed with suitable presents, (an elephant, two horses, a few jewels, and clothes) and returned to his own tents about noon. The Maharaja returned his visit at night, coming over from Guriala to Girajsir, where he experienced a reception similar to that which he had given his new friend, and was dismissed with similar presents.

At both of these meetings the Rajas fed together out of the same dish in the most familiar manner, putting portions of the food into each other's mouths: sly jokes were interchanged, dances were exhibited, and after the different chiefs had been more particularly introduced, the two Princes retired into an inner tent and held some private conversation together, so that it is to be hoped the purposes of bringing about this meeting have been fully answered by thus affording the two principal personages an opportunity of unreserved communication with each other. Lieut. Trevelyan also brought about a meeting between three confidential persons of each party, who entered into a written agreement among themselves, stipulating among other things that each state should not only refrain from committing aggressions on the other, but should deliver up any notorious refugees who might attempt to shelter themselves within the other's frontier; and in the event of sustaining damage from any desperado, who might be too strong for either party to cope with him single handed, the other State should co-operate in reducing him "*par la voie de faité*."

Though the principal events which took place during the week of our halt at Girajsir occurred on the 12th and 16th May as above stated, yet there were several other incidents of minor importance which deserve to be mentioned, as they will serve to give a more connected detail of our proceedings. On the 10th of May both courts reached the frontier as already mentioned, Lieutenant Trevelyan's camp being at Girajsir, as well as that of the Jeisulmere chief: on the 11th May we went to pay complimentary visits to both the Princes, first on the Rawul Guj Singh who seemed to be in excellent health considering his great corpulence and the immense fatigue he had just undergone, and after sitting a while with him we rode nearly four miles in the sun of Guriala, and had a very pleasant meeting with our old acquaintance the Raja Rutun Singh. He received us in full durbar under a crimson canopy, embroidered with gold, in an enormous double poled tent, and we were quite pleased to see the improvement in his health since the time of our parting at Beekancer.

When we first met he was leaning on a crutch-headed stick, and could with difficulty walk to the door of his hall of audience, but he now met us with alacrity at the entrance of the outer enclosure of this *dowlut khana*, and after sitting in durbar some time, walked with us to his private tent, where we again sat with him for some time, talking cheerily, as he was in excellent spirits. His heir and his bother, the Princes Sirdar Singh and

Luchmun Singh had come with him half way from Beekaner, as far as the celebrated place of pilgrimage at Koilath, but instead of coming on with him to Guriala, they returned to the capital with several hundred followers, either because they could not stand so much exposure to the sun, or because the Raja wished to diminish the number of his followers, who would have difficulties in finding supplies and water at Guriala : or more likely because the presence of these supernumerary scions of royalty would have been "*detrop*" during the interview of the chieftains.

On the 12th May, after the meeting was over, and the Rajas had returned to their several camps, we remained in the tents on the boundary, to be in readiness for the return visit, which was paid on the following morning to Lieutenant Trevelyan by the Maharaja Rutun Sing : as he had been prevented by illness from paying him that compliment during our stay at Beekaner. He came after breakfast from his camp at Guriala, attended by a very large sowaree, and I rode out a considerable distance to meet him, taking all our troopers who made a very respectable "tail," and on reaching the tents, he was received with presented arms and a salute of artillery. Lieut. Trevelyan going out to the end of the avenue to welcome him. After remaining for nearly an hour he returned to Guriala, and we made the best of our way to camp Girrajsir about noon, at which time the sun was a little too hot to be pleasant for folks on horse back, being 125° out of doors, and 105° in the shade.

On the evening of the same day (the 13th) we paid a private visit to the Maharawul in his tents at Girrajsir, and after a little private conversation, a brace of damsels were introduced, whose singing soon put an end to serious business. The 14th May passed away without any particular occurrence, but on the 15th we went in the evening to pay our farewell visit to the Maharaja, who was shortly to return to Beekaner, so that we should see his face no more, as we were not to be present at the interviews that were to take place on the following day.

The Raja Rutun Singh received us with the same kindness, and even with more intimacy than at our last meeting on the 13th, showing us the arrangement of his *has deru*, in which there was separate tents for praying, sleeping, bathing, &c. : nor did he scruple to prostrate himself towards the *thakoor dwara*, and perform his devotions in our presence. As this was our last visit, he insisted upon our sitting with him until late at night, and after chatting familiarly for a long time, he introduced a goodly company of figurantes, whom he particularly brought to our notice, as being hereditary servants of the throne of Beekaner.

His zeal in pointing out the particular ladies who had danced in the presence of himself and his ancestors, afforded much fun, the introduction being worded something in this way. " They have danced before my

family for many generations ! Tara ! where's Tara ? " The star came when she was called, and put herself a little in front of the group. " There ! Tara's aunt danced before my father ; and Chunda ! where's Chunda ! her *na-ace* danced before my grandfather." Shade of Vestris ! only conceive the *Moon's grandmother* capering before Guj Singh, and the *Star's aunt* enlivening old Soorut Singh with a neat *glissade en arriere* ! " The fiddles struck up, emulating the music of the spheres ; the celestial bodies above named joined in the mazy dance with sundry inferior luminaries and satellites, each in its proper orbit ; and our visit terminated in a very merry manner. It was our blithest and our last !

The occurrences of the 16th May have been already noticed, being the day when mutual visits took place between the two Rajas, at which we were not present, so no more need be said about them ; they halted the next day at Guriala and Girrajsir, and on the 18th May we turned our backs upon the frontier, well pleased at the admirable manner in which every thing had gone off, and thankful too that at such a season not a single man, among the thousands brought together on that barren frontier, had died from fatigue, exposure to the sun, or badness of the water though many had suffered much on the journey.

The Maharaja's camp returned from Guriala towards Beekaner, and the Maharawul was to have accompanied Lieutenant Trevelyan to Bikumpoor, but suddenly changing his mind, started at midnight for Nok, and left us to make the best of our way from Girrajsir to Bikumpoor, a cruel march of 26 miles among steep sandhills without a drop of water for many a mile. Two of my servants fell down exhausted on the road, and one of them was reported dead, but a supply of water was fortunately procured, which revived them both. We halted at Bikumpoor on the 19th May, being joined in the morning by the Rawul, who came over with a few followers, leaving his camp standing at Nok, distant 8 kos.

Bikumpoor or Bheekoonpoor is an exceedingly old fort, about a hundred yards square, with rubble walls, 25 feet high, occupying the whole of a little knoll, which gives it rather a stiff exterior section, though it has scarcely any interior profile, nearly the whole area of the fort being on a level with the terreplein of the rampart. There is a high cavalier in the north-east angle, and four guns are mounted in various parts of the fort, which has a garrison of 50 to 100 men, with a hakim or governor from Jeisulmere. There are high sandhills within range of the place which, though somewhat formidable-looking at a distance, has little real strength. A neat little town of 300 or 225 houses lies at the south-east side of the fort : one third of the inhabitants are Brahmins, who drive a traffic between Scind and Beekaner or Jeisulmere, having 250 camels employed in transporting goods, for which they pay no duty. There are two wells of salt water in the village, one

of them close to the fort-gate, and 150 *kounds* or small *pukka* reservoirs for catching rain water.

Some idea may be formed of the very uninviting nature of the *rohee* or desert between Bikumpoor and Poogul, by the following little native story. A wild doe had lost her fawn, and fearing that some beast of prey had carried off the missing *butcha*, taxed a hyæna with having devoured it. The hyæna denied the charge with indignation, and offered to confirm his denial by the most solemn oath that could be administered: he accordingly swore, "If I have eaten your fawn, may I be condemned to dwell in the desert between Bikumpoor and Poogul!" On hearing which tremendous adjuration the doe fully acquitted him.

That this country was not always so desolate may, however, be inferred from the tradition that Bikumpoor once stood on the bank of a river, which was drank dry by a divinity taking up the water in the hollow of his hand: this exploit could not easily have been performed since the days of the royal hero, who gave his name to the fort, the Raja Beer Bikrunjeet, about whose era it is said to have been founded, and there really are within its precincts a couple of *mundurs* or pagodas that appear almost old enough to have been coeval with the great Bikrum. The fort at Birsilpoor being only seventeen hundred years old, modestly claims a less antiquity than the above, and is said to have been built as a half way house or resting place in the dreary track between Bikumpoor and Poogul.

We quitted Bikumpoor on the 20th May, accompanying the Maharawul to Nok, where there is fine arable ground, and abundance of sweet water near the surface: on the following day we all marched to Bap, our last resting place in the Jeisulmere country, but the account of our parting with the Rawul Guj Singh, and our entry on the Jodhpoor state, alias Marwar, must be reserved for some future opportunity.

Camp, Balotra in Jodhpoor, 5th July, 1835.—The proceedings of Licut. Trevelyan's Mission to the westward have already been brought up to the time when the Rawul of Jeisulmere arrived at the village or small town of Bap, on the Jodhpoor frontier, after his interview with the Raja of Beekaner: we all reached Bap on the 21st May, and on the 22d our party was increased by the Rao of Birsilpoor's arrival with seventy or eighty followers, who came to pay their respects to the Maharawul. The Rao Saheb Singh of Birsilpoor is the most powerful of all the Jeisulmere feudatories, and required much persuasion before he would venture from his stronghold in the desert to lay his sword at the feet of his Bhattee sovereign; nor were his misgivings altogether without foundation, for, many years have not passed since the fort of his neighbour and relation, the young Rao of Bikumpoor was surreptitiously taken possession of by the Jeisulmere Government, and

is to this day held as a royal castle to the exclusion of its more legitimate owner.

Rather than be deprived of his own possession in a similar manner, the Rao of Birsilpoor had determined to secure the parole of the European gentlemen, who accompanied the Rawul from Girajsir, that a safe return home might be guaranteed to him; otherwise he determined to decline the invitation (or in other words to disobey the order) to appear forthwith at the Rawul's camp, in which refusal he would have been backed by another neighbour and relation the Rao of Poogul, who is nominally subject to the Beekaner State, though of Bhattee family, and who promised to stand by Saheb Singh for good and evil with all the forces he could muster, and to assist him, if necessary, in the defence of his desert fastness. Fortunately there was no occasion for any such display of force by these turbulent borderers; the Rao of Birsilpoor came quietly to Bap upon the pledge of a safe-conduct home, and was very honorably received by the Maharawul, who embraced him in open durbar, and received his nuzur and dismissed him on the 24th May, with a suitable present, at the same time that he broke up his own camp and marched toward Jeisulmere.

Previous to the Maharawul's departure, that is to say, on the evening of the 23d May, we paid a parting visit to our merry friend Gaj Singh, who received us with his usual good humour, and made repeated attempts to evince his satisfaction at the result of Lieutenant Trevelyan's Mission, by loading us with certain presents, but these attacks were very properly parried by that officer, so after much laughing and a little singing and dancing, we took our leave and shook hands for the last time with the Maharawul of Jeisulmere.

On the 25th May, we entered the Jodhpoor territory, making a march of more than 20 miles by a circuitous road from camp Bap to the city of Phulodee, with a marvellously hot sun over our heads, which was leisurely drying our brains while the rival candidates, for a disputed bit of frontier land, tried to persuade the *sahib log* that the boundary line ran *so* instead of *so*. That universal panacea for disputed frontiers, a perambulator, was had recourse to in the present instance, but its effects were rather *so so*, it being difficult to please both parties in a case of this kind, witness Dandy Dinmont and Jack o'Dawston.

The town of Phulodee is said to contain 3,000 houses, and is built on a rising ground, with a stone fort about seventy yards broad and 100 yards long, built on a rocky base, with walls about forty feet high, but having neither ditch nor *rennee*. A few small guns are mounted on the walls, which appear to have a very weak section. On the south side of the fort are some good substantial houses, inhabited by merchants of the Jain persuasion, who have enormous wealth and with the exception of the Foudjars of Ramgurh in Shekawatee,

are the largest capitalists in this part of the country. They are called *dhuda*, and are continually lending out monies in various quarters to respectable merchants at the moderate interest of eight annas per cent per mensem, or 6 per cent per annum. Some of the highest houses nearly overlook the little citadel above mentioned, which is not very strong, and the town may itself be considered open, though a ruinous bit of stone wall acts as a *shuharpunah* on its southern face. There are three small Jain pagodas, and also some *mundurs* of the ordinary Hindoo faith: there are four tanks (now dry) on the west and south sides of the town, and there is abundance of well water within 15 or 20 cubits of the surface, which, however, is rather brackish, and is drawn up by the self discharging skin bag used in the Dukhun instead of the *mot* or *chursa*, commonly employed in Hindoostan.

We made no halt at Phulodee, but made the best of our way by two marches of 17 and 16 miles over tolerable roads to Pohkurn, a small walled city of considerable importance, the Thakoor being one of the most powerful of all the chiefs of Marwar, though the present incumbent is by no means so powerful as his grandfather the celebrated Siwæ Singh Chumpawut, who was treacherously murdered by Umeer Khan of Tonk, after the most solemn pledges of friendship had been exchanged between them.

On our approaching to within a kos or two miles of Pohkurn, the Thakoor came out to meet Lieutenant Trevelyan with about thirty followers, well mounted on fine Marwarce horses, which were much superior to the cattle that had ordinarily come under our notice. Buboot Singh is only the adopted son of the late Thakoor of Pohkurn, and being without issue, though provided with two wives, may in time be obliged to adopt his own successor too. He is a civil and comely looking young man, with a slight cast in his eye, and his reception of us was very satisfactory, for he not only accompanied us to our tents after the march, but came in the evening to pay a second visit of ceremony, though our camp was half a mile from the town, close to a large tank on the north-west side of the citadel.

After the Thakoor had sat with us for some time, we accompanied him back to his own *mahal*, which is a very neat little palace in the centre of the fort, and immediately to the south side of it, within the ramparts, is a stable yard, with excellent accommodation for about 150 or 200 horses, only half of which number, however, were picketted there at present, the remainder being out on duty of the district; the horses are separated from the mares, and the whole are sorted into squads according to their colours. After paying the chief a short visit in his own hall we rode through the town of Pohkurn, which is well-built, containing 3,000 houses, and is surrounded by a good wall, built of uncemented stone, about 15 feet high (including a thin parapet of 6 feet by 2½ feet) with a terreplein four feet

broad; the whole being masked by a *rence* and small ditch formed out of the hard red soil.

The citadel is on the west side of the town, and forms part of its *enceinte*; it is admirably built of wrought stone, the walls being about 35 feet high outside, but only eighteen feet inside up to the terreplein. Its figure is an irregular oblong about 120 yards long and 80 yards broad, with a *fausse braye* and a deep but narrow ditch faced with masonry, the revetments of which have in some place been forced out by the roots of trees, but the body of the place is in excellent repair, having the *muhil* already mentioned in its centre, and a few guns on the walls, with good store of fuel inside, and a well of sweet water (about twenty feet deep!) in the court yard of the palace. The *muhil* has a gate of its own, so that it would serve as a retreat in case of the citadel being carried by storm.

Close to westward of the citadel is a large tank or sagur, partly faced with masonry, but containing less water than the other tank called Ramdesir, which was close to our tents. About a kos north of the city is a very conspicuous pagoda on the crest of some high rocky table land, marking the site of the old city, now quite deserted, near which are the *chutrees* or monuments of the deceased chiefs of Pohkurn. Three kos northward of the city is a celebrated *sirna*, or sanctuary, called Ramdeo-jee-ka-Dera, where malefactors find an asylum, and where people sometimes resort to offer up the first-shorn hair of their young children.

The Pohkurn district was formerly said to yield a revenue of three lacs of rupees, but the income of the present Thakoor can hardly exceed a third of that sum, much of his patrimony having been alienated before he came into possession. Being on the high road from Jodhpoor and Pleerta to Jeisulmere, (that is to say from Jeypoor, Kotah, Boondce, Ajmere, &c., to Scind) a good deal of money is realized by the transit duty on opium, large quantities of which find their way by this route to the banks of the Indus.

After remaining three days at Pohkurn, we continued our march southward by way of Bhuneana, Bheekoraee; Oodoo, and Bheemar to Seew or Sheo, a small town, which is the capital of a considerably large but unproductive tract of country, parcelled out into petty districts, the Boomias of which pay but little deference to the Raja of Jodhpoor's *hakim* or governor, who is stationed at Sheo with four guns and a few soldiers. We were very civilly treated by this functionary, and halted one day beside the fine tank, having marched 78 miles from Pohkurn in five days notwithstanding the great heat of the weather. A dwarf of the *malee* cast came to our tents to ask advice for the extirpation of a tumour on his neck; he was about thirty years old and exactly thirty-six inches high.—*Delhi Gazette*.

(To be continued.)

THE ARCH-DEACONRY.

The selection and appointment of the Rev. Mr. Dealtry to the Arch-deaconry by Bishop Wilson, has been a subject of warm discussion for several days past in the daily journals of this presidency. Those, who have ranged themselves on the side of his Lordship, contend that he has a right—that it is his prerogative—to appoint to that office whom he will, without respect to age, length of service, or seniority. That is, that his Lordship may choose from among the Chaplains on the establishment any one, and, as in the case of Mr. Dealtry, exalt him over some ten or a dozen of his seniors in the service. Others contend that whatever may have been the prerogative of Bishops heretofore, and although in some instances referred to, such as the appointments of the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne to the Arch-deaconry of Bombay, and that of the Rev. Mr. Robinson to Madras, an arbitrary choice was made, yet precedents are no rule for the present time, as under the new arrangements the duties of Arch-deacon are to be performed by a Chaplain with an additional salary of two hundred and fifty rupees per mensem, and that these duties with the increased allowance ought in justice to devolve on him who holds the place of seniority in the establishment. The latter appears to us to be the only position which can be maintained with even the semblance of propriety, and to belong to the “things which are of honest and good report.” The appointment to the Arch-deaconry is a case in which there is no room for the exercise of partiality and personal attachment, and one which does not appear to admit of a question as to qualification; for, supposing that a junior chaplain possesses superior talents and education, the claims of seniority, if united with those of fair moral reputation, must outweigh those of the other, when the question of rank in the service is to be decided. The plea that Mr. Dealtry is a man of superior abilities and education, and that these justify the Bishop in placing him over his seniors, is too absurd to be listened to for a moment; for, indeed, it requires no deep acquaintance with the classics or profound study of the sciences to discharge, with general approbation, the duties of an Arch-deaconry. For the office is one of a spiritual, not of a literary character, and surely any chaplain of experience in this country, and especially one of twenty-two years standing with character unblemished, may be supposed to be fully competent, in every respect to its duties, at least, equally so with others younger in the service.

But if the question of literary merit or that of a collegiate degree, is of any importance in endeavouring to establish priority of claims, we have reason to believe that the senior Chaplain will not suffer in a comparison with Mr. Dealtry. Then, as to what may be said of the right of the Bishop to make an arbitrary choice on the ground that the Arch-

deacon is to be regarded as his Lordship's deputy, as a *locum tenens*, &c. it might have some weight, and the appearance of consistency, if the appointment were to begin and end with his Lordship's authority in the country. But this is not the case. His Lordship may be under the necessity of relinquishing his honours to-morrow, but yet, Mr. Dealtry must be the Arch-deacon. What right has his lordship to bequeath *his* Arch-deacon to his successor? Would not his successor consider himself as possessing the same privilege to appoint *his own* Arch-deacon? Undoubtedly the privilege or right would be the same, if, as it is contended, his Lordship may gratify his own personal views and seek to please himself only in making a selection. Let the retirement of Mr. Dealtry be contemporaneous with that of the present Bishop, and then the argument of the *locum tenens* and personal gratification, in conferring the appointment will at least have the show of consistency. The fact of the Arch-deacon's continuance in office, being unaffected by any contingency which may happen to the Bishop, utterly precludes the right of consulting personal views and feelings in making the appointment. It is not like an appointment to a personal staff, which may be given to this or that individual, and taken away at pleasure. Were it so, no one could presume to question the propriety of his Lordship's selection, but not being so, every one questions the propriety of his Lordship's inflicting on his successor the consequences of his partiality and predilection. But Mr. Dealtry, it is said, is evangelical—zealous—pious, and, therefore, better qualified than any one else for the Arch-deaconry. Do those who, in these qualifications find an apology for his elevation, intend to insinuate that they are not to be found in the senior chaplain? We are not quite sure that we fully understand the purport and application of the term “*evangelical*” in the present case. Is it meant, that the doctrine which Mr. Dealtry inculcates is more according to the Gospel than that which is heard from the pulpit of the Cathedral? If so, then the question lies between two parties, the evangelical and non-evangelical, and Mr. Dealtry may thank the stars that the Lord Bishop happens to belong to the same party with himself. But we have never heard that the senior chaplain does not preach the doctrines of the church. He may be more modest and tolerant in his announcements than the senior at the old church: a fault (if it be one) which most people can very easily overlook.

But it was not our intention to discuss the merits of Mr. Dealtry, or those over whose heads Bishop Wilson has been pleased to drag him. Our impression is that the episcopal authority has stretched itself, in this instance, beyond its true measure—that his Lordship has no right to cast the claims of seni-

erity in the service into the shade. We suppose it is too late for him to revoke the deed, and that the passive Mr. Dealtry has too much modesty to resign. We hope, however, if there are means of redress, they will be found out; but if not, that the senior chaplains will submit to the indignity with a becoming spirit of meek endurance.—*Oriental Observer*.

SIR,—Among the solid and primary advantages of the press may be justly reckoned the light which is here and there scattered by conflicting parties on subjects under discussion, and the exposures which sophistical scribblers are apt to make in their over-zealous attempts to bolster up a weak or an unjust cause. To war they will go, though it be but to expose their naked fronts to the severities or mercy of the enemy. Of this we have a most striking and apposite instance in the efforts now at work to establish the Bishop's wisdom and discrimination in his choice of an Arch-deacon, and in the denouement which the satellites of his Lordship make of the reasons and motives which have led to this selection.

Another material benefit of the press is the door of access which it throws open into the bureaux of powers and authorities, and the medium it affords of offering such suggestions as dignified ears would not brook to listen to from the lips of a subordinate, without, at least, regarding him as a presumptuous intruder and dispenser of authorities. And, therefore, when we hear the enemies of the press stigmatize it as an unqualified source, not to say sentina, of evil, and decry it as an unworthy channel, through which to seek for the redress of wrong, we pause, and feel disposed to ask, what legitimate instrument can be employed to "teach our senators wisdom?" Respectful remonstrance? Appeals? Memorials? As well go preach to the sea and bid her restless waves lie still. To wield the weapons of reason and argument in combating the unwise measures of our rulers, or even whisper in the ear of power any hint of its own injudiciousness, or any restraint in its exercise, is to invoke upon a man's own head a thunder-storm of wrath, which shall shiver him to atoms. We hail, therefore, this dawn of better times—this blessing of a wisely conducted press; and rejoice, that a harbinger is gone forth to annunciate the lesson, that not even rulers can overstep the bounds of right and justice and propriety, without awakening, as with a fairy touch, public remonstrance, public displeasure and the dissatisfaction, if not the reprobation, of mankind.

After this exordium we proceed to canvas the late appointment to the Arch-deaconry. The advocates of his Lordship's choice say, and reiterate their loud amen, and applaud the discrimination and justice of the selection; and had they stifled their burning anxiety to compel the rest of the giddy world to think as they do, by their numerous lucubrations for establishing the paramount claims of the individual selected, we should probably never have been tempted to gainsay their opinions.

But like vain babblers, they must indite about the matter; and out comes the unsoundness, the hollowness of their cause.

The question, happily for our limits, is *duly* circumscribed by confining all pretensions to such a dignity, to the two seniors and the Arch-deacon elect; the intermediate portion of the chaplains' list being regarded (poor fellows!) as so much waste paper—mere clerical *hoi polloi*, (*procul este profani!*) not admissible on the arena, and unworthy of notice. And we deny not the argument *fortiori*, as far as the point of seniority goes, that if the two seniors have no just reason to complain of the infringement of that rule, the contemplated residue may bow their acquiescence. But are they all disqualified by an "unaccountable spirit of insubordination?" Are all their dispositions so deplorably mild as to be unmeet for "the stern duties" of such a dignitary? Moreover, it may be asked, by what enactment has the rule of seniority been cancelled, and from what date has it ceased to be in operation? In the civil, in the military and the medical services, seniority, when not disqualified by imbecility or other incompetency, puts in forcible and just appeal, and, (let the community of Calcutta testify) is but very rarely, and that too in cases of overwhelming interest or real disqualifications, wantonly set aside and trampled on. Under whose auspices, in what *anno mirabili* was it ever seen, that a writer was foisted into a Sudder Board, a subaltern made Adjutant-General, or an Assistant-Surgeon a member of the Medical Board? And what in the other branches of the service is so ridiculous as to excite laughter, is that to be upheld and applauded in the service ecclesiastical? We trow not. Either reform, then, or remodel all the services alike, or else let them severally and equally share in an equitable administration of their present regulations.

But perhaps the reformation is herewith (this schedule A) to be begun, and its commencement dated from the new clerical era of *sternness*; and this supposition is corroborated, by what we read in the same announcement of a "new system of Ecclesiastical Government, established in this diocese by Bishop Wilson, to the *stern* duties of which the new Arch-deacon is to give effect." With the particulars of this system, we of the laity, we believe, have not yet been favoured; the initiated alone enjoy so precious a privilege. We only hope, that it is not an imaginary creation, put forth for the purpose of showing "of what great consequence it is to his Lordship that he should be able to place the most implicit reliance upon those he may entrust with the direction of affairs during his absence."

Many persons, we understand, question the Bishop's prerogative to appoint whom he will. For ourselves we forego this objection. We only contend that that the Episcopal prerogative, not less than the royal, is fenced and circumscribed; and that his Lordship both can do wrong (which the king cannot) and can-

not, without public censure, repudiate the just claims of suitable candidates, and violate the regulations of the service.

It is urged, likewise, that his Lordship is bound by Act of Parliament to nominate the senior to the appointment. We rather apprehend not, though we think, either way, the discussion of the legality of the measure cannot terminate until the law itself be known. And we have reason to conclude, that his Lordship's new letters patent since he became by the late charter, a metropolitan Bishop, have not yet arrived. Therefore, whatever measures his Lordship may be pleased to adopt by anticipation, may hereafter, for aught yet known to the contrary, have to be undone. Acts of Parliament in such matters give but the rough outline; the letters patent specify the details; and it would be an untoward task indeed, for his Lordship to have to learn the limits of his authority after having materially exceeded them. However, our presumption is guarded on this point. Be the issue what it may, we think, that virtually and in spirit, the appointment is appropriated to the senior; for we cannot forget, that in Mr. Grant's correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Court of Directors, he distinctly specifies, as a matter of judicious arrangement, that the office of Archdeacon should devolve on the senior chaplain. Notwithstanding, therefore, the omission of this specific enactment in the Act of Parliament (where we do not look for it) or even in his Lordship's letters patent (if it prove to be so omitted) it may with good reason be urged as the spirit of that arrangement, which was contemplated by the home authorities, and ought not, without solid and sufficient cause, to be needlessly set aside.

Needlessly did we say? Aye, there comes the pith and brunt of the contention; for the advocates of the new system of *sternness* urge, that there was an unavoidable necessity for his Lordship to fall back upon the rear of his clerical forces, by asserting, that the senior chaplain is disqualified by his unaccountable spirit of insubordination, the junior by his mildness of disposition, and the rest, of course, by one or other, or both.

It were well if so serious, not to say libellous a charge as that of "unaccountable insubordination," had been accompanied and substantiated by proofs. In the total absence of these, we are left to instance one or two occasions, on which this insubordinate spirit has been manifested; and though we neither excuse nor extenuate insubordination in any shape, and are ready to concede that the senior chaplain is not of the most bending temperament, yet a charge of insubordination is another thing; and we must be convinced, before we condemn, that his unwillingness to meet his Lordship's wishes, was not called forth by an illegitimate exercise of authority. His Lordship, to mention one instance, required the Cathedral chaplains to abdicate and throw open their pulpit and services to his own chaplain and son-in-law

whenever he might wish it. Against this the senior remonstrated; and we hesitate not to affirm, that in so doing, if done respectfully, (as we are assured it was) he was but properly reminding his Lordship of overstepping his Episcopal authority. Not even His Grace of Canterbury himself, primate though he be, would thus interfere with the humblest curate in the British dominions.

On another occasion, a most respectful remonstrance was made by the two seniors, against the measure which his Lordship lately introduced and carried, for parcelling out and dividing the emoluments, which have been reserved ("*meritorum præmia*") to the two senior presidency chaplains, ever since the establishment of the English Church in India. Now this too may probably, by a rhetorical twist, be interpreted as insubordination. Then is to obey to be a slave. Do away with all the higher grades of emolument, of the civil, military, and medical services, and try whether the very avenues of Government would not be choked with addresses, and every public servant in the country join with one heart and one voice in pouring out their complaints. But would this be insubordination? We presume not. We would have wished his Lordship had reflected, that if, for the sake of removing (imaginary) inconveniences, it seemed expedient to effect the arrangement in question, it was just and right likewise, previously to provide some compensation for the diminution of established emoluments; provide, we say, if impossible from any other source, than out of his Lordship's own allowances, rather than pare away the only two remnants of any value annexed to the Ecclesiastical Department. There is not a chaplain, we are assured, throughout the country, save and except those at the Mission Church, who does not think himself injured by this uncalled for measure; and considers the only prospect the service held out to him of temporal benefit, cut off and blasted. The Mission Church chaplains, of course, participate not in this grievance; they only share the spoil; and now, a chaplain of the Old Church though he arrived but to-morrow, (as the present ones did but yesterday) will immediately, on the departure of the present incumbents at the Cathedral, be in the receipt of probably larger emoluments than the senior in the service. Do we hear the rest of the chaplains admonished, as ministers of the sanctuary, "not to seek their own?" We retort in their behalf, the self-same admonition, and add thereto, "but every man another's wealth;" and we think it would have become the characters of those, who supported and urged this measure, to have exerted their utmost influence in dissuading, instead of moving his Lordship to effect it. We know, however, in this particular matter, we are stemming a strong current. The measure is popular. It is, moreover, a weakening, however slight, of the Church's secular sinews, and therefore, right and justice must succumb. We only deplore, that the avowed father of his clergy should have been so misguided as

to bring it to pass, because by no interpretation can it be construed as an instance of paternal solicitude for their welfare.

Another instance of the senior's insubordination, connected with the late order for the reconstruction of the Select Vestry, we can only barely allude to; but we apprehend, that as laymen are mixed up with this measure, his Lordship will have to undergo the pain of experiencing what actual insubordination is.

These, and it may be one or two others of the like sort, are the instances of alleged insubordination which disqualify the senior chaplain for the Arch-deaconry. Before quitting this topic, we cannot forbear to counsel his Lordship to be as cautious, as reluctant, as determined, not to construe every apparent symptom of discontent among his clergy into the crime of insubordination, as his advocates are zealous to establish, to fasten, if not to aggravate such construction. There was a time at Rome, and that a *stern* time too, when one of her best historians placed on record "*antismus rerum vocabula*," and if the public voice join in denominating respectful remonstrance insubordination, may a similar verdict be recorded on the present Indian generation.

But of the Junior Presidency Chaplain, the very head and front of his offending is *mildness* and meekness of disposition. Forgive us for re-quoting from the *Hurkaru*.

"Awy to Heaven, respective lenity,
And fire-ey'd fury be my conduct now!"

The church is, indeed, become militant, when in the eyes of a christian Bishop, sternness is represented as being the highest recommendation for an Arch-deaconry. We forbear diluting this powerful argument put forth by the (clerical!) inditers of the paragraph in the *Englishman*, and only mourn that his Lordship does not divest himself of such advocates and denounce such an intolerable attempt (*more sophistrio*) to make the worse appear the better cause. As for the jesuitical quibble of the second version and the amended edition of the said illustrious paragraph, we despise it too much to do more than notice it. There is a "power most chiefly declared," not in shewing *sternness*, but "mercy and pity"—a power, too, not mortal but omnipotent. In earnestness we propose it for imitation, and entreat all who have heard, or read thereof with their lips to make it the pattern of their lives.

We have thus discussed the more prominent points of this objectionable proceeding, as they are exhibited to our notice by the advocates of his Lordship's choice. The entire and several hearings of the subject, and all the merits of the appointment exceed the limits of a newspaper. We can only implore his Lordship, if he be determined to abide by his choice, not to suffer any one unjustly to depreciate the characters of all those who have been superseded; but boldly to maintain his own view of his own prerogative, his "*sic volo*," and "*sic jubeo*" ("le roi le veut") though it be at the expense of all right and justice in vio-

lation of the established rules of the service, and in defiance of all impartiality and judgment.

Alas! there will be halos round the brightest luminaries. And when, after hearing as we have so often done, the splendid outpourings, which the highly gifted Bishop deals, like an Apostle, from his stores of biblical knowledge ("*O! si sic omnia!*") we follow him into the business of life, we are so perplexed and bewildered as to feel disposed to discredit our senses in identifying the individual. What eye, indued with prophetic vision, could have foreseen in the evangelical Daniel Wilson, the future "Lord over God's heritage," not bearing the crosier, but swaying a stern sceptre over the very pastors he was sent to oversee? Harsh language this, and we grieve to use it. But if the arbitrary exercise of power to the disregard and prejudice and injury of those who bend beneath it; if the rejection of all remonstrance, however respectful, however humble, and the regarding such remonstrance as unaccountable insubordination; if the sacrifice of justice and equity and acknowledged qualifications on the altar of favouritism and partiality, bespeak not and constitute not arbitrary rule, we can only regret, that we cannot give understanding as well as arguments to those who can think otherwise. We are indeed desirous of imputing this unhappy appointment to mistaken views, because our sincere inclination is both to admire and venerate his Lordship; though we greatly fear the mitre's load has cramped or crushed his kindlier judgment out. And when we read about the "*store of knowledge*," which is ascribed to the new Arch-deacon, comprehending in its unfathomable recesses the "*omne scibile*" (as the schoolmen have it, and the Arch-deacon perchance, will construe) of human science, we fear his Lordship has been taken in—has, by some unlucky perversion been led to admire the "*ex fulgore fumem*" instead of the "*ex fumo dare lucem*," and so been cheated of his better judgment. But whatever be the moving cause, we adjure his Lordship to weigh the consequences of this injudicious appointment. The goodly Heber once forgot himself, when he superseded Mr. Corrie, and placed a favourite junior over his hoary head; but the same Heber, like a child of light, retrieved the manifest error as soon as he discerned it, cancelled the appointment, and at once sacrificed his private feelings and partiality to the palpable dictates of rectitude. "Go, and do thou likewise," do we earnestly, though with all deference, exclaim to Bishop Wilson, and entreat him, if he seeks to earn the *holy* praise of Christendom, to wipe out this blot and annihilate it for ever. We beg his Lordship to catholicize his feelings, to stretch his fostering eye beyond the pale and precincts of the Mission Church, and to expand his regards largely and commensurately with that vast inheritance which is prophetically assigned to our common Lord and Master. And if his Lordship will thus seek to secure to himself the esteem, the veneration, the affections, and the love of his inferior clergy, instead of the

bare compliance of slavish fear, he may hope to see the infant Church of India spread, like her rivers, and spiritually fertilize the land. Whereas if a conviction, (nay, living, lasting monuments) of his Lordship's injustice and favouritism spread its withering influence among the working clergy, and so far as these things are permitted to be matters of human operation, paralyze their efforts, will have hereafter to mourn having laid a stumbling stone in Zion, and made the onward wheels of our Redeemer's chariot *tarry*. And we are sure, that if a many years' acquaintance with India; if a knowledge of its spiritual wants; if extensive local intelligence; if a long intercourse with the European soldiery; if skillfulness in Church discipline; if unambitious, unassuming, undictatorial, and conciliatory manners be positive virtues and qualifications, highly essential and of permanent importance in an Arch-deacon, as their opposites are negative and objectionable, we entreat his Lordship to think on these things—to remove the veil which obscures his unbiassed judgment, and so exercise his Episcopal prerogative, as to let all men see, that the great champion of christianity is more desirous of doing right than ashamed of acknowledging that he has done wrong.—*Hurkaru.* H.

"Sine me hoc hod mollis, fatu,
Sublatis aperire dolls."

SIR,—The Bishop's conscience sleeps: and were he not a master in Israel, and thousands looking up to him for light and guidance, we would have hesitated to disturb its untimely slumber. But Christianity is made to weep, when such a standard bearer fainteth. Lethargy at such a crisis is little short of death: it confounds the distinctions of right and wrong, and opens the sluices of clamour and discontent to work away the very foundation of our Protestant temple. We see the untoward non-conforming spirits covertly smiling at this tale of an Arch-deaconry, and congratulating their conforming brethren on the conspicuous blessings of their church government. We dare not, therefore, as far as our small influence goes, consign this matter over to the enemies of Church Establishments, but rather choose to handle it ourselves, stiff clinging to the hope, that his Lordship's conscience will shake off its drowsiness, resume its tender functions, and restore its proprietor to a judicious and faithful discharge of his duty.

His Lordship's views on the nature and duties of a stewardship are so clear and vivid, and he has sketched them out so graphically—so much to the life, that we do but present to his view the lessons of his own lips, when we remind him of the importance of rightly using the blessings of rank, dignity, character and influence. Assuredly, to move in a superior orbit is not bestowed on any man for naught; and in times like these especially, he should give much light, and impart a benign and useful influence to whatever system he may belong. To this the very letters regarding his Lordship's own appointment bear

us testimony; for they congratulated him on the enlarged sphere of usefulness in which he would be placed, and spoke of the high responsibilities annexed to the situation. His Lordship keenly understands, that, as the place and dignity of his own most sacred order in the Church of God is eminently higher, his charge greater, his inspection more extensive, so will his accountability be accordingly; and, therefore, when the moral horizon is darkened by the dimness of one of its chief luminaries, when the unerring line of right is distorted from its rectitude, and righteousness and justice wounded through the sides, and bleeding through the weaknesses of their professed champions, surely it is time to interfere—high time respectfully to point out and calculate the amount of aberration, try at least, to touch the spring of his Lordship's conscience, and ultimately awaken him from this unhappy lethargy to his own unclouded sense of right.

But before proceeding further we must have a word or two with the *Englishman*, whom now we must heartily congratulate on a share of some impartiality. We hope to see him open his eyes a little wider; and we regret that he will not condescend to scan the pages of his contemporaries; because by neglecting this, he occasionally remains in the dark, while the rest of the community enjoy the sunshine; otherwise he would not have discovered for the first time, from the letter of PRUDENS, so much novel information. Had he noticed our former letter on this subject, he would have found there every spark of information which has not, until now, "thrown so much light on the subject,"—and not only so, but he would have detected also the mistake of PRUDENS, in speaking of the former act of Parliament, when but *one Arch-deacon* was sanctioned for the whole of the three "Indian Presidencies;" for every body knows that each Presidency has hitherto had its separate Arch-deacon. On another head, too, the *Englishman* is not well informed. He says he has "always regarded the office of Arch-deacon as one entirely of selection, without the slightest reference to the age or standing of the several candidates, *because* the first Arch-deacon were sent from England, in supercession of all the Indian clergy, and bearing in mind the fact, that Mr. Corrie was passed over by Mr. Hawtayne, the Madras clergy superseded by Mr. Robinson, and the Bombay clergy by Mr. Hawtayne."

As to the first Arch-deacons, the course adopted was not only the usual, but the only one available. At that time the clergy at each presidency were very few in number, (in Bengal about a dozen instead of, as now allowed, thirty seven,) and they had never been under the tutelage of either Bishop or Arch-deacon; and therefore were, no doubt, considered inapt instruments for laying the foundation of an ecclesiastical polity: much the same as if we wanted to make the New Zealanders good soldiers, we should, in the first instance, send out some efficient officers, and a drill sergeant to make

a start, rather than run the risk of finding suitable materials ready at hand on the island. The case of Mr. Corrie makes directly against the *Englishman's* arguments. Mr. Hawtayne was actually appointed Arch-deacon, and the seniors all superseded; but as soon as Bishop Heber found out his mistake (for the seniors at once tendered their resignation of the service) he cancelled Mr. Hawtayne's appointment, and restored Mr. Corrie. Next, as to Mr. Hawtayne's appointment to Bombay, that, too, admits of satisfactory explanation. Bishop Heber having once actually appointed him Arch-deacon of Calcutta, and then been obliged to displace him, was, to say the least of it, very awkwardly situated; he, therefore, in fulfilment of a pledge, and out of the kindness of the kindest heart perhaps that ever beat, nominated Mr. Hawtayne to Bombay. But then what can be said of Mr. Robinson? Why, that if the present appointment could be justified on the same grounds as his was, we, at least, should have very little, perhaps nothing, to say about it. Arch-deacon Robinson is a gentleman who in addition to his qualifications as a pious and eminent minister, is gifted with more than ordinary talents. He took a high honorary mathematical degree, and was a Chancellor's medalist at the University—distinctions of the first order that an undergraduate can attain to. And when we bear in mind, that he subsequently became Bishop Heber's chaplain, and thus let his light shine within the palace walls, no wonder that such rare attainments, adorned with both piety and zeal, were charms in the eyes of the Bishop, and claims to which even the Madras clergy might bow with cheerfulness. Of Mr. Dealtry, we believe we are speaking correctly in saying, that he took no honorary degree at the University at all; but went out among the *oi polloi*, and went also by what some persons think, rather a by-path—that is, he took his degree in Civil Law, and therefore wears the badge of B. C. L. or as some have it L. L. B. We wish, therefore, the *Englishman* would accept this information at our hands, and reflect likewise, that with regard to the Arch-deaconries of Madras and Bombay, the Bishop, not being on the spot, and therefore not having the means of rightly estimating the qualifications of his clergy, may act with somewhat more latitude than is admissible at Calcutta; and in proof of this we may mention, that had the senior of Bombay been appointed instead of Mr. Hawtayne, it would have given greater umbrage in consequence of his real ineligibility, we believe, to the office.

We have already presumed to offer a few observations on this most melancholy topic. We call it melancholy *miseranda vee hosti*, because we are not enlisted in the rank of his Lordship's enemies—we, the rather would rush forward and be as eager in his defence, had he had righteousness on his side, as we are now zealous to convince him of error. When, therefore, he lays himself open to the merited disapprobation of his friends, we cannot

choose but deplore. Indeed, this unfortunate, this ill-advised bestowal of the Arch-deaconry, turn it over on every side, stands so bluntly and rebelliously in the face of all that ought to guide his Lordship in the exercise of his patronage, that the voice of every parishioner in the neighbourhood, battling perhaps a few immoveable partisans of one particular parish, is pitched to our uniform strain of condemnation and regret; and from house to house this note of lamentation speeds!

"Pudet hæc opprobria—

Et dici potuissæ, et non potuissæ refelli."

In our former observations we alluded to some weighty arguments which might make the stoutest champion of arbitrary power and patronage halt, if not retreat; but as we have failed of touching the tender string which makes his Lordship's conscience vibrate, we again proceed, "*rudi Minerva*," briefly and generally to resume the subject; at the same time assuring his Lordship, that if he thinks by taking no notice of this dark cloud it will soon be passed over, he will find himself grievously mistaken; for it will both overshadow and obscure his path, and at length, probably, burst upon his head. We dare not sooth his Lordship by predicting smooth things, that in a few weeks Lethe will have drowned this matter in her oblivious waters; because we believe it is a task more than Herculean now to hoodwink the world, and bring it by wholesale to renounce its sense and reason. On the side of right one may dare do all that does become a man; we may even shut our ears against public opinion, and withstand public feeling; but when the cause we maintain can only be propped up by power and prerogative; when it levels to the ground all hitherto acknowledged claims and established regulations; when it exalts one to the depression and detraction of another, and gratifies the wishes of a select party while it grieves the party-catholic, we roll a Sisyphean stone, which will roll back and crush us to atoms. If we estimate aright the conformation and calibre of his Lordship's understanding, we believe that he has failed on this occasion, to let his own clear powers of reasoning, his master mind ("*architectone phronesis*") exercise an unbiassed influence in determining this choice. We feel persuaded that he cannot vindicate this measure on his right to do as he pleases, for where is the man more sensible than his Lordship, that there is no mortal power so lawless as to be exempted from the dominion of right, reason and plain justice? and, therefore, what can we suppose, but that he has let an overweening partiality put his judgment in abeyance, and so magnify the qualifications of the new Arch-deacon, as to pass a verdict of unworthiness on all above him. It is here we are brought under the somewhat painful necessity of diverting to these said paramount qualifications—painful, because we cannot, like his Lordship, view his virtues through such a magnifying medium, and yet cast his imperfections into the shade, especially when these qualifications are urged in justification of his being exalted, *per saltum*, by a prodigious leap

above all his seniors. At the same time we disavow the most distant desire to underrate or depreciate the new Arch-deacon's merits. Let them all be acknowledged. Throw them all into an equitable balance, and give them bouncing weight; but let them not be exaggerated and multiplied, as if the very luminary in the religious firmament were dim and small beside him—(“*velut inter ignes luna minores.*”) Granted the new Arch-deacon is both a zealous and a laborious clergyman—he has fair natural parts and some fluency of expression. We deny not even an unction, and a fervour in his manner and a considerable degree of readiness at extempore effusions; but beyond this we go not—“*sunt certi denique fines;*” and we think if his best friends had been as prudent, as they are over eager to ascribe to their favourite such levathan talents and energies, they would have at once shown their own impartiality, and not have injured the cause they wish to serve. “His energy of character.” Why, what of that? Energy, abstractedly considered, is a very questionable virtue. It may be misdirected, and misdirecting it may be exorbitant in demands, and lavish in expenditure; and we fancy, that if these very admirers of energy were getting well buffeted about by the Euroclydan, or the wind which breaks the ships of Torshish, they would wish they had less of it. They would think, perhaps, that a softer breeze might “blow upon the garden and yet elicit the spices thereof”—“a breath” merely, “that can breathe upon the slain that they may live.” We remember, in days gone by, when a lady who now no longer presides over the gentler sex of British India, was wont to contrast the new Arch-deacon with another popular, but now departed rival—the one as leading, the other as driving his master's flock to heaven, and though we quarrel not with the *quo modo*, so long as the effect be accomplished, yet it is very problematical whether the same driving, compulsory method and manners, will be effectual in correcting the wills and subduing the untowardness of his brother pastors; for though we believe them fully prepared and disposed to submit to a mild and equitable superintendence, yet we very much doubt their submission to a harsh and overbearing authority. “*Imperaturus est hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem, pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.*” And then again the gigantic knowledge,—laying its broad hand upon the entire encyclopædia (in the modern and more noble acceptation of the term, that is, the whole circle) of arts and sciences, how wise—how much better to have let their favorite enjoy the fair fame of a useful and competent minister, apt and fit to teach, and sufficiently mighty in the Scriptures to discharge faithfully the pastoral office. Verily the indiscretion of friends is oftentimes more prejudicial than the rancour of enemies; and we would recommend the new Arch-deacon to be rid “*tali auxiles et defensores istis.*” As for one of them, sweet PHILOMEL, we cannot handle roughly so plaintive and melo-

dious a songstress. Go gentle bird! our pen and ink we cannot squander upon thee! We are investigating not the merits of a nightingale, but the qualifications for an Arch-deaconry; and the more we read and hear, and meditate on the motives which can have led to this appointment, the more convinced we are, that it is unjust, injudicious and hurtful. We pronounce it unjust, because in a service of seniority, seniors, who are equally competent for the office, are superseded. It is injudicious, because an incorrect estimate has been made in favour of one to the prejudice of many; and it is hurtful because a slur is cast, and a damp and discouragement thrown on the whole Ecclesiastical service. Of its injustice we have already spoken, but we are not contented with the little we have urged; we think much more may be advanced, although his Lordship, probably owing to his short experience, may hesitate to allow such considerations to have due weight. We hold, that in a service like this, the wear and tear of life, the continuous exhaustion occasioned by long and faithful labors, and the sacrifices which all must make during a long series of years, are of themselves commendatory to a wise government, and not, without sufficient cause, to be arbitrarily rejected and despised. Let any one look around among the present tenants of power and authority, the members of boards and heads of departments, and even their deputies and assistants, and what will he find but a rule, almost without an exception; nay, in many instances, especially in the military and medical services, to which the Ecclesiastical is more closely assimilated, not only is seniority or length of service a recommendation, but tirocinium is a positive disqualification. So sacredly is this regulation observed, that it would be difficult to produce a case where it has been pointedly violated. And what is the Arch-deacon, but, in most cases, the Bishop's assistant, or deputy, and oftentimes, especially during his Lordship's absence, a sort of Ecclesiastical Vice-President? Had the appointment been merely that of his Lordship's private chaplain, we would have allowed taste and prejudice to run amuck at pleasure; but in appointing one, not by seniority but choice, out of their own number, to controul and drill a corps composed of his brother chaplains, some little regard should be had to their taste and feelings, and some peculiar fitness should have been secured in so select an individual. Besides, we are of opinion, that in the ordinary discharge of Church Government, a degree of mildness and forbearance is not incompatible with the most efficient discipline; and that it is of far more importance to reign over the hearts than the persons of the clergy. His Lordship, therefore, will do well to consider how far his new Vicegerent is *likely* to attain so desirable an end. For our own part, we are of opinion, that if his Lordship had cast lots, it could not have fallen out more inappositely, not, we mean, on the score of ministerial qualifications, but fitness for Church Government,

How many persons are there endued with a competent measure of the spirit of scriptural knowledge, who are yet wanting in the spirit of Government, a spirit most indispensable in the administration of Church polity; where a want of skilfulness in the machinery, or of cautious controul over its operations, may throw every wheel into disorder. The injustice also is not temporary but lasting; and what is worse, rather aggravated than diminished by the lapse of time. Just now, while the thing is taking place, and we have sufficient data to canvas the appointment, we can duly appreciate the merits and demerits both of the rejected seniors and successful junior. We can make allowances for the friction which has accelerated the other; for the fancy, favouritism, and all the other ingredients, that have co-operated to the fall of many and the rise of one. But in after-days, when the heat of inquiry shall have cooled and the circumstances of the new Arch-deacon's elevation shall have faded from the memory of the everchanging society of India, then will the damnatory consequences still survive, and the ready inference be promptly, because unavoidably drawn, that the present Arch-deacon's seniors were unworthy or unfit for the office. Surely his Lordship must have failed to make these obvious calculations; and therefore it is that we have cast them up for him; and if he wish to verify the accuracy of our figures, we would recommend him for the nonce, by a bold metamorphosis to picture himself to himself as one of these humble seniors of the Bengal chaplains; and then he will be enabled, with some degree of fellow-feeling, to muse and meditate on that unmerited degradation which he himself has inflicted on the department over which he presides.

The injudiciousness—the want of judgment displayed is most manifest. The very qualifications, which we should have put down as indispensable, are repudiated. The very energies which we should have thought at best, but questionably beneficial, are made to silence all other pretensions. Long experience in church government and local experience of India; a knowledge of its real wants and of the best mode of relieving them; a mild and unassuming way of enforcing duties, and a tolerance of allowing others to think, at least as well as yourself, go for nothing; whereas energy and mere bodily and vocal vigour, and a peremptory and almost overpowering manner of putting down the humble suggestions of others, go for every thing. The clergy only, we are assured, are permitted to appreciate fully these qualifications for a dictatorship; and even the revered Arch-deacon Corrie used softly to complain, (not, we presume, to expostulate) of being deturbed from his own proper sphere and station, and bid to listen to an oracle.

But this is not all—the evil stops not here. His Lordship is concerned to consider not merely the temporary outcry which may be raised against this or that particular measure;

but what will be the permanent effect of this proceeding on the working body, of which he is the head. "*Natura infermitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora lente augeteunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studique opprimeris facilius, quam revocaveris.*" Yes, one blighting hour will destroy more than a year's sunshine will build up; and the energies of all may be paralyzed by the immature exaltation of one. The subjects, it is true, of his Lordship's Government are under the separate dominion of conscience, and are amenable to a still higher power. But it does not become his Lordship the less on that account to take heed, that the Church sustain no hurt nor hindrance through his faults or miscarriages. We believe the clergy will be preserved by higher motives in the faithful discharge of their several abilities; yet the cheerfulness, the alacrity of obedience to his Lordship's particular instructions—the concurrence, the approbation, the affection we should see, even in matters indifferent, surrendered as to a wise, just, and impartial ruler we cannot but apprehend will become chilled by such a nipping frost. A scotched wheel may be dragged along; but the less friction, the more nimble the movement. His Lordship can command obedience; but the obedience of love is what he wants. "*Metus et terror infirma vincula caritatis.*" We can further tell his Lordship, not on our own authority, but one to whom wise governors have paid deference, that "*nunquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia,*" and that "*nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum quam fama potentiae non sua vi nixa.*" We believe likewise, that we could safely appeal to an authority to which his Lordship himself thinks it a privilege to bow; but we are writing in a newspaper—and writing there, because we have no other mode of gaining access, and have not the presumption to storm his Lordship's palace with the freedom of our opinions. We write, too, because the clergy themselves, notwithstanding their insubordinate spirits, are overawed. They know their own obligation to obedience to their own spiritual Governors, and they feel the utter impracticability and uselessness of remonstrance against the measures by which his Lordship's government has of late been distinguished. They remember likewise

"Milo's end,
Wedg'd in that timber which he strove to rend."

We have already grown too large for a newspaper; and therefore pursue this subject as far as it would go, we cannot. But a hint or two we may throw out, which may concern those who are most interested in the business. We should like to ask the Arch-deacon, if it has never occurred to him to reflect, whether he would not have reaped greater honour in declining this dignity than he has done by accepting it. Some persons were silly enough (silly, because ignorant of human nature) to fancy that he had no taste for gew-gaws. They thought that he was regardless of rank and station, and sought only to be a faithful shepherd of his Master's flock. They persuaded

themselves that nothing would induce him to burden himself with so invidious an exaltation. For ourselves we never thought so. We have lived too long and witnessed too much of human frailty, not to be cautious in ascribing to any one the rare quality of real indifference to the pride and pageantry of life. Alas! human nature is not to be trusted—" *Naturam expellat furcâ, tamen usque recurrit.*" And how often does it happen that station rather obstructs than aids our usefulness! Connexion with party, and the habit of viewing a subjects in reference to personal aggrandizement, too often obscure the noblest intellects, and convert into patrons of narrow views and temporary interests those, who, in other conditions, would have been the lights of their age and the propagators of everlasting truth. Shall we despair then of seeing the giver and the gifted declare their magnanimity by undoing this unhappy deed? If we must despair of this, we must despair likewise of ever seeing the day when they shall live in the hearts and affections of the Indian clergy. When we saw the dangers to which his Lordship was exposed, when we saw the contemplated purpose of bestowing the Arch-deaconry on his relative, we afterwards congratulated ourselves on the hair-breadth escape from so unseemly a proceeding. But after clearing such a Scylla, we never dreamt of this Charybdis; nor could we bring ourselves to believe the fact, till it was impossible to disbelieve it. Oh! that his Lordship would hear us for a moment, while we entreat him to remember, that the distribution of patronage is not a matter of common gratuity, but the discharge of a sacred function, in which it is necessary to look around with much circumspection and ascertain with much carefulness, the real and undisguised qualifications of all those who may be candidates; to remember the claims of long and faithful services, and not needlessly set them aside; and to shut the ear against all solicitations of friendship or interest, to dissolve for a time every private tie, forgetting party opinion and withstanding party feeling, and asking only what is right.

"A sharp judgment shall be to them that are in high places," and therefore we presume to admonish. We know the difficulty of the task and the feeble pen we have in our hand. But the cause we sustain is on a rock. If any one shall say that we are enlarging the wounds and aggravating the weakness of the Christian cause, we disavow the allegation, and confidently affirm, that the Church has nothing to fear from the exposure of truth, so long as the truth itself shed a lustre and honor on his proceedings. Truth in every department of human knowledge and human proceedings, and in spite of all artificial objects and hindrances will ultimately prevail. Like tried silver she only comes out of the furnace brighter and brighter. When truth lays open real grievances or abuses, whether intentional or otherwise, then is the time, especially for spiritual governors, to take warning, how by one rash act, they may more easily undermine and demolish their citadel,

than by a long course of wise and useful Government they can re-establish her in the affections of mankind.—*Ibid.* H.

"Ego si rivus
Lavidus et mordax videar?"

"Hear his speech, but say thou naught." *Macbeth.*

SIR,—I must crave the favour of a corner to detail the great doings at the Archi-deaconal dinner on Wednesday last. Your reporter, I believe, was not there, or I should have been spared the pains of being the chronicler of this event; and the public would have been favoured with a more correct account of it. Pray why was he absent? There was the greatest possible probability of much speechifying; and as the dinner was of a public nature, given by a public functionary, on his elevation to a public office, to all the clergy of the establishment, it was a fit occasion for the pen of a ready writer. However, in the want of a better, I will endeavour to be a faithful narrator; but as the account has to pass through a lengthened course before it comes to me, it may not be quite so clear as when it first rose from the spring; but may have mixed itself a little with the soil of the channel.

The whole ecclesiastical district, I am told, sent in its contributions on this memorable occasion; and forces were levied from Dumdum, Chinsurah, Berhampore, Howrah, Barrackpore, and Bishop's College, and every other out-post within a hundred miles of the metropolis; all in short were there, save only one or two solitary "insubordinate" exceptions. The Bishop graced the meeting with his attendance (*αὐτὸν καὶ θεράπαντα*) because the sanction of his presence was indispensable, but like poor Acteon "*vellet abesse quidem, sed adstet.*"

After a short confabulation, the party descended to the glorious enterprize, and were no sooner seated, it seems, than a mighty marvel began to pervade the guests at the mighty change which had taken place within the old Church parsonage,—the paraphernalia was altogether excellent; and up and down the gentle whisper ran "*quantum mutatus ab illo.*" Who cares about the patronage, (quothe one of the uncovenanted "*né pour la digestion*") so long as we get good fare like this? Who, indeed, rejoined another, if he will treat us well, and let us alone?

But despite of every endeavour to make the best of a sorry business, still there was an immoveable cloud abiding on almost every brow, and *il penseroso* was the obvious musing of almost every heart present. Even the Bishop, I am assured, could not shake off dull care: "*frons lata parum, et dejecto lumina vultu;*" and the sadness without bespoke the conflict and turmoil within. Some how or other a general persuasion had previously pervaded the party, that his Lordship would disburden his surcharged mind; some expected a strain of honeyed globules, of language

("mellitos verborum globulos"); others predicted an explosion; but all seem to have thought when the time came, "*parturiant montes*;" and many apprehended the fatal issue of that ominous verse. But while the travail of mind was going on, the evening was wearing away, till at length, to the unspeakable joy of all present, a gentle move ended in a general rise, and the dinner table was abandoned without a single speech. Not even Therapon muttered a word.

The party now divided, all the seniors present felicitating themselves on their escape and betaking themselves off, and the rest proceeding to the drawing room.

There was still, I presume, a lurking apprehension, that either his Lordship or the Choragus would put a coronis on the gloomy festivity of the evening by exhibiting, at least, a few "meanderings of verbal obliquity"; and the sequel proved the correctness of this anticipation. After the lapse of a short but uneasy silence, the Archdeacon opened upon an harangue, to which the residue of the surrounding brethren listened, "*quasi vocem aduti dignam templo*."

A mere outline is the utmost in my power to give. He was to all appearance, I learn, labouring most intensely within, so that a first-rate reporter could scarcely have converted the effusion into a connected speech. It was in some such a strain as this. "He had not the least intention of addressing his dear brethren, until the spur of the moment, and, therefore, he had not premeditated what he was going to say. He could not, however, help remarking how much he regretted that his appointment to the Arch-deaconry had created so much unjustifiable dissatisfaction. He was more especially concerned, that any measure of our most excellent Diocesan should be impugned at a season like the present, when the English Church itself was in jeopardy, and required the unanimity and co-operation of all her members to save her from this hour of peril. And more particularly in the infant Church of India was any breach among the brethren to be deplored. It was impossible for him not to have felt, it would be hypocrisy to say he had not, what had appeared in the newspapers on the subject. But he, nevertheless, disregarded all newspaper discussions, and let them pass as the idle wind. He was chiefly grieved on account of our most excellent Diocesan, who must have been affected by what had lately transpired. As to the arguments which had been urged either against himself or his Lordship, they were too absurd to deserve either notice or confutation. He himself should certainly not condescend to take any notice of them. The injustice complained of was without the slightest foundation; the prerogative which had been questioned, was a most undoubted and inviolable right. Whether our most excellent Diocesan had, or had not received his new letters patent, was a matter of not the slightest moment. Our most excellent Diocesan had only acted as any Civil

Governor would have done under similar circumstances, and abided by the old letters patent until the new ones come out. He was persuaded that the clergy had not been the authors of any of the articles which had appeared on the subject: he would not lay such a sin to their charge but he feared they might, incautiously have abetted the public voice in feeding the flame.

He then proceeded to speak of "his own unworthiness" ("*cineta cedit sua*") and how much he had been humbled by the late occurrences. ("*Oro, miserere animi non digna ferentis*.") "Two months ago he had not the most distant notion of what was to befall him, and he had never moved a finger towards obtaining the appointment. Our most excellent Diocesan had made the selection from the best motives, and entirely on his own judgment; and no person had a right to question its propriety. And after being chosen for the office, unworthy as he was, he did not venture to shrink back; but felt himself bound neither to be wanting, nor unwilling, to render his aid and co-operation to our most excellent Diocesan."

"The comparisons which had been drawn in the newspapers were both unjust and invidious. Comparisons had nothing to do with the matter, and he deprecated them altogether. Our most excellent Diocesan ought to enjoy the privilege of being guided by his own discretion in such matters. He was fully humbled under a sense of his own unworthiness, and deplored the impetuosity of his temper; but at the same time he assured his dear brethren, that they should not experience any thing to complain of on that score; but that he should ever be ready to listen to their wishes and applications, and he hoped they would all readily co-operate with him and our most excellent Diocesan in every measure that would tend to promote the common cause of righteousness.

"*Dixerat Anchises*:" such, or nearly such was the burden of the song. The exact words I cannot vouch for as I am only a hearsay reporter; the spirit may be relied on as here recorded; "*figuram animi magis quam corporis*." It oozed out, I am told, like viscous varnish out of a narrow necked bottle, sticky and loath to come. There was nothing throughout, of the "*animo vidit, ingenio complexus est, eloquentia illuminavit*;" nothing of the clear head, and clean heart ("*mens conscia recti*,") which puts life even into a lisping tongue, and animates the lips of the most indifferent orator. And therefore, not a tear was shed—not a touch of sympathy responded to so heartless an appeal. It seemed to die away in the air, I am told, as fast as it was uttered, and was felt to be "*magno conatu magnas nugas*."

The Bishop heard,—Therapon heard,—all that were left of the party heard; but not a whisper in reply. Whether or not any heart was revolving over "*semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam, vexatus toties*," I cannot aver; but the Arch-deacon, be it re-

membered was in his own castle, and under the wing of his patron, and moreover all the most vigorous, as well as the most mild of the dear brethren were away: and so the rest, I presume, thought within themselves "*sud se jactet in aula æolus.*"

Of the Archi-deaconal transaction itself I have now neither time nor patience to speak or write. I cannot away with it. And if I could write, I fear it would be after such like a fashion.

"*Hæc ego non credam venusina digna lucerna,
Hæc ego non agitem ?*"

Yes "*agitem*," though I am not even a fiftieth cousin of the great arch-agitator. It is a subject, that requires more than a mere cursory discussion. The evil lies deep, and

wants eradicating root and branch. "*Longa est injuria, longæ ambages.*" I confess I am utterly at a loss to comprehend what the Bishop is about; and I find others equally share with me in my want of comprehension. I am daily looking forward to the time, when "*remota erroris nebula*," he will identify himself with Daniel Wilson. If "*Episcopatus non est artificium transigendo vita*," much less is it "*faciendæ injuria*,"—and therefore I would entreat his Lordship to beware lest it hereafter be recorded of himself and his bishoprick.

"*Auream invenit, chartaceam reliquit.*"

September 5.

IMAGO.

[*Ibid.*]

A F F A I R S O F J E Y P O R E .

We heard on the forenoon of the 15th June, that an express received from Jeypore had announced some insurrection, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Alves had been dangerously wounded, and Mr. Blake, his Assistant, killed.

Private letters from Jeypore communicate further details of the tragic events. On the morning of the 4th June, Major Alves paid a visit to the zenana, accompanied by Cornet McNaghten on the same elephant with him, and by Mr. Blake and Captain Ludlow on another. They set out for the palace at day-break. On their way nothing extraordinary occurred. At the conference the five Moosahibs were present, the Ranees said their say, and "all went merry as a marriage bell." The party took their leave, and on arriving at the place where the elephants were standing, Major Alves was rather ahead, Captain Ludlow a short distance behind him, and Mr. Blake and Cornet McNaghten in conversation with one of the Thakoor, were bringing up the rear. They were all at this time within the walls of the palace, with a crowd of natives around them, and Major Alves was preparing to mount his elephant, when a man suddenly advanced out of the crowd and attacked him, and ere the fellow could be secured he had inflicted three severe wounds on the Major's head, which immediately brought him to the ground. Captain Ludlow, who was nearest to him, fell immediately upon the assassin who was secured, offering no resistance. The wounded officer was then put into a palkee and sent home. They Jeyporeans around, did not afford any aid to secure the villain, nor did they assist him: they looked on at the murderous attack as unconcerned spectators, with calm indifference and seemed to view the affair as a matter of course. Captain Ludlow and Cornet McNaghten set out by the side of the wounded officer's palanquin, the former alone on the elephant—the latter on horseback. Cornet McNaghten after proceeding a short distance, turned back to look at the villain who had wounded Major Alves, and founded Mr. Blake with the wretch's

sword in his hand almost bent double, with four sepahees and two chuprassees engaged in binding the man. The Cornet was probably about five minutes looking on at this scene, when he urged Mr. Blake to come on and leave the man to the Rawul's guard as he was now well secured. Mr. Blake declined proceeding until he should see the fellow delivered to the guard, and wished the Cornet to stay, but the latter desirous of going on with the wounded Major, set off at a hard gallop to rejoin his palkee. He was at this time within the walls of the palace, and had not the remotest suspicion that any commotion had occurred outside, but he had scarcely got without the palace yard when he was assailed with the grossest abuse:—astonished, he looked round to see what was the matter, when suddenly about 20 men rushed forward to seize him—innumerable brickbats were hurled at him and he rode the gauntlet down the principal street of Jeypore through a perfect shower of these missiles. His escape was miraculous; had he stayed another minute or had the speed of his horse been checked nothing could have saved him. It was afterwards discovered that the animal had been struck in several places by the missiles aimed at him. The corpse of Mr. Blake, who has been savagely murdered, was recovered after the riot was quelled and brought into camp on the evening of the 4th, and on the morning of the 5th the remains of this gentleman were consigned to the grave.

It appears that this lamented gentleman left the palace on his elephant very soon after Cornet McNaghten quitted him, but when he got outside, he found an infuriated mob collected, who brutally assailed him—a precaution which European officers seem constantly to neglect, as if they really thought the security of their lives of no importance—or as if there could be any thing implying too great a regard for lives of such value to their country as Mr. Blake's was, in conforming in that respect to the custom of this country. A single chuprassee was sitting behind him, and he ran the

gauntlet for some time on the elephant, until some suwars galloped up from behind and hamstring the poor beast, while others were poking at him with spears. He managed to get the elephant near a temple, when he jumped off and sought an asylum from the fury of the mob in the sacred edifice. Vain hope! he was dragged out and murdered in the most barbarous manner in the middle of the street.

The Rances are stated to be all fighting within—the Thakoors and Mootsuddies all intriguing without. It is not believed, however, that either the Rawul or the inmates of the zenana were at all privy to this tragical affair. Expresses had been sent off to Nusseerabad for troops; these expresses would reach that station by the 5th, and the cavalry would probably reach Jeypore by the evening of the 6th or the morning of the 7th. The Minister's authority was respected within the walls, and while that lasted, Major Alves was safe in his camp from further assault.

Such are the particulars of the shocking occurrence at Jeypore which are contained in private communications. The official letters may, possibly, supply further details. The precise cause of the tragedy is, however, in so far as we know, still involved in mystery; but, this much is certain, that its origin was entirely local and confined in its influence to Jeypore—any inference from the shocking affair that it furnishes reason to dread similar occurrences elsewhere, is quite unwarranted.

The service and his friends sustain a heavy loss in Mr. Blake's murder. A friend who knew him well and who has had the best opportunities of forming a judgment of his character and services, observes:—

“He was a noble fellow, universally considered likely to make a distinguished figure in public life. Although he has fallen a sacrifice to some local exasperation at Jeypore, he was deservedly popular among the natives, his warm hearted disposition, frank and cordial manners conciliated their regard; while his high independent spirit commanded their respect. As to his public services, he has been employed in the settlement of several affairs connected with the Native States, requiring the exercise of great judgment, tact, and decision, in every one of which his efforts were attended with the most complete success, and since his deputation to Shekawatee he has received the thanks of Government for the valuable assistance given by him to Major Alves.”

It is indeed lamentable that such a life should be lost to the country and society in such a manner: Major Alves, we sincerely hope, will recover from his wounds. The last accounts were favourable. That any of the party escaped—that the palanquin with the wounded officer attended only by Captain Ludlow should have been permitted by the excited and savage crowd to pass unmolested, is indeed most extraordinary.

After the above was in type, we received from a highly intelligent and esteemed corres-

pondent the following further particulars which confirms in every important point the statement we have furnished. We hope a signal example will be made of all concerned in the murderous attack, but we are not quite prepared to advocate “tremendous retribution,” nor even the appropriation of the territory, when there is no reason to apprehend that the Jeypore Minister was at all concerned in the crime.

(From a Correspondent.)

Lieutenant-Colonel Alves, the British Agent, had been on a visit to the Rance, where every thing had gone off most favorably. On returning from the audience and arriving in the outer court of the palace, the party separated to mount their respective elephants, when a dirty-looking fellow sprang forward, and cut down Colonel Alves, inflicting three severe wounds on his head. The Colonel fell, but was rescued by Captain Ludlow and the chuprasees, while the Jeyporeans looked on in stupid silence. Colonel Alves was then put into a dooley, and with Captain L. on one side and Cornet McNaghten on the other, taken out to camp, while Mr. Blake remained behind to see the murderer secured. After proceeding some distance, Cornet McNaghten returned to the palace to see that the murderer was safely secured, and found Mr. Blake in the act of tying him. Seeing him thus safe, he proposed to Blake to come and look after Alves; but, Blake said, he would not stir until he had seen the man safely delivered over to the Rawul's people. McNaghten then mounted his horse and galloped off. The party inside the palace, which is a very extensive building, appeared quite unconscious of there being any tumult in the town. On quitting the outer court, Mr. McNaghten was assailed with hooting and yells, and several men attempted to seize him. He put spurs to his horse and dashed through them, and rode down amid showers of stones, brickbats, and earth hurled at him from all quarters, through the long street, and finally escaped to camp. Some time after Mr. Blake having delivered the man over to the Rawul's authority, proceeded to quit the Court-yard on an elephant with a chuprassee in the howdah and a suwar riding behind. The crowd had now greatly increased. They assailed him with every sort of abuse—some horsemen came up and poked at him with their spears, but he still steadily pushed on. At length they hamstring his elephant. He then got from the howdah into an adjoining house, but the ruffians forced open the doors, and seizing him, some of the party held him down, whilst the others,—inhuman monsters,—deliberately cut his throat. In the evening when the riot was quelled, his body was recovered and sent to camp. Colonel Alves by the last accounts was doing well, the minister's authority was respected within the walls, and so long as that lasted, he would be safe from further assault. Expresses had gone to Nusseerabad, 80 miles distant, for troops. These would reach that station on the morning of the 5th, and the

cavalry would probably reach Jeypore on the night of the 6th or morning of the 7th.

A more atrocious affair has never been recorded—no cause can be assigned for such a proceeding. It was but a few months since that the detested Minister Jotaram was removed from that city by our interference, and Colonel Alves, by whom that act was effected, hailed as the deliverer of the country—Englishmen were in high favour, and all was greeting and smiles—and yet now, without a single assigned or divineable cause, the people have risen on us in execration, and in cold-blooded treachery massacred one of our high functionaries and attempted the murder of the chief Agent of the State. The blood of the murdered cries high to heaven, and it will not be permitted to cry in vain. A tremendous example must be made—and it is gratifying to find that our Ruler, for once letting indignation get the better of his naturally kind disposition, and roused to a proper sense of what is due to justice, has placed the forces of the empire at the disposal of Colonel Alves for employment as he conceives the emergency of the case may demand.

Several hundred persons were engaged in this atrocious proceeding. Fortunately none of the Court are implicated, and it is therefore probable that most of the wretches have been marked and will be eventually secured. A dreadful example must be made. It is but three short months since, that the Commissioner of Delhi was murdered. Mr. Louis, the Magistrate of———has been recently wounded—and now to crown all—to add as it were the climax to such atrocities, a British functionary, on his visit to a native Prince, is cut down in the very court-yard of the palace! Our rule of conduct on such an occasion should be suited to the emergency of the case, the slow machinery of our courts is ill-calculated for such contingencies as these. It should be not as usual deliberation—deliberation! It should be action, action, action—or the hour will yet come, when we shall sorely rue our want of energy and decision. We must confess that we should like to see such an example made in this instance, as should strike terror throughout India, and prove that the majesty of our rule shall not be permitted to be insulted without tremendous retribution. We should like to see the affair treated *a la Napoleon*—and some such mandate as the following issued.

“The persons of Ambassadors to a foreign state have been by universal accord of nations considered sacred. It is with mingled pain and indignation that the Governor-General in Council has learned that the British Agent to the Court of Jeypore has been severely wounded, within the very precincts of the palace at Jeypore, while his assistant, Mr. Blake, has been killed. In order, therefore, to mark the sense entertained of this atrocious act of treachery, and as an example that shall not be forgotten by other nations in amity with the British power, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to declare—that the Jeypore state has ceased to exist as

an independent principality—that the Rawul has ceased to reign—that Jeypore shall be forthwith occupied by a British force—and its administration be in future conducted by a British Commissioner.”

A measure such as this would be hailed with satisfaction from one end of India to another. It would tend more to prevent a repetition of such atrocity than a hundred executions.

(From a Correspondent.)

Nothing, I believe, has yet transpired to prove the connexion between the attempt upon the Resident's life and the murder of our lamented friend, and it is possible that all the persons concerned in the last atrocious deed were victims of the misapprehension which evidently led away some of the rioters. I only learned the particulars of our friend's tragical end on arriving here at the beginning of this month, or you may be sure I would have sooner written them to you.

I believe you have seen Jeypoor. The palace apartments are entered from a square which communicates with the Chandnee Chouk, or main street of the city, by a line of three courts, separated by as many gates, and called therefore the *tripolea*. Visitors leave their equipages and arms outside the third gate from the street, and walk across the third court into the palace square. Major Alves went on the 11th of June with Blake, McNaghten and Ludlow to hold a state conference with the Thakors, the Queen-mother and other Ranees, and every thing passed off well at the Durbar. The Residency party were about to mount their several conveyances outside the third gate, to return home, when a man sprang out from the armed crowd assembled near them, and inflicted three sword wounds upon the Resident as he was going to step upon his elephant ladder; Ludlow, who was a little behind, with much promptitude threw himself upon the assassin, and bore him to the ground, by this act, probably, causing the third blow to fall with little effect on the Major's back. Major Alves received the first, and severest wound on the back of his head, but it did not bring him down, and he says he felt as though he had received an electric shock on the left shoulder. It was not until he got the second cut, which was on the front side of his head, and comparatively slight, that an idea of what was occurring flashed upon his mind: he immediately turned, and saw Ludlow on the prostrate assassin, keeping him down with all his strength, when he himself knelt and held the villain's extended arm and sword to the ground until satisfied that he was secured by the Residency chuprassees. His head was presently bound up in a handkerchief, and getting into a palanquin, he passed unmolested out of the *tripolea* and the city, escorted by eight suwars and attended by Ludlow, who fearing that he might faint from loss of blood, ran some distance alongside of the palanquin, and then mounted an elephant, from which, however, he, after a little while, descended in

the street, to run again by the palanquin to near the Ajmere gate, where after providing some water for the bearers to give their master in case of faintness, he got on a horse, and galloped to the Residency to prepare Doctor Mottley for his patient.

Blake remained behind, talking to me of the Rawul's sons who hurried out on the first intimation of a disturbance, and McNaghten, who rode to the end of the *tripolea* with the Resident's palanquin, on returning to the scene of the outrage, found him standing there, seeing the prisoner more tightly bound, and giving directions for his being brought off to the Residency on a charpoy. McNaghten, who thought that the assassin should be given up to those who were answerable for his deed, advised Blake to make him over to the Minister's people and to mount his elephant and return home; but our friend who apparently deemed it of consequence to have the first examination of the man, said he would see him conveyed to the Residency, so McNaghten, who little knew what a storm was brewing without the palace gates, rode with a single horseman through them into the Chandee Chouk. Hardly had he walked his horse a few lengths down this street, when the crowd which always assembles on the occasion of the Resident's visiting the court began to be abusive; some exclaimed that the Feringees had shed blood in the palace, while others threw dirt and stones at him, so that to avoid being hemmed in and ill treated, he was fain to spur his horse, and dash through the people: he found the tumult subside as he got away from the main street, and slackening his pace as he neared the Chandpaul city gate; he passed quickly out, and cantered on to the Residency, which is built in the "*Majee kee Bagh*," about a mile and a half from the town. It is impossible to say whether the report of the English having shed blood in the palace was set about by designing persons, or, whether it arose from a confused rumour of the Resident's having passed out after having been wounded in some encounter at the Durbar. The impression on the minds of all four gentlemen after the deed, was that some party's attempt to murder the British Representative had failed, and that there was an end of it: had any thing like a popular tumult been expected, of course the whole Residency party would have gone off together, or have put themselves under the protection of the Rawul.

The mob were evidently not inflamed when Major Alves and Ludlow passed out, and there is little reason to doubt that had our friend been on horseback, he would have ridden through them as easily as McNaghten did. Most unfortunately, when Blake came out, either he or the chuprassee Lychemun, who was in the *khuwns* of his howdah, exposed the bloody sword with which the Major had been wounded: the mob on seeing this repeated the former exclamation, "the Feringees have shed blood in the palace," and with cries of *mar ! mar !* began to throw dirt and stones.

If Blake had apprehended more than insult from this misguided crowd, he doubtless would have here turned back into the palace, but he ordered his mahout to push on homeward, and his elephant was accordingly urged along the Chandnee Chouk for 300 yards at a pace which left the mob behind, and would soon have carried him out of the city, but as he turned into the broad street which leads to the Ajmere or Kishenpaul gate, a guard of the city police attracted by the general cry, ran up and began to wound the elephant to stop its progress. Blake now ordered a suwar who attended him to gallop on to the Residency and report what was occurring: the mahout still pressed on, and had got half way down the street, a distance of 300 yards, when another party of police, "*Meenahs*," joined in the affray, and hacked at the elephant's hind legs. The *cooly* attached to this animal here displayed great courage and devotion: not being armed, he seized the ladder which hung under one side of the howdah and with it endeavoured to beat off the assailants, but he was soon cut down, and the mob coming up rained stones at the howdah from all sides, exclaiming, "kill the murderer! he has shed blood in the palace." Blake defended himself from the stones as well as he could by holding up the cushions of his howdah, but probably thinking that the city gate was shut, or doubting whether his disabled beast could reach it under such circumstances, he ordered the mahout to drive the animal up to the wall of a *munder* (or temple) facing the street belonging to Nath Jee Perohit, a respectable native with whom he was acquainted. The door of this building was closed, but Blake, the chuprassee and the mahout, got in at a window, and were conducted by two *poajarries* (priests) to a small room on the ground floor and the extreme end of it, and there locked in; but the mob soon followed them, and discovering their retreat, not only battered down the door of the room, but broke a large hole through the middle of the opposite wall, from an adjoining court, and another on one side just under the roof, from an outside staircase, so as to be able to attack them from three points. Our friend got a sword from one of the *poajarries* just before he was locked in, and with this he defended himself gallantly for sometime, keeping the door, and warding off sword and spear thrusts, but when the dastardly assassins began to fire matchlocks at him through the breaches they had made in the wall and roof, he felt that resistance was vain, and forgetting himself, desired the men who stood by him to try the only chance of saving their lives by going out to the assailants. There was a possibility of their being thus spared, for some of the crowd had loudly sworn by the Gunga and Jumna that if they would leave the feringees and come out, they should not be hurt. The chuprassee was the first to go out, he was immediately killed. The mahout was saved by a man who seized his arm and drew him aside. Our friend had one or twice called out to his attackers not to shed innocent blood, as he

was guiltless: now seeing that he had done all man could hope to do against the overwhelming force of his mad enemies, he threw down his sword at the door of the room and went out calmly to face the mob, that filled a small court in front of it, when ere he had advanced two steps beyond the threshold he was deprived of life by twenty sword wounds. When the intelligence of Blake's death was brought to the Residency, it was with difficulty believed; so little was any thing serious expected from the effervescence of the people, but a few hours afterwards the sad truth of the statement was proved by the arrival of his body which was brought with all possible respect by the servants of the Rawul. He was buried early the next morning close to the Residency, and a monument is being built over the spot, to perpetuate the memory of one who was as much esteemed by Government as he was beloved by his friends.

(From a Correspondent.)

In cases of peculiar atrocity—in all instances of great state emergency, the *salus populi suprema lex* must be recognized as the leading principle of action—and every thing must bend before the law of state necessity! The offence commonly designated by the phrase of popular assassination is one which should always experience the most tremendous retribution. It is one which unless instantly checked is very liable to spread, while its mischiefs are of the most appalling nature. In our time we only remember in India three instances in any way comparable to the recent affair of Jeypore. The one the treacherous out-break at Poonah under the Peishwah in 1817. The second the events preceding the battle of Seetabuldee, and in later times the affair at Kittoor, where Mr. St. John Thackeray, the British Agent and all his escort, including four European officers, were cut to pieces. In the two first of these instances retribution was necessarily much delayed, but in none was it sufficiently severe! It is true Appah Sahib the Nagpore Prince was deposed and confined for some years, but was subsequently released by orders from home—and he was very recently believed to be at Joudpore. The Peishwah is a pensioner at Benares, on a magnificent income of £100,000 sterling per annum, and the traitor minister of Kittoor was spared from death and only subjected, together with his accomplices, to imprisonment because he had rescued Messrs. Elliott and Stephenson, who were his prisoners, from the hands of the mob, and spared their lives which would otherwise have been sacrificed. Mr. St. John Thackeray lost his life from his fool-hardiness—he went to dictate to a well armed fortress with a mere escort with which he actually attacked the place, and thus fell in warm blood. There was not so much treachery in this case, as a presumptuous resistance of the supreme authority not at the time backed by sufficient physical force. It is true we subsequently besieged and captured Kittoor and dispossessed the Ranees. But months

had expired, no severe example was made, and the opportunity of vengeance for the insult let slip; for under some pretext of humanity or imaginary state policy, we did not hang, as we ought to have done, the murderers. The butchery of the Russian Envoy at Tabreez in Persia, too, was owing to popular tumult excited by his own most indiscreet and indeed outrageous measures, which though they could not justify, at least somewhat palliated after events; but the recent lamentable affair stands perhaps unrivalled in modern times. Looking at it as an event unconnected with state affairs, it is one of no ordinary atrocity. But when the high rank of the party attacked, as an accredited Envoy to a foreign court, added to the entire absence of any assigned cause for such proceeding, is considered—it must be admitted to be a case almost without a parallel in modern history. It merits—it must receive the most signal retribution, or it will be but the precursor of similar, perhaps even worse atrocities. The advantage of decision in such cases we shall take the liberty of illustrating by a couple of anecdotes perhaps not very generally known—but which deserve consideration at the present moment. We venture to request Sir Charles Metcalfe's attention to the same. The first is of Indian history. At the first out-break of the Maharattahs, two British officers of the name of Vaughan travelling in the Deccan were seized and inhumanly hanged. A few days subsequently, Cornets Morison (now Resident at Bushire) and Hunter (now commandant of the Mysore Horse), with their escort, were also captured after a most energetic defence in which a great many on both sides were killed, the officers surrendering only when the choultry, where they had taken refuge was unroofed—and the enemy could fire on them from above. These two officers would have shared a similar fate to the Vaughans, but for Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident, who sent word to Bajee Row that, as these officers had been taken prisoner, of course the Peishwah had a right to confine them, but that if he injured a hair of their heads, he, Mr. Elphinstone, would hold Bajee Row personally responsible, and would surely hang him wherever he might happen to take him. That most judicious and spirited threat saved the officers from an ignominious death. They were imprisoned in the hill fortress of Woosota, and were released at the close of the war, unharmed.

The second instance is of European history. When the British troops were in Sicily in 1812, many of the soldiers were assassinated. Hardly a day passed but what one or more were stabbed in the streets; great precautions were adopted, but still the ill continued. It however, fortunately happened, that the British commander was one of singular energy, whom no peril could daunt, and whom no man dared to disobey. He issued a proclamation, that "in every instance of assassination in future, the man found nearest the body should be seized, and summarily executed!" This proclamation put all Syracuse in a ferment.

The atrocity of such a mandate called forth furious denunciation, and all the nobles, &c. of the country waited on Sir John Sherbrooke, to remonstrate against such a proceeding. Sir John received the deputation surrounded by all his staff and the officers commanding regiments. The chief noble opened forth a brilliant speech, setting forth the horrible injustice of this order, but was met by Sir John's assertion, that he saw no equally judicious course of saving the lives of his men! "But, Sir John," continued the chief of the deputation, "only think of the atrocity of the order—why I, Sir John, I may be the person accidentally found nearest a murdered soldier!" "I should be sorry for that, Count," coolly replied the commander; "but, Sir, if such should be the case, by the living God, I will hang you over the chief gateway of the city—you understand me!" The deputation withdrew: now, reader, mark the corollary, not another British soldier was assassinated!!

You may say the mandate was illegal, this we will not dispute; but it produced the effect anticipated—it stopped the offence.

The following is another brief account of the Jeypore affair, which was handed to us by a friend:—

"It will be some satisfaction to hear that the last act of Blake's life was as noble as the conduct which has ever distinguished him through life. Major Alves, McNaghten, Ludlow and poor Blake, went at sunrise this-morning, to the *mahul* to have an interview with the Mahjees, and widows of the late Rajah, that every thing passed off well, and on leaving the Durbar a mean looking scoundrel cut Alves on the back of the head and brought him to the ground, and he received two more wounds one on the head and the other across the shoulder. Blake and Ludlow seized the assassin, and, for a time, disarmed and secured him, they then put Alves into a palanquin and McNaghten and Ludlow* mounted their horses and rode to the *Mhajie-ke-Bagh* in safety, but poor Blake remained behind till he not only saw Alves safe away but orders were given to carry the assassin safe also to the *Mhajie-ke-Bagh*; the consequence was he was surrounded and the moment he mounted his elephant spears were thrown at him and other missiles, and he got wounded. When he reached the gate he found it was shut, and as there was no possible exist from the city and his remaining on the elephant certain death, he hit upon the expedient of dismounting with his chuprassie and taking refuge in a *mundar*, thinking the sacredness of the place would have saved him: but no, they there murdered him and his chuprassie by name Lutchman Sing formerly in your service. The chuprassie behaved with great fidelity, calling out "murder me but spare my master;" but mercy was a stranger to these villains' breasts. Blake received twenty-six wounds about the face, head, and throat."

* Captain Ludlow returned, not on his horse, but on his elephant, as stated by us in a preceding page.

This is a trait of native character, a noble instance of fidelity and a redeeming feature in the tragedy of Jeypore which deserves to be recorded. A friend in whose employment this murdered, brave, and faithful chuprassie once was, assures us that he is convinced from his knowledge of the man's character that the statement is accurate. The ill-fated Mr. Blake leaped into the temple first, the chuprassie in following had his arm cut off and died repeating the vain appeal for mercy to his master. Honored be his memory!

Another particular in the above account not known before, is that the gates were shut upon Mr. Blake, at least the guard who could have opened it did not.

(From a Correspondent.)

Two months have now elapsed since the occurrence of the Jeypore tragedy, and though the country was prepared to expect prompt and energetic measures against this state, procrastination is still the order of the day in the British Council. Enquiry and investigation continue to engross the attention of our authorities at Jeypore; but notwithstanding the lapse of time, little progress has been made, nor have any important facts relative to the planners and maturers of this treachery been elicited. Our information stands pretty nearly as it did on the 5th June. Enquiry may be prolonged for the next ten months and the result will be equally unsuccessful, so long as the Thakoors guide the state helm. The public papers have fully detailed matters as far as they have transpired. It is the one and general opinion of intelligent natives in this vicinity that the massacre of the European party was originated in, and executed under directions of, the inmates of the palace. Our chief object of solicitude at present appears to be to trace the crime to its source, with a view to the punishment of all concerned: yet the plain and palpable truth has not struck our authorities, that the only sure mode of attaining this result, is the removal of the present Ministry and the substitution of our own authority. This is the first step and ought to have been ordered immediately on the intelligence reaching Calcutta. Had treachery occurred in Europe, the obvious course of procedure would have been the immediate retirement of our Embassy from the Court—war would have been declared and instant reparation of the insult demanded. Instead of this high commanding tone, which would have saved the culprits only at the sacrifice of the state, our temporising, non-interfering policy has converted this national insult into a police investigation. It is an old but true saying, that below the lamp is darkness, and this has been exemplified at Jeypore. No sooner was the act committed than the Minister was down on his marrow bones. He had succeeded in, or at the very least had connived at the murder of one officer, and the wounding, as was then supposed, to death of the Resident—then came fears for the consequences. This atrocious act had been committed during his Ministry, and

as no sword was drawn no hand was raised in defence of the unfortunate-unarmed foreigners, his Ministry was, to all thinking people, at an end. To obviate this unpleasant, this inconvenient result, the cold, calculating, natured act of the Court is interpreted as a popular ebullition. The Rawul and Mahjee are constant in their enquiries as to the Resident's health and the compliment may, perhaps, be reciprocated; but as Lord Wellington said of a county meeting, this is a complete farce. We are not in a humour to bandy compliments—we are engaged on matters affecting existence—the existence of ourselves as Governors; the saving the country from anarchy and the sword. Would to Heaven our *Adalut moguddamahs* were as free from doubts and difficulties as the Jeypore case—we have only one course to pursue; to take the country, and this effected, to make known to the Mahjee as the head of the temporarily-extinct Raj, as we would to an ordinary prisoner, that only on an ample, full and unreserved disclosure of facts and particulars, will the state be permitted to exist as an independent principality. During the period of our rule in Rajpootana, detachments have constantly trotted out to Jeypore double quick; but on no occasion has a shot been fired: the valour of the Jeyporeans has always subsided into obedience on the arrival of our troops. The revenue of this state is rated at a crore of rupees: one-third *kalsah*, the same portion *istimrar* or jagheer lands, and the last *khyrat*, or for charitable purposes. The country is fertile and water in abundance near the surface; and though the present produce is far short of half this amount, still by proper management and conciliation, and the restoration of confidence and tranquility under a settled and equitable rule, commerce and agriculture would prosper and the revenue progressively increase. It is the deliberate opinion of well informed natives, that it would be an act of magnanimity, of mercy, to take the Government of this state under British guidance. It is now so completely torn by various factions that no confidence can be placed on the administration of the nobles. The substitution of our authority would immediately quash these factions, or like an unfed lamp, they would quickly become extinguished from the absence of proper sustenance. When the Thakoors have been removed from power, it is not improbable the secrets of the massacre will be disclosed. But allowing the crime emanated from the Durbar, and that fear or pride prevented divulgement, still we can impose a heavy pecuniary fine on the state, seeing, at that juncture, the principality and its resources would be under our command. The governing the state for the benefit of the Raj would mark our disinterestedness and shew the world territorial aggrandizement formed no part of our policy. On taking possession of the country, the presence of an efficient force would be necessary; for though some demonstration of resistance might be made, an ample preparation for defence is the next thing to preventing attack. The *foxy* of the

Raj, now a hungry, rebellious rabble, should be armed, disciplined, clothed and regularly paid. In a word, it should be made an efficient soldiery and useful to the state. As it would be necessary to divide the principality into several Purgunnahs by officers under the immediate orders of the Resident or Chief Commissioner, a portion of the troops should be attached to each district: thus rendering, after a short term, the presence of regulars, except in limited numbers, unnecessary. The Thakoors and jagheerdars should be taught to look to the soil as the legitimate source of their incomes, plough-shares should be encouraged as substitutes for tulwars; and in case of disinclination to follow this advice, they should be disarmed, as was done in bringing the Mhairs into subjection and civilization in 1822. The education of the young Rajah must receive undivided attention; since it would be our object to make him a Prince among Princes, a pattern of a ruler suited to the enlightened times. This subject I would strongly recommend to the consideration of friend INDOHULUS. And last, though by no means least in importance, is the decrease of the *mihal*, by distributing the Princesses and their legions of attendants, throughout the state. This is urgently necessary to the proper working of the machine of Government: for the palace unless remodelled will continue the nursery of every species of intrigue and cabal. Indeed, all the evils Jeypore has suffered for some years past have been engendered within the *mihal*. With regard to the ways and means, this state must of course pay the price of its regeneration. By the existing treaty, we receive four annas of the revenue in the rupee; it therefore is manifest the greater the improvement and prosperity of that country the more to our advantage. But setting aside pecuniary considerations, the peace and tranquillity of Rajpootana, indeed of upper Hindostan, hinge on the good government of this state: for anarchy, like a contagious disease, requires prompt and severe treatment to prevent its spread into neighbouring territories.

TO THE HONORABLE SIR C. T. METCALFE,
Governor-General of India.

SIR,—I take advantage of that freedom of the press which you have constantly advocated and have now secured, to express to you the sentiments which I hold in common with almost the whole community upon the late occurrences at Jeypore. The general opinion has indeed been already made known, as opposed to the view of the case which you have received officially from Major Alves, but I have not observed any public print in which the reasons for this general opinion are so detailed, as to confer upon it the importance which it deserves.

It is fortunate that all the accounts which have been given from different quarters of this transaction, coincide, as regards the main facts, with each other, as well as with Major

Alves's official statement. These main facts may therefore be considered as established, and they are universally thought to prove that Major Alves has been led to false conclusions, and that the honor and safety of the British name are likely to suffer in his hands.

In the first place, during the durbar which preceded the events in question, was a word of warning given to the English party that a tumult in the city was expected or feared? It is true that Major Alves has expressed an opinion, (changed and re-changed in the same official letter,) that the disturbance in which Blake fell was unpremeditated, and took its rise from the attack which has been made upon himself. But is this supposition credible, considering that the attack upon Major Alves was a momentary event; that it took place within the walls of the palace and not in the midst of the populace; and that the subsequent tumult was so immediate that even Captain Ludlow and Cornet McNaghten, who followed closely upon Major Alves's palanquin, escaped with difficulty. Is it not rather forced upon the conviction of every one by the circumstances of the affair, that the massacre was premeditated, and that the blow at Major Alves was only the lighting of the train, the commencement of the explosion? and, if so, is it to be credited that the numerous members of the Durbar were ignorant of what was in agitation? It is seldom that secrecy such as this is observed in the council of a native mob.

In the second place, did Rawal Byree Sal, to whom the troops of the Jeypore state are known to be obedient; did any one of the influential Thakoors, appear in person, or take any steps to save the British authority from further outrage, either when the chief representative of that authority was cut down at their very door, or during the long interval by all accounts more than one hour, that poor Blake was making his hopeless stand in the temple which proved to him no sanctuary? This is the damning evidence, of which let the Jeypore Court and Thakoors clear themselves if they can. I trust that there is but one individual in the empire who would receive without derision the Rawul's story of his staying to quiet ladies tongues in the zenanah, while British blood was flowing without in consequence of his timely absence. Had he appeared at the head of a few regular troops; had he even taken his stand singly between the mob and poor Blake, the latter would have escaped the fate to which he was coldly and mercilessly consigned.

But is it customary for a native populace to rise against our authority with so deep a feeling of animosity and blood-thirstiness, unless they are aware that similar feelings are entertained by their own rulers? It is true that an European functionary has sometimes fallen, as occurred lately in another presidency, in a moment of religious excitement; but, putting aside such instances, where has the population of a city risen against us, from political motives, in the same spirit as at Jey-

pore, unless when instigated to it by their own native chiefs? More than all, would that city guard have dared to turn against Blake in his extremity; would they have ventured to put themselves foremost among the attacking mob, unless they had been aware that this conduct would meet the views of the rulers by whom they were entertained and paid, and with whom their persons were known, and their names registered?

These are the grounds, Sir, upon which it is universally considered that the view taken of this affair by Major Alves is wholly fallacious, and that the adoption of his sentiments by the Supreme Government must lead to steps which will be unsatisfactory in every way, and quite inadequate to wipe off the insult which our power has sustained. The insult in question has been inflicted by the *united and unanimous* act of the city of Jeypore. No faction or party can be made the scape goat, for all joined in the pursuit of Blake, and all who ever could reach his body inflicted a wound upon it. It is almost equally certain that those possessing power in the state were the instigators and abettors of the deed. What would Achar or Aulungeer have done had their representative been similarly treated? They would have levelled the offending city with the ground. To have given it up to three days pillage would have been a suitable retribution, as the punishment would have been as universal as the crime. Lord Clive or Lord Wellesley would have declared the Jeypore rule to have ended from the moment that the intelligence was received. What shall we do in these less energetic days? Is the execution or perhaps murder of a few low caste and friendless individuals, selected at the choice of the native rulers to satisfy our wounded dignity? The Rawul will feed the British vengeance for years on this condition, and there will be no fear of the daily victims not being forthcoming.

It is generally understood that, independently of his exculpation of Jeypore the ruler, Major Alves affects to consider the whole melancholy occurrence as a "trivial affair."

* * * * *

Whatever may be the cause, I trust, and the country trusts, that he will not be able to infuse the same tone into the councils of the state. If so, we shall be sowing the dragon's teeth, and assuredly we shall reap the armed men—already are symptoms of the dangerous crop to be distinguished. But I would ask, what power had Major Alves to enter into communication with the Jeypore authorities; to receive condolences from the Ranee and Rawal, and ridiculous apologies from the infant Raja; nay, to pledge himself that the interests of the latter should not suffer, before he knew how his own changeable and singular views would be received by the Supreme Government of the country.

It is perhaps hopeless to expect, that under the system which has been now adopted for regulating our conduct to the Native States,

any thing short of the strongest legal proof of the guilt of the Jeypore authorities will lead to the annexation of their territory to our own. It is true that such a measure would be recognized as just and laudable by the whole native community; that it would relieve us some degree our present financial difficulties and give us a vantage ground, which we greatly need, for curbing the disaffected and restless spirits of the rest of Rajasthan. It is true that the people of the Jeypore country would be benefited by such a step, while the Rajah, whose interests alone would suffer, is of immature age, and I believe of doubtful legitimacy. But should this course not be pursued, let a heavy fine be imposed on the guilty city for the erection of barracks, stables, &c., for three or four of our regular regiments; let this force be permanently settled at a short distance from the city itself; let its entire expense be defrayed from the Jeypore revenues, and let the useless troops at present maintained by that state be disbanded to the extent required. Finally, let an able Resident, such for instance as holds at present the appointment at Gwalior, be invested with the entire management of the country during the minority of the Raja, and let him have full power to controul the turbulent and factious aristocracy, and to reduce them to the condition of subjects. Let the education of the young Raja be committed to his sole superintendence with the assistance of such European instructors as may appear to be necessary, and let him be withdrawn as much as possible from those who would instil into him native feelings and prejudices. There will then be hopes that one at least of the larger Rajpoot states will become in future days a firm friend instead of a secret enemy; a bulwark upon our frontier instead of a weak and vulnerable point. We have conferred great benefits on these states in releasing them from the Maharatta dominion, but their rulers are nevertheless generally hostile to us; we shall deserve to lean for ever upon broken reeds, if we allow the present opportunity to pass by without at the same time vindicating our honor and improving our position.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

SUUM CUIQUE.

Upper Provinces, July 20, 1835.

SIR,—Your correspondent SUUM CUIQUE, whose letters appear in your paper of the 6th August, shews himself well qualified to deliver an opinion on the most important question of the day—"what is our wisest policy in regard to Jeypore at the present moment?" With the majority of the correspondents of the public press, he concurs in calling for the infliction of a summary vengeance, and for the sequestration of the country. The views of other writers bear evident marks of being hastily and superficially formed; your correspondent has had better means of information at command; but though he gives some sufficient arguments for some of his conclusions, he has neither done justice to Major Alves in other essential

matters, nor displayed much depth of foresight or reflection in his final determination.

2. I am disposed fully to agree with him in thinking that Major Alves acted unwisely in giving the assurances he did, to the Rance and to the assembled Thakoors in reply to their letters of condolence; he had even then ample grounds for suspecting that guilt would attach to several of those chiefs who signed the letter, and he had not a single proof of the innocence of any one of them beyond their own (of course) most solemn asseverations.

3. Major Alves moreover, has been slow in admitting the connection almost self-evident to every other individual between the attempt on his own life and the murder of Mr. Blake. He is said too to have given admission into his mind to the fancy that Mr. Blake provoked his own fate by an imprudent parade as he drove through the town, of the blood-stained sword, wrested from the hand of the assassin. This certainly appears a strange and forced assumption when Lieutenant McNaghten was at hand to remind him of the abusive and injurious treatment which he also experienced from the mob and others, though he left the palace long before Mr. Blake and carried about with him no such provocative of insult.

4. The armed men at the palace gates joined in the fray; indeed they appear to have been the first instigators of it; the sepoys of the city police-chowkees ran with eagerness to the scene of confusion, and took the lead in pursuing their ill-fated victim and ceased not, till they had cruelly butchered him and his attendants. Are not these facts alone sufficient to prove that the conspiracy was directed by men of influence and present power? Is it possible that these men acted without authority and merely from impulse?

5. Thus far, therefore, I readily concur with your correspondent; but I deny with confidence that there was up to the end of July, any ground or evidence calculated to throw even a suspicion of guilt on Bree Sal. To the British Government this man lies under the deepest obligations; to it he owed his elevation to the office of Minister; by its intervention he has been repeatedly saved from the ruin with which he has been constantly threatened by Jotharam since his accession to power. He seems to have had no time to appoint men in his confidence to the heads of departments, which consequently still remained in the possession of his rivals, the friends and nominees of Roopa Booraran and the deposed minister. All the most recent enquiries confirm the suspicions of guilt attaching from the first to these persons.

The reluctance betrayed by the Majee Sahibn to follow up to the full extent of our requirements, that course pointed out by the Supreme Government as the only one which could satisfy its wounded majesty and ensure the integrity of the Jeypore state, is a fact that carries our suspicions to the very head of the state, and if these are well-founded, an embarrassing question may arise.

6. Your correspondent seems to me to have been guilty of a misrepresentation most unjustifiable, considering his better means of information, in asserting that Major Alves affects to consider the affair as "trivial"; on the contrary Major Alves has ever spoken of it in its true light, as a most serious and momentous and most melancholy affair. Your correspondent moreover acts with great unfairness in using that officer's own, more recent conclusions founded on subsequent enquiries in order to attach blame to his first impressions or rather bare suspicions professedly crude and formed, as is repeatedly expressed, whilst he still remained in the dark from the want of any satisfactory evidence. I readily appeal to SUMU CHIQUE himself and ask him "Does not Major Alves manifest throughout not only a magnanimous calmness, but an openness to receive such impressions as the evidence and the evidence only may warrant?"

7. Major Alves seems to me to have shown a want of that instinctive intuition, and of that appreciation of internal evidence which is the invariable characteristic of great genius, but may he not have felt himself precluded from using or laying stress on any but legal evidence. He must doubtlessly have also felt the peculiar difficulty of his position. He is the judge of a cause which is not only his Government's, but that of himself personally, and he may have been influenced by this fact in guarding against the possible imputation of seeking vengeance for his own wrong rather than simple justice. I write without authority and at a distance from the scene; but though full of anxiety to see the most ample reparation made to the British Government, I conceive it may be effected without the commission of any injustice either to Major Alves or to the Jeypore Government. Major Alves's position seems to me to justify my surmise that such an apprehension as I have mentioned has probably existed in his mind.

8. The apprehensions which I felt when I first read Major Alves's very superfluous letters of assurance to the Rane and to the Thakoors, were readily dismissed when I observed that just consideration was given to the subsequent evidence as it transpired; and I still say let us not unnecessarily expose our weakness by refusing to await the issue of the present enquiries. The more patient and deliberate the investigation, the greater weight will be attached to our final award. The more the guilt is exposed, the more readily shall we carry with us the concurrence and approbation of all good men in all parts of India. It is only by observing this course that we can escape the odium of an indiscriminate sacrifice of the innocent with the guilty. As for the condign punishment of every individual concerned in the treachery, who can gainsay its policy. Our very existence in India prevents our listening even to reasonable appeals for mercy in such cases as the present.

9. And still strong reasons for mercy, even in this case do exist, and, though we will

not listen to them, history will not fail to record them. We may indeed acquit Mr. Blake of having provoked his own fate by the triumphant display of the assassin's bloody sword, but can we with equal truth acquit the British Government with all its boast of non-interference, of having provoked this cruel infliction upon itself by sending Major Alves with the sword into Jeypore? I have sought, but I have sought in vain to learn, what legitimate grounds we had to dismember Jeypore of Shaikawatee; and granting the justifiableness of that proceeding, I ask what right, or shadow of a right, had we to seize upon the Jeypore's share of Sambur and to eject Jotharam from the management of affairs? My philanthropic friends ask me in return if I am utterly lost to the common feelings of humanity; if I have no commiseration to spare for a whole people groaning under a dreadful oppressor, a monster of iniquity, a miscreant who crowned a countless list of the blackest crimes by the treacherous and cruel murder of his own prince? Were we, I reply, responsible or security in any way for the personal safety of that prince? If Jotharam was the monster of iniquity he has been represented as being; if he was held in universal execration, what prevented the chiefs and the people from rising "*en masse*" to take vengeance for themselves and for the blood of their murdered prince? Were they apprehensive of the course which the British Government would take? Colonel Lockett or Major Alves might easily have been instructed to assure the people that we would not oppose the sacred cause they were all ready to promote. The bare assurance ought, if Jotharam has been truly represented, to have been instantly followed by his downfall.

But the arguments of my very philanthropic friends in favor of interference were not so readily exhausted; they maintained that the unfeeling monster was no fool; that foreseeing the inevitable result of his own superfluous iniquities he had amassed private hoards of gold to secure him against this otherwise inevitable destruction, and that by this spoil he commanded the services of a small band of unprincipled and desperate men, whom the same diabolical passion for the plunder of the people, and a common sense of the consequent danger, bound in the strictest league. They assured me, however, that Jotharam's faction was small and most inconsiderable.

10. Did the British Government, acknowledging the force of these arguments, and on the express understanding that the faction headed by Jotharam was small and inconsiderable and held in utter abhorrence by the body of the outraged people, determine on undertaking itself the ejection of the regicide minister and his unprincipled gang—that it might monopolize to itself all the golden opinions, and all the overflowing gratitude of a whole nation made happy? Moralists may forget to rail at the ensnaring dangers of supreme power, when they see it so worthily, so benignantly employed!!

Let my readers now, if I command any, bear in mind that it was on the express understanding that Jotharam's faction was universally execrated and perfectly insignificant, that the British Government undertook to eject it, and mark well the sequel. Major Alves at the head of a large force calls for the surrender of Jotharam; the Majee Sahibn and others manifest much reluctance in compliance; no alacrity, strange to say, in backing our demand was shewn by the people or by any party; the corps that were clamorous to get into cantonments were again and again held back to give effect to the order of the Resident. The nature and strength of the so called petty, odious faction began to be better understood. To eject Roopa Burarun and others was found impossible with all our force, and threats, remonstrances and expostulations were equally vain. The minister finally gives himself up and Beree Sal is thrust into his place. Some Thakoors quit the scene of their country's fancied degradation. All remain quiet and sullen. There are no joyful addresses to betoken the expected outbursts of gratitude. Even Beree Sal lived in fear and trembling for his life.

Now every man will readily confess that our conduct to the Majee and to this faction, whatever be its strength, was sufficient to excite their bitterest resentments and their keenest malice. Most assuredly it was, for they were disappointed and insulted men and women, with the same passions as men and women in more civilized countries, but without any of the principle that compels men in civilized countries to put upon themselves some restraints in the mode of indulging those passions. They were represented as being devils incarnate; it ought to have been moreover borne in mind that they were also uncivilized and unscrupulous barbarians, and that they had been insulted by us in the very point in which Rajpoot pride could most ill brook insult, and galling degradations.

11. What then were the consequences? They were exactly such as were to be certainly expected and ought to have been better guarded against by men that knew any thing of human nature. This faction now put forth a decided demonstration of its irritated malice, and incurable hostility. It did more; it exposed to our astonished eyes a strength and a front that were never before allowed or dreamed of. SUUM CUIQUE proclaims to the world that it was the "united and unanimous act" of the whole city of Jeypore; and can we gainsay his conclusion when not a single hand nor a single voice was raised to save the unfortunate Mr. Blake and his devoted attendant from a long threatening death-pursuit and their very corpses from the cold-blooded infliction of every indignity that even a quiet reflection could suggest? SUUM CUIQUE would therefore condemn the whole people and sequester the country!

Have we then lost all sense of shame, all sense of consistency, and all sense of justice?

Indulging in a speculative benevolence, and an uncontrollable disposition to meddle in

other men's affairs, and blinded by an overweening vanity that will not see things in their real and true light, we insist on denominating the friends of Jotharam a paltry, inconsiderable and ruthless faction which was abhorred and detested by the whole people; on that ground we justify our determination to remove him. We now find that we have been grossly deceived. But with what consistency or justice can we now give this same faction any other designation? Can we not be consistent in our policy for even six short months? To sanction an unlawful interference, you represent the existing administration as a mere faction; to justify the selfish and equally unlawful assumption of the country, you now proclaim the very same persons as the representatives of the whole people! You goad a wild horse to madness; you then thrust an incapable rider on his back; as was to be expected the horse kicks you, and throws his rider at starting. Though your own folly alone is to be blamed, you must crown your utter unreasonableness and your selfishness by demanding the horse as a deadend for this proof of its incurable vice.

I recollect when I was at school there was a big boy, whom we used to call Bill the Bully. It was his delight to beat a little boy till he cried; and when the little boy cried for the beating, the Bully would then again beat him for crying. Boys at school have less law perhaps in their heads than learned chancellors, but they are ever true to nature and to natural justice. We then held Bill the Bully in universal execration. And is this the example that SUUM CUIQUE without looking back and without consulting better judgment, and his host of supporters without consulting their judgment at all, call upon the British Government to follow? He opens to us the page of history that he may incite us to a more close emulation of the cold-blooded and damnable hypocrisy of the relentless persecutions, and foul usurpations of the arch-impostor Alumgeer, who wrought his way to the musnud by the murder of his best friends, of his brothers, of his father, and of his king.

12. Our rule indeed is already much too like to that of Alumgeer; in its impoverishing effects it is much more pernicious. But it is as vain as it is ungracious to labour to open the eyes of our countrymen to the real nature and effects of our Government, and to the character we actually bear in the estimation of the people for whom alone we should rule. Mill has held the glass up to our eyes; but we straightway forget the complexion of our face. The talented FRIEND TO INDIA places the portrait weekly within our view. We look and admire his bold strokes; but our own self-seeking imaginations can devise much more pleasant and much more flattering likenesses. Can I adduce a stronger instance of the inveteracy of this disposition to self-delusion than that occurring in your paper with Mr. Hutchinson's letter in it. If there is one truth which the FRIEND TO INDIA has laboured to prove with more earnestness and force than another, it is

that we grossly deceive ourselves in fancying that the Oude or any other of the Native Governments give less happiness to their subjects than the British Government to its subjects. He deprecates our giving admission into our minds to an assumption so false: he beseechingly prays that we will not act on such a mistaken notion. Mr. Hutchinson cannot contain his self-gratulation on witnessing the striking resemblance, the all but exact coincidence (he certainly acquits the FRIEND TO INDIA of plagiarism!) existing between his own and the FRIEND'S opinions. And what are Mr. Hutchinson's opinions? that the people of Oude are groaning under an intolerable load of oppression; which he believes to be so great that in his benevolence he anticipates with joy and with certainty the immediate assumption of the reins of Government by Lord William Bentinck. Is not this a melancholy obliquity of vision--crooked perversion of judgment, that can see a striking coincidence in things diametrically opposed! We are all blinded by the same gross partiality. And how, moreover, were Mr. Hutchinson's opinions formed? professedly from the daily prints, which, entirely monopolized by our fellow servants and our countrymen ever looking for money and place, represent only one side of the picture.

13. Your contemporary the *Courier*, in commenting upon the letter of SUAM CHUQUE, derides the bare idea of consulting the wishes of "the people." Of the people, indeed! he asks with a sneer? In my simplicity I had thought that the wishes and happiness of the people should be the first consideration with every Government. We are all ever animated by the same self-seeking spirit. Our ears are ever listening with the fondest and most absurd credulity to the delusory but pleasing tales of British justice, British moderation, and British anxiety to promote the good of our people, till in spite of all that the FRIEND TO INDIA and others have written, we really believe them. But I still maintain, that the British Government has scarcely a single element of popularity in it, when administered even by the best of its servants; that a bad native government has in spite of its defects many elements of popularity, and that a good one makes its subjects as happy as their state of civilization enables them to be.

Is not the path of honorable ambition almost entirely closed to native talent by our rule? To what power can any native aspire? To what degree of wealth can he ever arrive by the longest services to the British Government? We say that they are a corrupt, unprincipled set of men, incapable of speaking a word of truth; that we must pay them according to their deserts, that is, their want of all principle; we therefore give them a mere subsistence. After thus making every allowance in their low rates of pay for their fully anticipated want of principle, we still are inconsistent enough to exact a degree of virtue and integrity to be ensured even from men of principle only by a high rate of remuneration. Such is the just retort which a

talented native friend of mine lately gave me. But how is it in native governments? They all afford the freest field for the indulgence of the passion, for power and for the acquisition of wealth, and the frequent changes we witness in them shew that all, who would climb the slippery heights of ambition, have their day and their turn in the possession of the highest places that subjects can fill. The fact we cannot deny; but here we again shew our partiality and gross want of candour and justice by inveighing against individuals: all their struggles for power are designated by the depreciating names of intrigue and corruption, and a longing for the powers of the oppressor. A regulated routine succession, which as our rulers are beginning to observe, has banished from the service all energy and exertion, and the necessity for exertion, happens to have also removed us from all temptations to use the arts of rising in office; and we pride ourselves upon our freedom from those vicious arts!! The female who was shut up in a cell to which human creature could not by any possibility find access might, with as much justice, boast of her immaculate chastity!

14. In the next place, all the native governments give not only a real and true toleration (Wuzecrooddowla of Tonk by-the-by, is deviating from this course, but he will repent or fail,) to all classes of their subjects of all sects, but they add also a substantial encouragement and liberal support to all their many churches, and to their several pious and learned, or reputedly learned, principals. If this be questioned for a moment all doubts will vanish when we reflect that neither Chundoo Lal at Hyderabad nor Dataram at Tonk, nor Khooshwukt Race at Bhopal, nor Durshun Sing and other Hindoos at Lucknow, who fill or have filled the highest offices under Mussulman princes, were likely to allow intolerance to, or to neglect the interests of, their sects. In the same manner we have lately seen Salahooddeen, a Prime Minister of the Nagpore Rajah, ready to secure, should it have been endangered, the interests of his brotherhood.

15. Is our government equally liberal or even equally tolerant? On the contrary, is not every Moolvee and Brahmin kept in a state of anxious suspense by the constantly recurring enquiries as to the validity of sunuds of the oldest standing? In the last few months I have received many applications, pressed with an earnestness that showed their anxious fears, for letters to different collectors in Rohilcund to intercede in regard to their enamlands. This remark applies to grants of land, &c., of old standing. Our limitation of the duration of grants to the lives of the professors is most unpopular. The term "*heen hyat*" poisons the relish of the lives of many men, I know, who happen to have children. If we ever made any new grants, the lapses or resumption of old ones would not be much dreaded; but a state of utter hopelessness fills the minds of all parties when they reflect that neither Moolvees nor Brahmins can by

any possibility, by any amount of acquirements, by any reputation for sanctity or for learning in their own departments, obtain through any influence whatsoever the grant of a single beega of land or of a single rupee, much less a competency to free them from temporal and personal cares, and thus to enable them to devote their time to the spiritual and eternal interests of their several communities. In Europe we see the spirit of toleration making daily advances; and christian governments now not only removing all disabilities from their Jews and other once despised sects, but also granting support to their several churches. Our India Government on the other hand is actually receding in regard to toleration. The Home Government after long withstanding the persecuting recommendations of Mr. Poynder and his enthusiastic friends has finally issued its orders for the withdrawal of the long established public superintendence and distribution of the revenues of the Jugnath and Gyah, and other Hindoo temples, in the hope, I believe, actually avowed, that the confusion and the scramble which will hence arise amongst the interested priests and their unrestrained exactions may bring these places of pilgrimage into disrepute. However innocent the act may be considered separately from its motive, it betrays, when considered in connection with the motive, a most dangerous and lamentable spirit of persecution. The abolition of the Suttee rite, barbarous though it be, was a breach of the letter of the law, and of our proclamations repeated whenever we entered a new territory, for this right is enjoined on widows in many reputed Hindoo revelations.

Furthermore, are not our Missionaries and other enthusiasts, constantly galling, without consideration and without judgment, the tenderest feelings of human nature, by exposing the absurdities and falsehoods of all the most revered books of all sects?

And have not some of the most zealous and most talented leaders in the cause of education, thrown themselves into the hands of the professional propagators of Christianity, and thus given to the cause of conversion all the weight of their great influence? And has not this band sent their proclamations throughout the land, proscribing every native classical work, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, as too full of obscenity or folly, or superstition, to admit of their being patronized by them or used in their schools? The intolerant zeal of this party has indeed so far blinded their better judgments, that with a Russian barbarity they are not only labouring to uproot the national literature of the people as worse than useless, but they are also striving to abolish the very characters in which it is written. It is a project that must assuredly fall to the ground; it is visionary and impracticable, but the attempt to introduce it must disgust all who are not sycophants at heart, and is therefore so far dangerous. And to crown our intolerance, the Governor-General in Council has not hesitated to adopt the views of this band of unreflecting enthusiasts so far

as to pass an order, that the whole amount of the funds destined for the education of the people, shall be expended in the promotion of only English literature, to the utter exclusion of all that the people of this country holds most dear and most sacred. The goodness of the motives prompting to these acts can stand as no excuse to men with good reason and sound judgment.

16. My too zealous friends, if any chance to see these observations, will not fail to warm in defence of their conduct. From them I despair of receiving a cool and candid consideration. From the public, prejudiced though we all are, I expect a more candid hearing; and of it I confidently ask—does not our conduct in the particulars above referred to, fall far short of the full measure of a perfect toleration? Can the people—one portion of which has ever been distinguished for its bigotry and the other for its pertinacious adherence to the religion of their ancestors—regard with any sentiment approaching to affection that Government whose acts in their eyes admit of no other construction than that they originate in an anxiety to subvert their literature and their religion by the establishment of those of the west.

17. I should be digressing from my subject and take up too much of your space, were I here to enlarge to point out what appeared to me the safe and proper medium between the danger of actually encouraging superstition, and that of proceeding too hastily in the course of national improvement. Suffice it to say, that we cannot legislate even for the quietest race on earth either with effect or safety—without securing the heartfelt concurrence, if not of a numerical majority of the people, at any rate of a majority of the most enlightened of them. Men moreover may always be led faster than they will be driven.

It is not the Government which is conducted on principles that have been demonstrated to be most wise in the abstract and most sound that gives most happiness to the people—but it is one, the feelings and principles and conduct of which are most national, that is which most nearly harmonize, and accord with the state of ignorance prevailing amongst the majority of the people. In this view how dangerous was the benevolent anxiety of our late Governor-General so frequently professed to establish true principles. He might have taken a lesson from Solon, who boasted that he had given not the wisest possible laws to his countrymen but the wisest which they were prepared to receive. We have however no lack of more instructive and more recent precedents in England and elsewhere where ministries have fallen as frequently for being in advance as they have for being in arrear of the intelligence of the age. Our danger in this country consists in the fact that the people has no mouthpiece to tell us of their wishes—no constitutional organ. Its present ministry is half blind and half deaf and it will resign its place only with its life.

18. The FRIEND TO INDIA and a few other writers have so ably explained and made bare the ill success of our Judicial, Revenue and Excise systems, that I may safely pass over these subjects with the single observation that all are alike unpopular, ruinous and vexatious: disgusting or ruining all suitors in our Courts, reducing the agricultural classes to one uniform level of degraded poverty, and harassing to the mercantile community.

"You are never guilty," said a shrewd Thakoor, a subject of Sindia, to me the other day, "of the superfluous violence of confiscating a man's whole estate for an act of fornication like our Raja; but you never fail in the course of a very few years to bring all his treasures by the silent operation of your system, as appointed by law, into the Company's coffers; a few of my kinsmen and bunyeas are getting rich and insolent; tell me how you effect this silent transfer?"

Notorious thieves, who could never remain at large or escape with secure limbs in any native government, are allowed to prey without molestation on our native subjects. We say we have no legal evidence. If Magistrates did their duty, they would shew some portion of that indefatigable zeal and deep interest for our native subjects which have been displayed when the necessities of the British Government were considered to demand their exertion. A general greater exertion in these minor cases would anticipate the call for them in cases of more vital importance.

Whence, too, I ask, arises the almost universal impression that any man, be he a native or European officer, may with impunity run away with the daughter, or the sister of any native, bringing disgrace on the family or depriving it of the woman's services—if he can only induce the woman to say she is "razee." The Regulations have not so far left the cause of justice and morality without defence, nor fathers and husbands without remedy or satisfaction. Although cases of adultery and fornication are used by the native governments as a favorite means of oppression, their course of proceeding still gives much more general satisfaction than ours to the community, who regard our total indifference and neglect as ruinous to all morality.

19. The above observations apply to our established system of Government; let us now briefly consider the general conduct and circumstances of the European officers of Government as individuals, and let me ask "how do we as such stand in native estimation?" Are we distinguished by a never failing urbanity towards all classes of our native subjects, or even with those having business with us? Alas! how few are so! Do we not rather receive them without shewing either care or interest in their affairs? Do we not look down upon them with contempt, and are we not ever eager to attribute the worst motives to their most innocent sayings and doings—congratulating ourselves on our shrewdness in fathoming their cunning designs?

Do we enter into any of the sports, or amusements of those about us? No; the task would be intolerable. Do we assist them with our money in the celebration of their Mohurrums and of their Hotees? "What!" you ask me in return with surprise; "would you have us promote such idolatrous displays or encourage them by our presence?" Elisha told Natman the Leper that he might go, and go in peace, with his idolatrous master into the very Temples of his God Rimmon. But our high priests have now no such commission of absolution. I hope that we are not screening a spirit of avarice under this pretext! The charge you indignantly reject. "Will you then," cry distressed widows, Hindoo and Mussulman; "will you help us in our calamities, will you assist us in the celebration of the marriages of our fatherless daughters?" "We would with pleasure," we reply, "but in reflecting on the causes of the moral degradation of the people of India, we clearly perceive, that it is your expensive marriages, which most largely contribute to produce this lamentable result by perverting the sums of money that should be spent in the moral improvement of your children to the indulgence of a ruinous taste for display."

"You can then have no objection," cries the bunya, made bankrupt by a sudden fall of prices, or the kirsan ruined by the failure of his crops or the severity of our assessments, "to alleviate our overwhelming distresses attributable to no fault of our own?"

Our hypocritical sophistry is not yet exhausted; we have not attended the lectures of our late revered instructor Mr. Malthus, so utterly without effect as not to have learned the impolicy—nay, the great danger of injuring the spirit of independent exertion by an imprudent liberality to any man yet blessed with the "*mens sana in corpore sano*." The broken-hearted sufferer quits our presence, cursing our hypocrisy and the wisdom that has taught a man so to profane the name of charity.

Thus it is my friends, that with the words justice and judgment, liberality and charity ever on our lips, our acute powers of perception and our enlightened foresight will not allow us to reduce our benevolent speculations into practice in any single case.

Our constant removals, moreover, from place to place, prevent the growth of those intimacies and of that natural affection which might still, in spite of all our wisdom, betray us into occasional gratifying acts of a sympathising charity to some of our subjects.

Nay it would be well, if we even left our subjects free from acts of personal oppression. If our marching officers, and Commissioners, and Collectors, and Agents, &c. on their circuits always paid or caused to be paid the price of the wood, and the grass, and the milk, and the sheep, &c. by the sale of which alone now so many that once had ploughs and bullocks, have, by our system, been reduced to live miserably. The poor man curses his

fate. It were more prudent if our speculative philanthropists left him his Fate to curse!

20. But grant that a man has determined to work his way to the affections of all around him; that he is ready to make large private sacrifices of labour, time and money to promote the real comfort and happiness, as far as in him lies, of all entrusted to his care and ceases to waste the hours (that should be given to the people) in writing protests against merit-fostering minutes, and in publishing the faults of his Government and the delusions under which all his neighbouring fellow servants are labouring, modestly fearful lest his own be no less:—suppose, I say, he starts on this noble course, rejoicing to run his race: mark the impediments insuperable from our condition as foreigners. They occur to the strongest—to the best man. His more fortunate friend who has retired to England, again and again writes telling him in every letter “that in India he drags out a miserable existence; that England is the only place where he can really enjoy life. Be wise then and come home and not throw away a single rupee on those lying, graceless natives.”

If he betrays an honest ambition and a laudable desire for power that he may use it only the better to fulfil his anxious yearning to make our subjects more happy—he is asked “and what honor or credit is there in gaining the good will and affections of these misjudging, ignorant natives? No; take a higher flight; seek a wider field for your ambition; a more dignified audience, where success would be some honor. In England, however, nothing can be effected without money; look well after that in India—that you may render sure the success your experience and talents promise.”

If he is made of softer mould, and if his swelling heart is at all alive to the kindlier impulses of our nature, he has no power to resist the fond entreaties of a loving and much loved sister to hasten home, to enjoy in all their purity and with all their refinements the thousand nameless endearments of a domestic life in polished society and a civilized country: he cannot disregard the affectionate injunctions of an aged parent that he will observe such a strict and sober economy as will ensure his speedy return to receive her dying blessing.

The claims of a wife and family again are paramount, they necessarily engross all his affections and all his personal cares to the exclusion of all foreign demands upon his time and purse—what husband can look upon a fond wife—what father can gaze on the budding beauties of his infant children and not resolve to do his utmost to ensure to her possibly widowed feebleness, and to their orphaned infancy every protection that money at least can give. Mr. Elphinstone exclaimed when he heard of the marriage of his assistant, Captain —, “alas! the country has lost the services of one of its ablest officers.”

How frequently too do sudden reverses of fortune impose upon us as a sacred duty, an economy that might with justice be carried to the bounds of penury.

21. I hope I am not misunderstood; that I am not exposing myself by an ambiguity to the charge of attacking the obligations of any of the moral duties. God forbid that I should be guilty of using the little judgment he has given me for such an unhallowed purpose—or for weakening the very least of them. My dear friends and fellow servants—my object is very, very different. It is to recal to your minds (for the strict truth of my sketches will not I think be denied,) the real and the almost insuperable difficulties of our position, to shew you that our circumstances as foreigners prevent even the most generous and noble spirits from gaining the affections of our subjects and from fulfilling the full measure of our duty to them: I am anxious to shew how the happy consciousness of well discharging our duty to ourselves, and to our friends and to our families, superinduces a self satisfaction that enables us the better to set at nought the requirements of an equally serious duty towards our native subjects—our ignorant fellow beings; that, in short, as we have given them the full benefit of our *better heads*—we will give them also the advantage (yet to be shewn) of our *better hearts*.

22. But to return—although we will not contribute to promote any of the objects, most important in a native's eyes—do we shew a proper pride by refusing to receive or by refraining from soliciting the aid of their money to promote what we consider important, or gives us amusement? No, we have nothing to give to their Hoolee ceremonies, still we beg them to become subscribers to our Racing Funds; we would shame them or even force them to keep our roads not only in repair but well watered; we cajole them into subscribing to our schools and our colleges and then give them nothing but English; we flatter the wealthy amongst them that they may provide for Fever Hospitals and Leper Hospitals and thus give another situation to another European. We tell them that we hope they will not refuse their quotas to our monuments and to our steam funds, and especially to the latter. Why, my friends, I blush when I think of our gross selfish inconsistency. Why, because they too will experience a due share of the benefits in increased facilities for performing their pious pilgrimages to the sacred tomb of their prophet, upon whom be peace, at Mecca!! When it serves our purpose of hastening conversion we inveigh against the sin for a Christian Government to promote by any means direct or indirect superstitious pilgrimages to Juganath; when it suits our purposes, we speciously set forth the increased facilities for which we are providing for the performance of pilgrimages to Mecca and avail ourselves of that plea to solicit their money.

23. It is unnecessary to explain how different are the circumstances and conduct of individual members of native governments

when we see the prince and every local officer giving their presence and their money and zealous co-operation to make every ceremony and festival as splendid and as joyous as possible. All who have claims on any prince or any chief invariably receive the assistance expected from them. Wells and unrares and unnachutris are built and maintained throughout the country, and extensive charities dispense their daily rations to the poor and destitute of all denominations.

24. I must again repeat that I am not vindicating the abstract wisdom of the native institutions and usages; nor do I assail the wisdom of our course of proceeding: I am simply recording facts. The native institutions and the native course of proceeding fulfil the expectations and wishes of the people, and so far make them happy and at ease; our course of proceeding and conduct regulated though they be by all the wisdom to be gathered from all the many volumes of reports and evidence of Poor Law Commissioners and other law enlightened legislators, are throughout calculated to excite only disgust at our fancied avarice, dissatisfaction at our (fancied) selfish hypocrisy, and hostility at our intolerance.

Our Government therefore being necessarily so unpopular and so uncongenial to the people, why, why I ask, are we so besottedly mad as to seek to extend it even a single beega? if we have so egregiously failed in our management of those parts of India where circumstances were most favorable, how can we for an instant flatter ourselves so far as even to hope that we can ever render that people happy, whose aristocratic institutions, whose gross barbarism and ignorance, and above all, their pride, will place in a constant and diametrical opposition to all the institutions we or our next generation would insist on introducing. Does not the very act which we are now lamenting itself, tell us in a voice of thunder, of this constitutional and inveterate state of social opposition? It must however be repaired. Let the guilty receive exemplary punishment. If the whole town of Jeypore be guilty, let it be blotted out of the map of India; let its ashes and mouldering ruins remain a signal monument of the offended majesty of the British power: but let not a beega be appropriated. Let us make over the country in parcels to the already independent chiefs, or in the lump to Berce Salor any other individual well affected to our power, who can keep the turbulent aristocracy in check.

25. The British Legislature weighing well the past history of mankind, and more especially the past history of the British in India, foresaw that weak man with the sword of power in his hand would give way to the temptations and provocations of a wounded vanity: it therefore passed a solemn ordinance strictly forbidding the local Government in India from offensive interference and aggressions upon, and the assumptions of, the territories of our weak native allies on any pretext.

It foresaw, moreover, that the absolute restriction was imperiously demanded by a due regard to self-preservation. A candid and honest consideration compels us still to applaud the justice and the wisdom of this restriction. If we have no regard to the laws of our country, let us pause at least before we are guilty of hastening in any degree that consummation (the spread of the British rule over the whole of India) which uniting the hitherto divided but numerous and daily increasing enemies of the British Government in one universal league, must be speedily followed by our utter annihilation.

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

Central India, August 26, 1835.

TO THE HONORABLE SIR C. T. MFTCALFE.

Governor-General of India.

SIR, -Some time has now elapsed since I did myself the honor of addressing you on the subject of the occurrences of the 4th of June at Jeypore. I am now desirous of offering a few more remarks upon the same melancholy but important topic.

You are aware that very little additional light has been thrown upon the matter, up to the present day, either by the inquiries which Major Alves has himself conducted, or by those which he states to be in progress on the part of the Jeypore Government. Nothing is as yet certain, except the total uncertainty in which the affair is involved. But, from the complexion which the whole case has now assumed, it may be regarded as the most probable solution of the enigma, that the attack upon the British functionaries was the result of a conspiracy among the adherents of the late minister, formed with the connivance of the Majee, or mother of the infant Rajah, and of certain Thakoors connected with her party. In thus supposing the improbability of the Rawul having been actively engaged in the conspiracy, I would not be understood as exonerating him from blame. His conduct on the fatal day must still remain inexplicable, inexcusable, and not to be reconciled with any warm affection for the British name and power.

It is understood that the Government have come to a determination of no doubtful or undecided nature. Major Alves has, it is believed, been informed, that if full and unrestricted atonement is not made by the punishment or proscription of all who are implicated in the guilt, war shall be declared against the Jeypore state, and, as a necessary consequence, its independent existence shall be annihilated. I need not say that the value of these instructions depends mainly upon the judgment which shall be exercised with regard to the sufficiency of the atonement made. And what may we expect in this matter? For myself, I cannot anticipate that the full satisfaction so justly required will be afforded. I do not dwell at present on the question of time, though every hour that passes over in the present posture of affairs deepens the dye of

the original offence. But are all who participated in the murder itself to be punished? Then every individual of the numerous mob, that with the aid of the Meena guard hunted Blake to his death, is as fully, as heinously guilty, as those who were near enough to strike the fatal blow. There was no divided spirit there; all who were present joined, with heart and voice, if not with hand, in the cowardly atrocity. The execution of three or four out of such a multitude is a farce, a mockery of justice; so much so as almost to confound right and wrong, and to wear the semblance of hardship towards the few so selected. Again, are the instigators, of whatever rank, to be traced and given up for perpetual imprisonment in a British prison? What hope is there of this if, as doubtless is the case, they possess wealth and influence? If for instance, the Majee be implicated, as I have above stated to be commonly thought probable, will the Jeypore investigation end in her conviction? The evidence of the men who have been reserved from execution in the hope of future disclosures, will show how little is to be discovered from them. The emissaries and instruments who are made use of for such purposes by powerful natives are usually well chosen, and, like the assassin of Fraser, will emulate the muteness of the fox even at the place of execution.

But I am spared the necessity of saying more on this point, for even Major Alves himself anticipates that the atonement finally tendered by the Jeypore Government may prove inadequate to the occasion. And, supposing this to be the final result, I am glad to find that he has so far departed from his former exculpatory opinions, as to agree with me in the necessity of adopting one of the two courses suggested in the last paragraph of my former letter. That is to say, either war must be declared, with the attendant consequences, as mentioned in the Government instructions, or we must assume the entire and undivided management of the country during the young Rajah's minority. Of these alternatives he prefers the last, and his objections to the other more decided and energetic procedure are grounded partly on his doubt of its justice, and partly upon that of its expediency. On both of these points I would offer a few observations.

In discussing the *justice* of setting aside the present ruling family of Jeypore, and of substituting our own direct authority in its place, I am glad to find that Major Alves does not attack the measure in question on the grounds of the Rajah being a minor, although he alludes to this argument as one that might possibly be brought forward. Throughout the world it is an acknowledged principle, that any situation of power or privilege may be forfeited by the individual actually in possession, whether he hold it in his own right, or as guardian for another; and that in neither case does the next heir, or the legitimate owner derive any claim to the remission of the forfeiture on the fact that they were not parties in person to the offence which incurred it.

Did we consider the sons of Tippoo entitled to succeed to their father, because they were too young to share in his inveterate hostility? Did the French nation respect the succession of the Duke of Bourdeaux, because he was too young to be concerned in the fatal ordinances? To take a case more in point: supposing the mother or guardian of a Scottish nobleman, at the time a minor, had armed his vassals, and sent them forth to take a prominent part in the rebellion of 1745. Would the immature age of the real heir have been considered a bar to the attainder of the family and the confiscation of the estate? Compassion or policy may in some of these cases recommend a mitigated penalty; but the strict justice of the severer course is never brought into question. Nor could it be questioned without almost annihilating the punishment due to the offence.

But Major Alves is of opinion, that the present anarchy and confusion, which exist in the Jeypore Government to which he attributes the recent occurrences, has been mainly brought about by the conduct of the paramount power itself during the last eleven years. Upon this ground he rests his plea for the remission of all penal consequences to the ruling family of the inferior state. This is a serious and a heavy accusation, and one upon which he should have fully enlarged, instead of merely stating it in a vague and general way, if he is really able to substantiate it. He should have distinctly shown, by reference to the existing treaties, what sins of omission and commission may be laid to the door of the British Government. Until this is done, the argument is null and void, and cannot influence your consultations, for it is clearly one, which, if fully proved to be founded on fact, must excuse not only what has already occurred, but every imaginable insult, and every degree of atrocity. We cannot find fault with any action, however degrading to our authority, which Major Alves may *prove* to owe its origin, however remotely, to ourselves.

Leaving, then, this question, I arrive at the *consequences* which are apprehended from the annexation of the Jeypore territory to our own. And here I pass by, as unworthy of serious notice, the remote fear which Major Alves entertains of a general alliance and out-break of all the Rajpoot states, combined with a descent of Runjeet Sing or of the Nepaulese. This phrase, as regards the assisting power, is ambiguous; let him have the benefit of the doubt; but let us face boldly the dangerous dilemma with which he next threatens your councils. He fears that, if we leave the Thakoors and other chiefs in possession of their jageers, the Jeypore revenues will be insufficient to meet the expenses of the Government in our hands, and that, on the other hand, if we resume those jageers, partially or entirely, we shall reduce their former possessors to the condition of discontented subjects in the first case, and of highway robbers in the second. The horns of this dilemma do not meet; there is room enough to escape between them. No one would pro-

pose that, in assuming the administration of one of the Rajpoot states, we should violently abolish these feudal institutions to which prince and peasant are equally attached. Whatever may be said against these peculiar systems, they have certainly tended to support the Rajpoot character at a higher standard than that of the other natives of India, by giving them objects of interest and motives of action unconnected with their own private advantage and welfare. It would be an act of mingled folly and injustice to reduce serf and noble to the same dead level, both being equally adverse to the change. If then we allow the Thakoors and others to retain their influence over these tribes or families who owe them hereditary allegiance, we cannot fail to leave them at the same time in possession of considerable pecuniary resources. On the other hand, is it to be apprehended that our Government would fail in obtaining sufficient funds to meet its expenditure; nay, that a considerable surplus would not remain, when we consider that we should be able to realize regularly, from the most powerful, as well as from the weakest of our new subjects, that tribute or revenue, which is now sometimes withheld, sometimes collected with delay and difficulty! And, moreover, that all classes of the community, and more especially the larger feudatories, would be relieved from the necessity of keeping up an irregular force to repel oppression and violence, and that they would then be able to devote to their new rulers, in return for the protection of regular troops, the means which have hitherto been expended in the above useless and dangerous manner. A country constituted like the one in question could not require large civil establishments or a great number of European officers to superintend its internal administration, for we ought to work by means of the feudal machinery which already exists there, and to which the people are not only obedient, but attached. And, lastly, if we can conduct the affairs of Jeypore with profit to ourselves and the country during a long minority, (as Major Alves himself seems to acknowledge) we should be able, *a fortiori*, to attain the same favorable results, when we had assumed a more commanding position as the actual sovereign authority, and when, whatever

maintenance might be assigned for the members of the late Royal family, that part of the expenditure would doubtless have been materially diminished.

I have not alluded to Major Alves's remark about the innocent being punished together with the guilty by a declaration of war, because I do not doubt that the interests of those alone would suffer, who should attempt to resist our occupation of the country, or who might be afterwards proved to have participated in the original crime. The war should be against the Government, not against the people, and if a proclamation were issued to the above effect, it would go far to preclude the likelihood of any resistance at all.

I have now, Sir, concluded what I had to offer upon Major Alves's objections to the most politic and advisable course which our Government could pursue. I am ignorant of the detailed system which that officer has suggested, in case of your adopting his other alternative and undertaking the management during the young Raja's minority, I know not even if his plan comprises the vital point of disbanding for ever the present Jeypore troops; of commuting the military service due from the chiefs for an equivalent in money, and of replacing the force thus abolished by a sufficient number of our own regular regiments. We must have no more forced marches from Nusseerabad to Jeypore; no more baiting of British officers in the latter city on account of the absence, inactivity, or connivance of the troops and the commander, who ought to have prevented it. These questions cannot be viewed merely in a pecuniary light. When we consider the existing state of European politics, we should surely be forewarned and fore-armed. The death of Runjeet Sing, which is probably near at hand, must soon oblige us to decide whether we shall carry our absolute and uncontrolled authority to the Indus, or remain in a doubtful and insecure position. We cannot stop till we reach that point, for in the situation of the boatman

"Qui adverso vix flumine lembi
Remigis subigit, ac brachia forte remissat,
Atque illum in præceps pronos reptat alveus amni."

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant.

SUUM CUIQUE.

Upper Provinces, September 10, 1835.—Hark.

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLIX. *

ON THE USURY LAWS.

It is not my intention to occupy the attention of my readers with a long discussion on the abstract question how far a man is or is not justified in making the greatest profit he can by his capital as well as his merchandize: the point has already been argued most conclusively to all unprejudiced minds by Bentham; and to his works I refer those who wish for information on the subject. I shall confine myself to demonstrate practically the utter impossibility of enforcing such absurd laws, and to show the demoralizing effect

upon the people and the immense mass of fraud and perjury which is caused among the population of India by the attempt to carry them into effect.

It is well known that the rate of interest was by 37 Henry VIII. c. 9. fixed at ten per cent. James I. reduced it to eight; Charles II. to six; and by Queen Anne in 1714 it was limited to five per cent., at which rate it still remains. But all these laws are dead letters, capitalists will not lend their money unless they receive a return adequate to the risk: they will either devise means of evading the law, or will employ their capital in trading on their own account; or will even lock it up in their strong box rather than lend it on an insufficient remuneration. We cannot have stronger instances than are to be found in the history of the English national debt, not only of how the laws may be evaded, but of the evils of being obliged to resort to such practices; the consequences of which we are feeling at the present day. None of the loans to Government in King William's reign were effected at less than eight per cent. In 1781 and 82, and for several years afterwards, Government were obliged to pay more than six per cent. for the loans they received; and the mischievous way in which money was borrowed has entailed upon us the obligation of paying nearly twice as much principal as there would otherwise have been any necessity to do. In order to keep up the appearance of borrowing at a low rate of interest, Government nominally raised the loan at three per cent.; but for every hundred pound lent, they registered the name of the lender as proprietor of £175 three per cent., £20 four per cent., and an annuity of 6 shillings for 62 years. This gives an annual interest for every £100 advanced to Government of £6 1s. exclusive of the annuity. Now had Government fairly borrowed the money at six or even seven per cent. we should not have paid more interest than we have done: indeed as capital became more plentiful, or the credit of Government greater, they could have borrowed at a lower rate and thus have been enabled to pay off the principal which bore the high interest. There would only have been £100 stock to be discharged instead of very nearly 200 which is

now registered in the names either of the heirs of the original lenders, or those to whom they have sold their stock. Repeatedly have the English Government raised money in this disgraceful manner; and it is this which has in a great measure tended to swell our national debt to the enormous amount which it has now reached.

So much for the shifts to which even Government are driven to evade an absurd law. In England, the merchants and bankers are equally quick at discovering methods of receiving what they consider a proper interest for their money. I speak not of Jews and professed money-lenders who live by administering to the necessities and extravagances of heirs under age; but of the respectable merchants and bankers; and I will describe one of the many modes in which they contrive to evade the law. A. and B., two clever men of business but possessed of no capital, wish, each, to enter into a mercantile speculation: they go to a banker, C., and fairly state their views: the banker observes, "the speculation promises well; but I cannot risk my money under seven per cent." This is managed in the following way, A. and B. each draw a bill on the other for twenty thousand pounds, each accepts the other's bill, on which the banker agrees to cash them both, with an understanding that neither shall draw more than fourteen thousand leaving the other six thousand, as a floating balance in the banker's hands. The whole twenty thousand are placed in the banker's books to the respective accounts of each of the two borrowers at the legal interest of five per cent., while he retains nearly one third of the sum, or six thousand from each to employ in any way he can: so that upon the whole, he contrives to realize his seven per cent. Of course much depends on the good faith of the parties in keeping to the underhand argument; consequently it is only among men of known honesty that such transactions occur.

But, pass we to India. Here, the legal rate of interest is twelve per cent. But does it remain at that, or has it not risen above or fallen below it according to the market rate? Let us first view the proceedings of the old houses of agency—and begin with observing

their transactions with the indigo-planters in the interior. They lent them money at twelve per cent. ; then came a charge of one per cent. on receipts and disbursements ; then the money which was monthly advanced to the planter under the name of subsistence money, on which some petty charges were made ; and the planter had not the option of disposing of his produce to the best advantage, but was obliged to send it to his money-lending agent, and to pay him commission for receiving and disposing of it. I have heard many indigo-planters say that they are convinced that they paid altogether eighteen or even twenty per cent. for the money originally borrowed. In the loans of the agents to the civil and military officers, the proceedings were something of the same stamp. Twelve per cent. interest was charged—one per cent. for all receipts and disbursements : then they required the borrower to ensure his life, charging him annually in their accounts a sum, as a premium, but which frequently they never paid to any Insurance office, preferring to take the risk upon themselves : so that it was merely a trick to raise the interest a little higher.

The agents are not to be blamed for these proceedings ; the interest they contrived to obtain was no more than a fair compensation for the risk they ran. The indigo planters were men without capital ; the civil and military officers had only their monthly pay ; none possessed any property except to a small amount ; and although if all three classes lived, they would probably repay their debt sooner or later, yet if any of them died, the whole of the sum due to the agent was irrecoverably lost. I only allude to these, to show the practices to which respectable English merchants are obliged to have recourse to evade an absurd and unjust law. How much better it would often have been for both parties could the agent have at once lent the indigo planter the money at twenty per cent., and left him unshackled in the management of his concerns. No sooner did the market rate of interest fall, either from the excess of capital or the want of employment for it, than these very agents were ready to lend money at nine, eight, and at one time seven per cent.

But with regard to the natives, they ridicule the idea of enforcing such laws, and have many modes of evading them, one of which is simple enough. The lender actually advances sixty, seventy, or eighty rupees, according as he considers the security of the borrower, good, bad, or indifferent : a bond is drawn out for a hundred, at twelve per cent. interest ; a couple of witnesses are then called in to witness the bond, before whom the borrower acknowledges to have received a hundred rupees, and the matter is settled. Should a suit be filed for the debt the witnesses swear to the above effect, and a decree is given as a matter of course.

There are but three reasons why the rate of interest should be higher. First, a scarcity of capital. Secondly, bad security on the part of the borrowers. Thirdly, a bad government, in which justice is ill administered ; thus holding out every inducement to debtors to be dishonest and not pay their debts. Many people I know entertain a notion that the natives are such usurers that they would rather keep their money unemployed than not obtain an exorbitant interest : a most complete mistake : the native bankers and merchants charge a rate proportionate to the security or good faith of the borrowers. Should a merchant of established reputation be suddenly pressed for a sum of money, even to the amount sometimes of two or three lacks of rupees, he will find no difficulty in procuring it from his brother merchants at six per cent.—a transaction which is constantly occurring in every large mercantile town. From others, they will demand twelve, eighteen, twenty-four to even thirty per cent., just according to the risk, and they have ways and means of evading the law. One I have mentioned ; another is by frequently making up accounts at high interest ; and either getting the debtor to give a new bond, or to sign an acknowledgment that the account is right, upon which fresh interest is charged. In dealing with an Englishman, who wished to establish some concern, the practice is often as follows. Twelve per cent. is charged on the money lent. It is agreed that the lender shall be employed to procure the articles required for the concern, on which five per

cent. commission is allowed on the money disbursed, besides the common profit in which he makes in procuring so much goods, as he of course charges a higher price than he pays. Eighteen or twenty per cent. may often be made in this way; and in addition, the lender very often stipulates that two or three of his relations shall be taken into service by the borrower to superintend the work. On the other hand, I have known money pressed on an English merchant of established credit and good faith, at twelve, or even less, per cent.

During the last few years, before the introduction of the new judicial system, the difficulty of borrowing money had greatly increased; until towards the end of 1832, it was almost impossible for any farmer or other person connected with the land to procure money at all, even though he offered thirty or forty per cent. The reason was the utter stagnation of all justice, and the confusion which had been caused in the landed tenures, so that it was almost impossible to pronounce who was the owner of any plot of ground in the Upper Provinces (a subject I shall touch upon separately). Still, no sooner had the new system been in operation for a few months, than the farmers could borrow money at twenty-four or even eighteen per cent.; because the bankers found that justice was now attainable: and I have not the least doubt this cause greatly facilitated the collection of the Revenue during the year 1833.

The demoralizing effect upon the people is the next point. Hundreds of debtors are induced by the low attorneys who infest our Courts to resist just demands in the hope of throwing them out altogether, by proving that more than the legal rate of interest has been charged; and to support this, perjured witnesses are brought forward, who swear what is in fact true, that more than the legal rate of interest has been charged (every one knows as a matter of course that it has) but who are not the less perjured, seeing that not one of them were ever present at any transaction between the parties. On the other hand, the plaintiff produces his bond, declares the full sum was lent at the legal interest and brings for-

ward his witnesses, who swear that the defendant acknowledged before them to have received the full amount. They usually go a little farther and declare that they saw the money actually paid. It is probable that not a single suit for money is ever preferred in a British Indian Court in which either downright perjury is not committed, or the plaintiff is morally speaking guilty of subornation of perjury; and after all this swearing that no more than the legal interest has been taken, should the judge happen to be acquainted with the plaintiff, and on leaving the Court call him quietly and where there were no witnesses, ask him as a mere matter of curiosity what rate of interest he had made by his money, the man would without hesitation reply, eighteen, or twenty-four, &c. as might be.

Is it not disgusting to know that such proceedings are daily going on, and that the natives are training to perjury (for after being accustomed to swear falsely about the interest of money, a man's conscience will soon permit him to give false evidence in other matters), solely from the attempted introduction of an absurd and an unjust law which never can be enforced? These considerations alone should induce Government to act with common sense and expunge from our statute-book, this remnant of barbarism, ignorance and injustice, and allow a man the liberty of employing his capital and his merchandize to the best advantage in whatever mode he finds conducive to his first interests. The only provision required, would be a fixed rate of interest, which should be charged on the amount of a decree, if not paid as soon as decided; and other points which occasionally occur, in which no rate of interest has been stipulated. In all other points let men be free to make their own bargains in interest of money as well as in every thing else. It is lamentable to think how much we have done to deteriorate the character of the natives by the introduction of laws and customs not only at variance with their habits, but opposed to the dictates of justice and right reason, of which these usury laws are a memorable example.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

June 26, 1835.

[Hurkaru.]

LIEUTENANT TREVELYAN'S MISSION.

[Concluded from page 403.]

On the 5th June we resumed our march towards the south, passing Kotra, once a considerable place with a small hill fort, and Bishala, which is still a large village, and on the 6th June we arrived at the Bombay outpost of Balmer, 38 miles from Sheo,—a deputation consisting of Pirbhoo Lal, son of Simboojee Joshee of Jodhpoor, and other respectable persons, with a very handsome escort, coming out about four miles from cantonments to do honor to the Ajmere Mission.

On our arrival at Balmer, we found a small force stationed here as a temporary measure, it having been found expedient to employ British troops to suppress the plundering tribes, who formerly infested this frontier; the detachment consists of a squadron of native cavalry, two companies of native infantry, and two hundred Mahratta horse furnished by the Gaikwar of Baroda, the regular troops being relieved half yearly from the large camp at Deesa, 130 miles S. S. E. of Balmer, and 50 miles S. W. of Mount Aboo. The whole detachment is under the command of Captain Richards of the 8th Bombay native infantry, who is also vested with political authority under Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in Kutch. We were received by this officer with the greatest hospitality, as well as by the other officers of the detachment, there being two with the cavalry and two with the infantry, besides a medical man.

As one of the principal objects of Lieut. Trevelyan's Mission was to undertake a joint investigation with Captain Richards as to certain matters concerning the western frontier of Marwar, we found it necessary to remain more than three weeks at Balmer, from the 6th to the 29th June, during which time great light was thrown upon the subject under investigation, of which the chief points appear to be the following.

There is a sterile tract of country about 200 miles long lying in 71° east longitude, between the head of the Gulf of Kutch and the Jeisulmere territory, the upper part of which line is a sandy desert dividing Scind from Marwar, and the lower part is a large salt-marsh commonly called the Run or Rin. Immediately between these is a small district called Nugur Parkur, much infested with free-booters, who carried their incursions both into Scind and Marwar until routed out by the British detachment under Colonel Litchfield which scoured their country in 1831, and also cleared out the Mussulman plunderers called *Koba*, who had established themselves to the northward of Parkur, about Chotun, Joona and Balmer, which were generally considered to be under the Raja of Jodhpoor until the late Agent of the Governor-General at Ajmer (Lieutenant-Colonel Lockett) started some doubts upon the subject.

After the clearance of this frontier by Colonel Litchfield's force, detachments of the Bombay troops were left at Kasba in Parkur, which is an undisputed dependency of Scind, at Wow in Thurraudree, which is a part of Goozurat, and at Balmer in Mulanee, which until lately was always held to be a part of Marwar proper or Jodhpoor. Hence the complaints of the Maharaja Maun Singh that the British Government had not only stationed an outpost within his frontier, but had prevented the petty chiefs in the Balmer quarter from paying their usual tribute to him. These chiefs are all *Rathor* Rajpoots of the same tribe as the sons of Jodha, but of a different family, for the former are descended from Beerumjee, a younger but more powerful brother of Mulleenath and Jait Mul, who peopled all the country immediately to eastward of the great desert of Umurkot.

The principal towns occupied by the descendants of Mulleenath (from whom the Mulanee district takes its name) are Chotun, Joona, Balmer, Kotra, Shoe, Girap, &c. to the westward of the river Lonce and eastward of the Great Desert; the two large towns of Sindree and Jusol on the left bank of the Lonce though also peopled by descendants of Mulleenath, are usually considered the capitals of a separate tract called Mewa; while the towns of Nugur and Gurra much lower down, and on the right bank of the Lonce, are the head quarters of the little district called Radhra, inhabited by the family of Jait Mul. It appears from the investigation made during our stay at Balmer, (where the principal men of nearly all these places were called in to give their evidence on the subject) that tribute had been paid, and military service performed, when called for on the part of Jodhpoor since the days of the Raja Ujeet Singh; that is to say, that for some generations all the petty Rawuls, Thakoors, and Boomias of Mulanee, Mewa, and Radhra were nominally subjects of Marwar.

The whole extent of country included under these names is in extreme length nearly 150 miles north and south from near Pohkurn to the mouths of the Lonce, and 100 miles east and west from Jusol to the borders of Scind, but the average length and breadth are perhaps only 100 by 70 miles, giving an area of 7,000 square miles, and producing a tribute of just about as many rupees, the country being very poor and comprising within its limits a great part of the Little Desert. The inhabitants are a rude tribe, who seem little inclined to yield obedience to any thing but absolute force, and they are continually at feud with one another, so that it would be difficult for any native power to keep them quiet and united: the presence of a British outpost, however, seems to do the former pretty effectually, if not the latter also.

Balmer seems to be as eligible a place for a cantonment as could well be selected, both from its central situation and from other circumstances. It is a town of about six hundred houses, with a small stone fort in a ruinous state, occupying the summit of a conical hill 300 feet high, which is however commanded by a similar hill at the other side of the town, and the latter is again overlooked by a very conspicuous peak called Soojer, which is 720 feet above the plain and 1½ mile from the camp. The town has suffered much from being plundered by our troops, and half the shop-keepers have abandoned their houses, but under a quiet *régime* the place might become prosperous again, and there are even now numerous camels and large herds of black cattle. Four wells give an inexhaustible supply of water (some of which is very pure) at a depth of 40 to 50 cubits, but much difficulty is experienced in drawing it owing to the narrowness of some of the well's mouths, and the number of horses and people to be supplied.

During our stay at Balmer the rainy season set in and a striking change took place in the face of the country which was altered from a withered and arid look, to one of a lively green; even during the hot winds, however, abundance of forage (dry looking enough however in all conscience,) was procurable for the horses, and the thorny jungul which comes close up to cantonments furnished pickings for as many camels as could be turned into it. The common articles of native food were sufficiently cheap and plentiful, the wheat being supplied from about Gurra, the *ghee* from about Balotra or Patoudee; and bajra, moth, &c. from the immediate neighbourhood of Balmer: salt, too, is procured in abundance from Puchbhudra near Balotra, as will be mentioned hereafter.

Having completed the business which occasioned our long halt at Balmer, we left that place on the 29th June and pursued our way eastward across the northern part of the Little Desert via Joracee, Baitoo, Chandeora and Baghondee to Balotra, the first three places being surrounded by very high but tolerably well-wooded sandhills, and a great part of the road from the latter place (Baghondee) to Balotra, being under water. The direct distance from Balmer is only 55 miles, but it is 72 by the road we came.

On the 3d July, while the baggage was marching up the right bank of the Lonee from Baghondee, the two European gentlemen accompanied by the Beekaner Vakeel and Thakoor Oom Singh of Jusol took a circuitous route to Balotra for the purpose of visiting Tilwara and Jusol, both of which places are on the left bank of the river. Immediately opposite to Tilwara is Mulee-nathka Than, the shrine of our above-mentioned patriarch, who has been deified by his descendants, and the temple erected to his memory has all the privileges of a sanctuary. A large cattle fair is held here annually, commencing twelve days after the *holae*, and lasting for half a month, during which time 80,000 people are said to be collected with large quantities of

camels, horses and bullocks, upon the sale of which fees of five *Rs.*, three *Rs.*, and eight annas per head, respectively, are paid to the Hakim of Sewanna, who attends the fair on the part of the Jodhpoor Government: the descendants of Muleenath are however exempted from this tax. The prices of the best horses and mares are said to be from four to six hundred rupees; riding camels bring 120 rupees, and baggage camels 60.

After visiting the shrine and the fair, or rather looking at the place where it was held, which is now under water, we crossed the Lonee river, which was rushing down with a fierce and turbid stream a quarter of a mile wide, but not very deep. Our frail raft was made of a common *charpae*, or bedstead, under which five earthen pots were lashed, giving a sufficient buoyancy to float two of us at a time, though in our transit across the river our nether limbs were soured a little in the water, as the four or five stout swimmers who pushed us over assisted the troubled stream in rocking our watery cradle. These men had dried calabashes (*toomba*) strapped round their middles forming a float called *jalee*, which was a great help to them.

As the river was high "in spate" (or *burra kawura pancee* as they would call it in Scind, meaning "very angry water") we would not trust our horses in the fierce current which almost swept me off my feet though wading barely more than knee deep, so we sent them up the right bank of the river, and borrowed half a dozen horses at Tilwara to take us four kos up the left bank to Jusol, where we were again to cross the river. Jusol was once a considerable town of 3,000 houses, of which barely more than a tenth part appear to be now inhabited; it lies on the north side of a small rocky hill about 200 feet high. There was formerly a *pukka bazaar* of 300 shops, and something like a wall of stone round the town, the ruinous state of which is owing to a feud of more than 40 years standing.

Jusol is but a kos or two miles from Balotra, yet the Lonee nudge was running so strongly between them (with a stream seven hundred yards wide opposite the latter place,) that we were about four hours getting into camp, part of the delay being occasioned by the dilatory way in which our new raft was made and the great distance it had to be carried up the stream in order to prevent our being swept away below the proper landing place. We halted two days at Balotra, a very thriving town of 1,300 houses belonging to Jodhpoor, and the high road to Dwacka, which brings a great number of pilgrims and religious persons to this place. Very neat turners' work, in ivory and wood, and large quantities of embroidered velvet shoes are for sale in the bazar. Balotra is 63 miles from Jodhpoor and seven from Puchbhudra, a brief account of which will be found in my next letter.

Camp, Jodhpore, 18th July, 1835.—My last communication left Lieut. Trevelyan's Mission at Balotra, (on the banks of the Lonee nudge, 30 kos south-west from Jodhpoor)

where we halted on the 4th and 5th July, riding out on the morning of the latter day to visit the town of Puchbudra; which lies three kos or six full miles N. N. E. of Balotra. The road was tolerably good, notwithstanding the late heavy rains, and the surrounding country, though indifferently cultivated, had the appearance of considerable fertility.

Puchbudra is a considerable town of about a thousand houses or more, having a manufacture of coarse cloths, which are sent to the neighbouring town of Balotra to be dyed; but its chief article of produce is fine alimentary salt of which large quantities are procured at the saltworks from three to five miles northward of Puchbudra. The process of forming this salt is said to be very simple, nothing being required but to throw thorny twigs into the brine of the marsh, by which the chrysalization is so much assisted that large masses of pure salt are deposited and dug away for exportation without having recourse to the usual method of evaporating the brine in large shallow pans called *kikaree*. There is a Kamdar or Officer of Government at Puchbudra, as both the town and the saltworks belong to the *Khalsa*, i. e., the Royal estate of Jodhpoor.

On the 6th July, we left Balotra and in four days reached the capital of Marwar, a distance of 63 miles by the rather circuitous route we pursued to Putao, Doleh, and Nahrnudee. The face of the country had greatly improved since we quitted the confines of the Little Desert which lies between Balmer and the river Lonee, where little else was to be seen besides steep sandhills running in long ridges, feathered with scraggy bushes and small trees, with here and there a cluster of dark-looking huts, the inhabitants of which are too poor to sink wells, and are obliged to trust during the hot weather to the precarious supply of water afforded by the shallow pits called *bowree*. The whole country between Balotra and Jodhpoor on the contrary appeared to be a fine plain, highly susceptible of cultivation, and in general furnishing abundance of sweet water, (owing to all the tanks being filled by the late rains,) excepting about Kulianpoor and other villages surrounding Doleh, ten or twelve of which are obliged to resort to the wells of the latter place, all the others being too salt for drinking. Numerous rocky hills appear to the south-eastward of the Lonee, in direction of Sewana and Jalor, but the weather was too thick to allow us a very distant view. There are also a few small conical hills studding the right bank of the river, and rising at intervals as far as the edge of the little desert about Kornra, Thob, and Patodee. A small part of these were under cultivation, and the remainder bore abundance of small acacia trees with the usual jungul shrubs, such as *kureel*, &c.

Our first fair sight of the citadel of Jodhpoor was from the camp at Nahrnudee, distant only six kos from the capital, but it ought to have been visible, had the weather been clearer, from a much greater distance. On approach-

ing to within a mile and a half of our tents at Jodhpoor, the Mission was met by a deputation of respectable persons headed by Futteh Raj Sunghree, and Thakoor Kesuree Singh Dandhul, with the chieftain of Ladnoo, &c. followed by about two hundred fighting men, of whom nearly half were on foot and the remainder mounted on indifferent horses, far inferior to those which formed the cavalcade of the Pohkurn chief. Several maces and banners, however, marked the dignified rank of the members of deputation, while the tri-coloured standard of Marwar, mounted upon an elephant, appeared to wave cheerfully as if inviting the strangers to enter the city in confidence. Some of the Vakeels of our own party remarked that the partridge's call was heard to our left betokening good fortune to the travellers, so no outward appearance of a hearty welcome was wanting, and we alighted at our camp opposite the Sojut gate, well pleased with the manner of our reception.

We reached Jodhpoor on the morning of the 9th July, and on the 11th were received in state by the Maharaja Maun Singh, who had appointed the afternoon of that day for our introduction. We quitted camp at 5½ p. m., accompanied, as usual, by our little escort of irregular horse and infantry, which made a handsome show when compared with the still more irregular looking warriors of the Court of Marwar. We commenced the ascent to the palace at 6 p. m. and were met at the second gate, called *Imrut Pol* (that is the third gate from the bottom,) by the Maharaja himself, who came down thus far from the palace in a litter with a very large concourse of attendants, and after halting there for a few minutes, during which time we were introduced without dismounting, we followed the Royal *khasa* up the remainder of the paved slope, and under the great gate, to the entrance of the palace. From this point we proceeded on foot through two courtyards to the steps of the hall of audience where etiquette required the shoes to be put off, and with our stockinged soles we slipped noiselessly across the pillared hall, and brought ourselves to an anchor in the native fashion beside the throne of the "King of Maroo." A crowd of nobles and courtiers seated themselves in the body of the Durbar, but there was not a single chieftain present of sufficient rank to be seated immediately opposite to us on the right side of the *Gudee*, we being on its left, and we were in consequence the sole occupants of the carpet spread under the throne which ought not to have been the case had Pohkurn, Nagor, *Kuchawan*, or any other noble of equal rank been present.

Colonel Tod's enthusiastic description of the Court of Marwar, with its "thousand-columned hall" and lines of silver and gold mace-bearers, led us to expect something particularly superb, but in this we were a little disappointed. The Maharaja wore some very rich jewels and the ample white vest with large plaited skirts usually worn in Rajpoot Courts, but the appearance of those who thronged his hall was not particularly striking, nor nearly

so imposing as it might have been were the Raja on good terms with his principal Thakoor who now sit sullen and aloof in their own fastnesses, while the Rathor Court thus shorn of some of its most distinguished ornaments, looks like the shadow of its former self. Maun Singh appears to be little broken by time or suffering, though he has endured much during the many years that have passed over his head; though without a tooth he speaks intelligibly, and his language is remarkably correct Hindoostanee, without the patois of his neighbours of Beekanner and Jeisulmere. His person is large and bulky, and his face shews so little of the ravages of time, we must conclude him to have recourse to cosmetics, an art much practised by the natives.

We remained about half an hour in the hall of audience, during which time the behaviour of the Maharaja was courtly and dignified, and his conversation polished. Though his apparent hauteur was much greater than that of the princes abovementioned, yet in receiving the Ajmere Mission he both paid and exacted a greater attention to etiquette than the others had done. He came down in person to receive the deputation at one of the lower gates, and again made his appearance below the steps of the hall of audience on foot, leading Lieut. Trevelyan by the hand; yet he neither fired a salute nor allowed the retention of boots as had been permitted at both of the other capitals. On our rising to take leave he applied the *utur* and gave the *pan* with his own hands to the political functionary (a compliment not paid to Mr. Wilder, nor to Colonel Tod either I suspect,) while the subordinate gentry were oiled and pawned by some of the chief functionaries about the throne. He then led Lieut. Trevelyan a few paces toward the door, and we retired sufficiently well pleased with our reception by the King of Marwar, who had a very narrow escape last winter of being no king at all!

On the morning of the 12th July, we rode through the city and passing out at the west gate, called Chand Pol, crossed a ridge of rocky hills and visited the gardens and very fine tank called *Uhee Rajka Talao* lying about two miles beyond the walls. Lieut. Trevelyan had another interview with the Raja in the evening, for the discussion of *private business*, and on the following morning we went to visit Munder, the ancient capital of Marwar, which is five miles northward of the present city of Jodha. The old town occupies a high among the rocks on the east side of the range of hills that runs down to Jodhpoor, and still claims the semblance of a little city: some of the inhabitants of the capital also come here weekly on Monday (the morning of our visit) to pray at the different shrines, which may give it the appearance of a larger population than it really possesses.

The first objects introduced to our notice at Munder were the eighteen gigantic figures representing in high relief the tutelary divinities, Rathor Rajpoots. These figures form one

long line facing the north, and are backed by a low rock of red sand stone, the three figures at the west end representing the Elephant-headed God of Wisdom between two effigies of *Bhairon*, being placed in an open temple, while others are carefully protected by a screen wall. The latter indeed require some such shelter, being finished with coloured cements, while the three figures already mentioned seem to be only daubed with red paint and bedizened with gold leaf. In the first of the inner compartments are the nine figures delineated in Colonel Tod's work as rock sculptures, and representing the eight-armed *Davle Matta*, who presides over small pox, and the cross-legged *Nath-jee*, to whom many temples are erected in this country: the remaining six figures of this series are rather Heroes or Demi-gods than real Hindoo divinities, and are all on horseback, the whole of the accoutrements, arms and dress being faithfully wrought out in the fine whiteline to which different pigments are added, and the whole are in good preservation. Their names are *Mulecnath*, in whose honor is held the great fair at Tilwara formerly noticed, and whose widow *Roopa-deo* having burned herself on the funeral pile, became beatified and has a shrine at Tilwara on the side of the Lonee river, opposite to *Mulecuath ka Than*: she is represented at Munder standing in front of the horse of her deceased lord. *Paboojee* on his celebrated black mare, *Ramdeo* whose shrine lying six miles north of Pokhurn is a celebrated sanctuary and place of pilgrimage, and *Hurba Goa Mewo*, complete the list of Deotas, whose figures are engraved in the work above mentioned.

In the second enclosed compartment and eastward of the above range, are six gigantic figures similarly constructed, but without paint, perhaps on account of their being divinities of a far superior order. The first is the four-headed *Brahma*, the second Apollo or *Sooria*, who instead of having a car with four steeds as in the Grecian mythology, is contented with a single horse with seven heads. The third image represents *Hunooman* or *Muhaveer*, the monkey-hero, who assisted in subduing Ceylon or Lunka when Ram destroyed the arch-fiend *Rawuna*, who had carried off his wife *Seeta*. These two divinities, *Rama* and his bride, are represented in the fourth group; and in the fifth stands *Krishna* or *Kunhaia*, playing the flute, while four of the fair milk maids of *Brij* surround him, "looking delightfully with all their might," while the holy *Girraj* or King of mountains (the small hill at *Govurdhan* near *Muttra*) sends four various wild animals to listen to those Orpheus-like strains. The sixth and last figure, at the east end of the line, is *Muhadeo*, the great deity from whose hair descends a copious stream representing the infant *Ganges*, an idea that Colonel Hodgson suggests to have originated from the perpetual trickling of water from the icicles in a snowy cave at *Gungootrie*. As the whole of the above groups are executed with great care, and are in excellent preservation, it is a pity

that they were not copied as well as their neighbours.

So much has been said about these sculptures that I have little leisure to enumerate the other curiosities of Mundor; the palace of Ujeer Singh (or rather Ubhe Singh?) is a neat building of cut stone, and appears to have been almost entirely devoted to the *zuna-na*; but though in perfect order, its corridors are now empty, and its chambers filled with the suffocating stench of bats. A little rill comes trickling out of the hill side near this palace, and runs through the gardens which bear the appearance of extreme age from the large size of the trees, and the flagged paths are partly choked by the luxuriance of the smaller shrubs. A quaint looking building like a huge pepper box, called the "Ek-Thumbr Muhil," (the palace of a single pillar,) overlooks the garden, but its name seems to be a misnomer, for it is not like the place so called at Futtehpoor Seekree, which really has a single colossal pillar of carved red stone in its centre.

In going to Mundor we had crossed a fine plain about two miles wide between the open pass leading from Jodhpoor to the site of the ancient capital; but in returning to the city we skirted the hills and visited a beautiful little rocky lake called Bal Sumodnour, a mile and half from Mundor. This little sheet of water is nearly half a mile long, though only 150 or 200 yards broad, and at its outlet are some noble gardens that are seen to great advantage from the top of the paved ghat leading to the top of the low rocky hills in which the Sumoondur is embosomed. We followed this road southward along the ridge leading toward Jodhpoor, and at the distance of a mile from the city turned aside to visit the large tank called Soor Sagur which is now dry. Here is a beautiful palace of white marble called *Mottee Muhil*, with a large bath or cistern of the same material, hewn out of a single block and transported at great expense from the quarries at Mukrana. A large garden lies below the Mottee Muhil, and a smaller one separates it from the Soor Sagur.

The tanks within the city are numerous and some of them very large, but they all failed during the late severe seasons, except the Rancee Sagur, a rocky reservoir close under the N. W. side of the citadel. Though much rain has fallen already the large new tank called Baeeke Talao contains scarcely any water; yet conduits of masonry have been built at considerable expense to bring down the out-pourings of distant nullahs into its bed. The Goolab Sagur, however, which is of great extent and built entirely of stone, presents a fine sheet of water as do several of the other reservoirs. Large sums have been expended by the Jodhpoor Government in remedying the deficiency of water under which the inhabitants have so often suffered. Upwards of thirty *baolees* have already been built within a few years in and around the city, and even in the vicinity of our own camp, near the Sojat Gate, there are four *baolees*

and two wells, all of stone: even the largest *baolees* are supplied with Persian wheels for raising water, though it is 42 feet from the surface, and the large *ghatra* or square well with steps near the Oode Mundur outside the Merta Gate is supplied with the like apparatus.

In riding through the principal streets of Jodhpoor, which are very few in proportion to its size, (for the capital is said to contain at least twenty thousand houses,) numerous respectable looking people are seen, but few handsome buildings, except the temples, some of which are very striking, though rather a mean impression of the city may thus be conveyed to those who have been accustomed to traverse the broad and straight streets of Delhi or Jeipoor, yet a bird's eye view of the city from the summit of the upper fort is really magnificent. Perched upon a parapet of the bastion encircling the pointed pagoda at the southern extremity of the citadel, we gazed with delight upon the fair scene at our feet. The whole city lies close to the rock on which the palace stands, surrounding its east, south, and west sides, the northern side being occupied by a hilly neck connecting the citadel with the Mundor range, and which is too much broken to afford building ground: the lively green of the trees, and the quantities of fine white plaster applied to the red stone houses afforded a pleasing variety of colours, and gave the city a gay look; the numerous tanks now filled with water, the white ramparts running along the higher parts of the city, the piles of buildings crowded upon each other and rising tier above tier to the Chand Pol Gate, and the confused mass of outworks on the west side of the citadel, formed a scene that will not soon be forgotten.

The east side of the fort is too steep to need any other cover than its own bold rocks, which are very steep, from twenty to sixty feet below the foot of the ramparts, and then fall away down to the town in a tolerably easy slope. The whole citadel is just five hundred yards long, and about half that breadth, or even less, the Royal Palaces and buildings occupying two-fifths of its area at the north end, while the south end is quite empty with the exception of the *Mundur* already mentioned, and a few huts: this empty space may perhaps take up one-fifth of the whole area, and the remaining two-fifths in the centre appear to be devoted to magazines, granaries and other useful buildings. The palace overtops all the other houses, and its highest part is 454 feet above the plain: the southern rampart, whence we looked down on the town, is 373 feet, and the N. E. angle 382 feet above the plain; the scarp wall which covers the gate at the latter place showing a sheer face of hewn stone 109 feet high. The walls which overlook the main entrance appear to be still higher, and are built in a very substantial manner of freestone quarried from the rock on which these gigantic works are based.

The main gate of the citadel faces the north, and a paved road leads down from it to the westward passing through a second gateway

(above mentioned as the Imrut Pol or "Gate of Nectar,") whence the road forks, the eastern branch turning sharp round through two other gates to the zig-zag which leads down towards the Goolab Sagur, while the western branch leads pretty directly downward through four different gates, after which it again forks, the right hand path leading to the Ranee Sagur, while the left hand one turns to the south and is lost in the town without passing through any other barrier. Both of these roads are paved and practicable on horseback, both ascending and descending, though the eastern declivity is steep and winding: the western road is less steep, wider and more direct, but this entrance is covered by six gateways and the other by only four.

There are said to be five reservoirs in the citadel, of which we only saw two, but the Ranee Sagur in which there is abundance of water, is connected with the citadel by low outworks, and the town's people are prevented from using it, except on occasions of great emergency. The high rocky ridges on the west side of the fort, though enclosed within the *shukur Punah*, as far as the walls could conveniently be carried, are nevertheless a sad

blot on the impregnability of the castle of Jhoda, which would not easily laugh heavy guns to scorn (as it did the artillery of Jugu Singh,) if perched upon any of these eminences. The town walls too, are in a very bad state in several places, where a few yards of the parapet, and even a part of the rampart, has fallen down; on the south side the sand has drifted in one place to within four inches of the crest of the parapet, and in one or two other places breaches in the wall serve as means of ingress and egress to the inhabitants. Two large and steeply scarped masses of rock of considerable size, break the continuity of the wall on the east side of the city, and have an imposing appearance from being 80 to 100 feet above the plain, and from being encircled with ramparts on their outer face, but with five miles of wall from which to make his choice, of a point for assaulting the town, an enemy would hardly select such rocks as these against which to knock his head! The city might easily be carried at several points, nor would the upper fort long hold out against the iron shower of heavy shells and shot, which an European army would pour into it.—*Delhi Gazette*.

THE VESTRY QUESTION.

Sir,—From the tenor of your remarks respecting the Select Vestry of St. John's, I am at a loss to understand whether you have overlooked the radical reform of that corporation, which was by a *coup d'état* effected on the 19th of August, and published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 29th of the same month—or whether there has been a supplementary *ordonnance*, curtailing still further the authority of that venerable body. Probably, the first supposition is the correct one, for in the new charter which was *octroyée* to the Select Vestry on the said 19th of August, the Bishop's authority is made somewhat "like Aaron's rod which swallowed up the rest;" and it contains some happy instances of indistinct legislation, that were pretty certain to lead to different interpretations on the part of Reverend and Right Reverend Expositors: for example, the *ex-officio* Members of the Select Vestry are declared to be the Bishop, the Archdeacon, and the Chaplains of the Cathedral; four lay Members are also to be chosen annually on Easter Monday. Again, the Vestry are to assist the Bishop and Clergy in all temporal matters connected with the Cathedral; but the appointment and dismissal of all servants and officers connected with the Cathedral is to be subject to the Bishop's approval; and also the Bishop (by rule 1st,) is to have the sole and exclusive direction in regard to the performance of divine service, ceremonials, or arrangements for general convenience within the Cathedral; so that what with the assistance he is to receive, and his approval being requisite, and his sole and exclusive direc-

tion, the Bishop will by hook or by crook, get the whole managed as he pleases.

The sixth rule is one similar to what the inhabitants of Calcutta struggled and petitioned for fifteen years ago; and if the Clerical Members of the old Vestry had been wise they would have sought for long since, and have given their close corporation a solid foundation in popular election. But they kept aloof from this, and when the floods rose and the wind came, their authority has been blown down, because it had no support and was founded upon sand. It appears that in future the Vestry is to have four Members chosen annually by ballot, by those who have had seats in the Cathedral for the six preceding months. Here is the march of intellect; annual elections, vote by ballot, and universal suffrage! instead of the former mode by which the Select Vestry filled up themselves all vacancies among the four laymen in their body. Perhaps the publication of this new law has been considered as virtually placing the present lay Members of this venerable body in schedule A. Certain it is that last Sunday those seats which were heretofore filled by the select men of St. John's were left empty and desolate, while the *cidevant* Vestrymen might be discovered scattered here and there, with a grave and somewhat mournful aspect; still they had a look of official dignity—"Nor appeared less than *Church Wardens* ruined."

But if the old Parliament has been dissolved and dispersed, it is to be hoped that directions will be given for a new House of

Commons being chosen immediately. Surely the Bishop and clergy are not to be left without the promised "assistance in temporal matters"—(which all clergymen greatly need) until the month of April next? Besides there are large sums of money, the disposal of which is left by various trusts to the Select Vestry—and if these monies are disposed of by the *rum-vestry* which is now sitting, it may become a serious question how far they are legally competent to do so.

A PARISHIONER OF ST. JOHN'S.

In order that the subject may be better understood we reprint the ordonnance of the 19th August to which A PARISHIONER OF ST. JOHN'S refers. He is right in his inference that the dismissal of the lay members of the Vestry and the transfer of the whole controul over the affairs and funds of the vestry to the Bishop and the Archdeacon who are of one mind in all things it seems, was accomplished by a supplementary *coup d'état* not precisely of a reforming character, in the shape of a most voluminous epistle which we hope to have the pleasure of submitting to our readers. This epistolary ordonnance dispenses entirely, if we rightly comprehend the matter, (we have not yet read it) with the sixth clause of that of the 19th August, for there will be no more elections. The Vestry will be henceforth entirely ecclesiastical, and as the clergy are enjoined passive obedience to the Bishop and the Archdeacon, of course the former will have no votes, and if they act judiciously will wave the idle mockery of giving an opinion. Our correspondent very justly remarks that if the clergy had been wise they would not have opposed in 1819 the principle of popular election which would seem to have been provided for by the sixth rule of the ordonnance of the 19th August, although preceding clauses do not very well square with that principle. The Clergy at the time referred to (1819-20) however, dreaded nothing but innovation from the popular side—they have now a pretty practical illustration of the fact, that there may be innovation from the other side still more dangerous to their legitimate influence. In the present day, therefore, although they dare not take the popular side, they will not at least take the other, and in the struggle therefore which may be expected to take place, we shall at least not have them opposed to popular rights. We entertain very grave doubts of the legal power of the "rump vestry now sitting," to dispose of funds left by certain trusts to be applied by the Select Vestry: but we shall have more to say to the subject in our next. The questions at issue are of deep importance not merely to the inhabitants of Calcutta but to the whole community of India involving as they do questions of moral right—and of legal power in the Government.—*Hurk.*

THE VESTRY CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—The late sudden revolution in the affairs of St. John's Church, commonly called the Cathedral, having attracted public remark,

there is no other way to preclude all misconception, except the publication of the whole correspondence, which, indeed, is the sole return I can make for the tenderness evinced by Government for my personal credit in the matter. I therefore send you my copy, begging you to understand, that the act of so doing, and the responsibility of it, are entirely my own. The reason of this avowal will appear from the close of the correspondence.

It is right also to add, that I believe the charge of obstructing the Bishop in his right to be altogether unfounded.

The only obstruction that I have ever heard of, in which the trustees had any concern, was upon the occasion of a desire expressed by his Lordship, that a curtain should be drawn before Mrs. Atkinson, while performing her part in the choir; which desire neither the Chaplains nor the lay trustees had the resolution to carry into effect.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

C. R. PRINSEP.

Copy.

No. 19.

TO THE SELECT VESTRY.

Gen. Dept. Eccles.

REVD. SIRS AND GENTLEMEN,—The Hon'ble the Governor is informed that the recommendations addressed to the Select Vestry by the orders of the most noble the Governor-General in Council dated the 8th of January 1819, respecting the authority of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta in St. John's Cathedral, have not been carried into full effect, and with a view to prevent the inconveniences which are understood to have been experienced from the incomplete recognition on the part of the Select Vestry, of the Bishop's Right to control all matters relating to the performance of divine service and of the duties in that Church pertaining to the Bishop as ordinary, it is deemed advisable to provide the following rules, which have been devised by the Government in communication with the Lord Bishop for the removal, so far as the Select Vestry is concerned, of all impediment to the due exercise of His Lordship's functions of superintendence and direction in the Cathedral.

First.—The Bishop, as ordinary, to have the sole and exclusive direction as to all that regards performance of divine service, ceremonials or arrangements for general convenience within the Church.

Second.—The appointment and dismissal of all servants and officers connected with the Cathedral and divine worship therein to be subjected to the Bishop's approval, as ordinary.

Third.—The proper rights of the Select Vestry, to be henceforth understood to be confined to those trusts which have been, or may be committed to them by the Supreme Court or other competent parties.

Fourth.—The Vestry to assist and aid the Bishop and Clergy in all temporal matters connected with the Cathedral; especially in whatever regards monies collected at the Sacrament or elsewhere.

Fifth.—Besides the Bishop, the Archdeacon, the Chaplains of the Cathedral, and the Bishop's Commissary, if there be one distinct from the Archdeacon, to be ex-officio Members of the Vestry.

Sixth.—An election of four Members to take place annually on Easter Monday by ballot, by the inhabitants of the district who have had votes in the Cathedral for the six preceding months.

If the Select Vestry see any good reasons for objecting to any of these rules, the Governor desires that they may be communicated to him for consideration.

I have the honor to be, Reverend Sirs and Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. A. BUSHBY,
Secretary to Government.

Fort William, the 24th June, 1835.

TO GEORGE A. BUSHBY, Esq.

Secretary to Government in the General Department.

SIR,—We have the honor to acknowledge a communication from the Hon'ble the Governor through your department dated the 24th June last, and as its contents were unexpected as well as of such importance to the interests we represent, as to require a full and deliberate answer, we have found it impossible to collect the sentiment of the Vestry at large so as to give an earlier reply. We have now to request you will lay before his Honor the Governor the following considerations.

We are at a loss to understand upon what information the Hon'ble the Governor has derived the alleged fact which seems to have given rise to this communication to ourselves, i. e. that "the recommendations addressed to the Vestry by the orders of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council dated the 8th January, 1819, respecting the authority of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta in St. John's Cathedral, have not been carried into full effect." We have referred to the letter containing the recommendations in question (par. 6) and so far as the Select Vestry is concerned, believe that every thing has been done to comply with those recommendations. We beg leave to assure His Honor that if any thing has been done in disregard of them, of which however we disclaim all knowledge, it must have arisen from the anomalous circumstances attaching upon the Church itself, with which we believe the Supreme Government has on former occasions been made acquainted. The Church of St. John is at present in the predicament of partaking at once of the character of a private Chapel, of a parish Church and of a Cathedral. Strictly speaking it can hardly claim any one of these denominations. It stands on ground, partly granted by a rich native for the express purposes of a Church, and partly derived from the Company's Government. The charge of its erection was defrayed chiefly by private subscription: the deficit was supplied by the Supreme Government, which has since executed all repairs, provided the ministers, and defrayed the charge of other officers of the Church. The property was vested originally in nine trustees or managers, and has continued virtually in successors appointed by the survivors from time to time, the officiating ministers being always of the number; but irregularities have occurred in keeping up the full number required by the deed of conveyance from Warren Hastings, Governor-General, and, for want of formal conveyance under seal to the successive trustees and managers, the legal estate is now vested in the heir of the survivor of the original nine. The trusts, however, have been all along performed, and the duties executed, by the successive trustees for the time being; and now are so by the nine persons, whose names are undersigned. Legally speaking they are mere trustees of a Chapel of private foundation, but have all along executed the duties of a Select Vestry (vide extracts of proceedings annexed No. 1, 2, 3) and in that character, and in some instances by that name, have been charged with the administration of several charitable bequests and funds. Under the name of a Select Vestry they have long been recognized by the Government, and were so expressly in the time of the Marquess of Hastings, in the very communication of 8th January, 1819, above referred to.

The Church of St. John, however, though a Chapel of private erection, has always been regarded by the Go-

vernment as the head or parish Church of Calcutta; the other Churches as Chapels only. On this principle, its officiating ministers have always been the Senior Chaplains of the Establishment, and surplice duties and fees have been attached exclusively to this as the Chief or parish Church. Until the erection of the Bishopric in 1813, the Chaplains were treated as the incumbents of the Church, and their relation to the Trustees or Vestry has always practically been, and continues to be that of a Rector or Vicar. When this Church was selected as the Church of the See, none of the provisions usually made in such cases was attended to. Neither Dean nor Chapter was created. The Church stood in the anomalous position of being at once a parish Church and a Cathedral; and was used in both capacities. Some embarrassment necessarily arose from this double character, which it was the object of the recommendation of 8th January, 1819, to remove. If any still remains, it is certainly very desirable it should be now removed, and that the whole of the rights and duties now attached to the Church should be either vested in the Bishop alone, without Dean or Chapter of any kind, or apportioned with precision amongst the Bishop (or in his absence the Archdeacon,) the Chaplains (or incumbents,) and the Trustees (or Select Vestry.)

As the existing Vestry, we beg distinctly to say, that such is our sense of the merits of the Government towards this Church, and of its utter dependance upon the Government for its continuance as a place of worship, that, if it be the wish of the Government we are fully prepared so far as we legally may, to resign the whole of our charge into the hands of the Supreme Government, and to leave the Church and the property in it to be dealt with at its pleasure. But as there are temporal trusts and duties that must be performed by some body, as we understood the Government to desire they should continue to be performed by a Select Vestry, and as we are fully persuaded, that they never can be performed either well or to the satisfaction of the public, unless the Select Vestry is such as can act with some degree of independence, we avail ourselves of His Honor the Governor's invitation to express our own views and sentiments on the contents of your communication of the 24th June last item by item.

1st Item.—The Trustees or Vestry can have no objection to the exercising by the Lord Bishop over the Church itself of all the authority possessed by the Bishop of an English diocese over the Cathedral Church of his see. His Honor the Governor is of course well aware, that in England that authority, as to all temporalities of the Church, is controlled by the Dean and Chapter; and that his power in respect to "divine service" and ceremonies of the Church "is limited to the enforcement of their due performance, according to the constitutions of the Church of England." With regard to "arrangements for general convenience" the term is somewhat vague, and we are not quite clear as to the sense in which it is used in this instance. In England the Bishop has in all Churches of his diocese a jurisdiction to prevent infringement upon the rights of the public; and he can alone authorize such alterations as may from time to time be applied for. But he has no power to interfere with existing rights or arrangements. And with regard to the care and keeping of the Church Wardens or Vestry, the duty is always performed by one or other of them. In the Church of St. John, the seats are rented as in a private chapel, for the benefit of the Church funds: and this matter, which is purely temporal, has necessarily been conducted by the trustees acting as Select Vestry—we presume it cannot be the intention of His Honor the Governor to saddle the Lord Bishop with such a business.

2d Item.—The appointment of the servants and menials of the church is never, that we are aware of, vested in the Bishop. In a Cathedral, it rests with the Dean and Chapter: in a Parish Church, the minister appoints

the clerk, the church wardens or Vestry the rest of the servants, if any be required. The only regular servants of St. John's Church are the clerk and organist, the singing-master and one singer, clock-regulator, organ-tuner, and nine menials (hitherto appointed by the Vestry and confirmed by Government by whom they are also paid). The remaining choristers and casual attendants, being paid out of the church funds have been hitherto appointed and discharged by the trustees or Select Vestry. These appointments are in no Church in England subject to the approval of the Bishop or ordinary; indeed, they are much beneath the dignity of his office. It is hardly possible, however, to conceive that any reasonable objection stated by the Bishop to any individual employed in office of the church should be disregarded either by the chaplains or by the Select Vestry; yet we humbly submit, that an express provision on the subject would be unusual, and derogatory to the high functions of the Bishop, and might interfere with the efficiency of the trustees or Select Vestry to enforce that order and decorum, which it is their particular duty to preserve.

3d Item.—This item appears to have been drawn without full information of the duties now discharged by the trustees or Select Vestry. It is they who make and take charge of charitable collections in the Church and of their distribution to the poor—disburse other funds besides such as are receivable through the Supreme Court, audit the accounts and control the expenses of the Church establishment of lighting, watching, &c. &c., execute petty repairs, and report to Government when more extensive repairs are necessary. Superintend the letting of seats, collect and take charge of the books and a variety of other matters too numerous to be detailed. All these are not only beneath the dignity of the Bishop but are no where confided to the clergy, except where there is a Dean and Chapter to take charge of the temporalities of a Cathedral Church. We cannot conceive that these duties can be discharged by any body so effectually, or thrifly as by the trustees or Select Vestry; but, speaking as individuals, we should be most happy to find ourselves relieved of them.

4th Item.—We are not sure that we rightly comprehend this item. The Bishop has in England nothing to do with temporalities: those of a Cathedral, which in England is rarely a parish church also, are under the Dean and Chapter: those of a parish church invariably rest in the church wardens or Vestry. To take temporal matters from the Vestry and consign them to the Bishop is to do away with the duties of a Vestry altogether. With regard to "Bishop and Clergy" it is a term that requires some explanation. Unless the Chaplain be regarded as Rector or Incumbent, the term "Bishop and Clergy" means the Bishop himself. If indeed the Archdeacon and Chaplains were constituted a sort of Dean and Chapter, there would be something resembling a Cathedral church in England. If the temporal duties of St. John's church are to be transferred exclusively to its clerical officers, we would humbly suggest that it would be requisite to define with precision the particular officers meant; and the duties of each.

5th Item.—The proviso as it now stands would make the Select Vestry in effect a clerical body. Of nine members five are to be clerical and one of those five the Lord Bishop himself. We can conceive nothing more derogatory to the dignity of the See, than to charge the Lord Bishop with the petty duties of a Vestry-man. It would not only be altogether unprecedented, but it would deprive the Vestry of even a semblance of independence. It cannot be expected that four laymen to be annually chosen should control the votes of the five clerical members: nor can it be imagined, that the latter would be otherwise than subservient to the Lord Bishop; especially where the entire control of the church affairs, spiritual and temporal, shall be vested in him alone, as it

must virtually be by the preceding clauses. We humbly submit, that if a Vestry be thought requisite for any purposes, the universal rule of the English church be adopted; i. e., to admit no clerical members except the ministers of the parish, that is to say, the Chaplains attached to the church. In England the minister is always the chairman of the Select Vestry. The Bishop's commissary mentioned in this item is a new officer, of whose duties we confess ourselves wholly ignorant.

6th Item.—The existing Trustees or Select Vestry can have no wish to continue their own functions, and would feel themselves greatly relieved by the annual election of persons to supply their place. But they humbly conceive, that it will generally be impossible to procure the attendance of a sufficient number of persons to ensure anything like a public nomination, especially if the voters are exclusively to be inhabitants of the particular district now attached to the Cathedral, who shall have rented seats for the preceding six months. Great part of the district is occupied by public buildings and mere offices of business; many of the renters of seats are residents of the other districts. There has always been great difficulty in assembling a meeting for such purpose, and still greater in procuring the consent of the persons elected to accept the office, to say nothing of the frequent renewals of choice, which health or official changes must occasion. It was on a full view of all these inconveniences that the Government in 1819 (Vide Extract annexed from that letter No. 2) when the matter was fully considered, by the very letter of 8th January, 1819, above referred to (par. 10) gave its express sanction to the continuance of the existing mode of election by the remaining Trustees or Vestry-men themselves. Should it appear to His Honor the Governor, that circumstances are sufficiently altered to ensure a better nomination by any mode of public election, we shall most cordially concur in giving effect to its desire in this respect.

On the whole we humbly represent that the arrangement now proposed appears to us to be very little calculated to ensure the object which the Hon'ble the Governor appears to have in view, viz., the definition of the various duties and offices connected with the Church of St. John, so that they may at all times be effectively and harmoniously executed. The natural result of the present propositions seems to be, to vest all temporal as well as clerical functions in the Lord Bishop alone, and to extinguish all that independent and effectual control of its temporal concerns which it is the object of the Vestry to exercise.

In conclusion, we beg to repeat our willingness so far as we legally may, to resign our trusts, entirely into the hands of the Supreme Government, to be re-modelled as may be thought expedient or cheerfully to concur in any proposal for securing the due privileges of the Lord Bishop in respect to the Church of the see and permanently defining the duties and privileges of the several officers connected with it in all matters that may require adjustment.

We have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Sir, your most obedient servants,

T. ROBERTSON, S. P. C.	CHARLES B. GREENLAW.
HENRY FISHER, J. P. C.	FREDRICK CORBYN.
C. R. PHINSEY.	J. STEEL.
CHARLES MACKENZIE.	J. W. J. OUSELEY.
C. R. MARTIN.	

Vestry Room, St. John's Cathedral, 29th July, 1835.
Copy.

No. 1.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Vestry Meeting held on the 28th June, 1787.

AT A SELECT VESTRY.
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.
THE REV'D: WILLIAM JOHNSON, and

THE REVD. THOMAS BLANSHARD, *Chaplains.*
EDWARD HAY, and
RICHARD JOHNSON, *Esquires, Church Wardens,*
CUDDEBT THORNHILL, and
CHARLES SEALY, *Esquires, Sidesmen.*

3 par.—It is premised however that the gentlemen acting as Church Wardens or under that name, do act as such from a necessity that the duties of this office should be executed, and in conformity to the long established custom of this settlement, for as Calcutta is not of itself a parish though in a parish, and there are no legal powers to levy Church rates in it, or to compel the performance of some of the functions properly belonging to the office of Church Wardens in Calcutta, they cannot be considered by the law as properly described under that specification, but they must be considered to act with the consent of the inhabitants for whose advantage and good they perform the duty.

No 2.

Extract from Government letter in the General Department, dated 8th January, 1819.

8.—From the information and precedents which have been laid before Government, His Lordship in Council collects that the managements of the concerns of St. John's Church, such as are generally transacted by Vestries in England, descended from the original proprietors of the church to the body which is now denominated Select Vestry, and that the appointments of Church Officers, excepting in those instances where the nomination has by courtesy been left to the Chaplains, has generally been made under the immediate authority of that body.

10.—The trusts of the Vestry require that the body should be kept up to a suitable number of persons, but as vacancies cannot be supplied by a Meeting of Parishioners where there is no Parish, the Governor-General in Council cannot under present circumstances suggest a more regular arrangement than that the privilege of election continue as heretofore in the remaining Members of the body itself.

No 3.

Copy of a letter from Government in the General Department to Commodore J. Hayes, dated 26th Nov. 1819.

To COMMODORE J. HAYES, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, claiming to have a right to vote in General Vestry, at the election of Church Officers for St. John's, under the first Article of the Regulation commonly called Lord Cornwallis's.

General Department.

GENTLEMEN,—In conformity to the commands of the Government, I have the honor to convey to you the following communication in reply to the address presented by you on the 13th instant, to the Most Noble the Governor-General, which his Lordship has recorded in Council.

2.—The questions which arose during the past year relative to the election of a Select Vestry, and the regulation of the concerns of St. John's Church, received the mature consideration of Government. It appeared, that the existence of a proprietary interest in the building was legally presumable, though the precise extent of such interest was not defined, and the individuals in whom it vested, were not immediately forthcoming; Government consequently could not exert a power of determination on the subject without the risk of trespassing on private right. The function of arbitrator might, indeed, have been well exercised by it, had such an intervention been sought by consent between the opposed parties, but no agreement for that mutual appeal having taken place, Government deliberated on what might be

the most desirable procedure relatively to such differences. The result was, as you are aware, notified to the Vestry in my letter of the 8th of January last, and measures were taken for preparing the draft of a bill for submission to the authorities at home; that the bill had for its object the adjustment of all unsettled points, and the reconciliation of all the various interests involved in the discussion.

3.—The sentiments, intentions and expectations of the Government, of which that letter contained an exposition, have undergone no change since the above period. The draft of the bill has for some time engaged the attention of Government, and the whole subject will as speedily as practicable be referred to the Honorable the Court of Directors, with an earnest request that it may be included in their early deliberations.

4.—Under the course which it had been determined to pursue, it is obvious that further discussion here cannot facilitate the adjustment of the points in dispute or answer any useful purpose, I have only therefore to signify the desire of the Governor-General in Council, that no alteration may be made in the mode of electing Vestry-men, which has prevailed of late years, until the decision of the authorities in England shall apply a remedy to the defects of the existing system.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. LUSHINGTON, *Secy. to the Gov.*
Council Chamber, the 26th of November, 1819.

A TRUE COPY.

(Signed) C. LUSHINGTON, *Secy. to the Gov.*

TRUE EXTRACTS.

(Signed) J. LLEWELYN.

No. 43.

TO THE SELECT VESTRY.

Genl. Dept. Eccll.

REVEREND GENTLEMEN AND SIRS,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 29th ultimo, and in reply to state that the propositions of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta regarding the direction of St. John's Cathedral and the constitution of the Select Vestry, have, together with your letter, been submitted to the Governor-General of India in Council and have generally received the sanction of that authority.

I have the honor to be Reverend Gentlemen and Sirs, your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) G. A. BUSHBY, *Secy. to Govt.*

Fort William, the 19th August, 1835.

TO G. A. BUSHBY, *Esq.*

SIR,—We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 19th ultimo.

From the tenor of it, and from the subsequent notification from your department in the *Government Gazette* of Saturday last, we cannot but infer, though without any precise intimation on the subject, that his Honor the Governor-General has been pleased to accept the offer contained in our letter of the 29th July, we therefore beg to be timely informed when and to whom we shall deliver over the charge of those properties and trusts which we have hitherto held and executed, as we cannot legally make the transfer so as to vest either the property or the trusts in the Vestry now to be newly constituted or to be ourselves discharged from liability—without an act of the Legislative Council, we presume that such an act will be prepared forthwith, and we have to present our humble request to his Honor the Governor-General in Council that for our own satisfaction we

may be favoured with the communication of the draft before it shall be passed into a law.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedt. Servts.,

T. ROBERTSON, S. P. C.	F. CORRYN.
HENRY FISHER, J. P. C.	C. R. MARTIN.
CHAS. MACKENZIE.	C. R. PRINSEP.
C. B. GREENLAW.	J. W. J. OUSELEY.

Vestry Room, St. John's Cathedral, 2d September, 1835.

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No. 49.

TO THE REV. T. ROBERTSON AND MEMBERS OF THE
SELECT VESTRY.

Genl. Dept. Ecclesiastical.

REVEREND SIRS AND GENTLEMEN,—Your letter dated the 2d instant, having been laid before the Honorable the Governor, I am directed in reply to acquaint you, that it was not the intention of the Government to accept from you the resignation of your trust.

2.—There has been no difficulty heretofore in the execution of the duties of the Vestry, and the Governor is not aware that there will be any difficulty under the new constitution of the Vestry, which requires you to act in conjunction with the Bishop and the Archdeacon.

3.—The Governor is not acquainted with the legal objections to which you refer, but if there should be any, you are requested to point them out.

I have the honor to be, Reverend Sirs and Gentlemen, your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) G. A. BUSHBY, *Sec. to Govt.*

Fort William, the 16th Sept. 1835.

TO G. A. BUSHBY, Esq., *Secretary to Government, &c.*

Sir,—In reply to yours of date the 16th September instant (No 49) we beg to observe, that the tender of resignation of our property and trusts made by our letter of the 2d instant was accompanied by the expression of our conscientious conviction, that the proposed changes in the constitution of the body acting as the Select Vestry of St. John's Church were such as altogether to destroy every vestige of independence in future and consequently to neutralize its utility, and render it a passive instrument in the hands of the Bishop for the time being; at the same time that it would remain charged with all the legal and equitable liabilities attaching to trustees of pecuniary interests. We thought it superfluous to add in express terms our common determination no longer to act as members of such a nominal Vestry, and more respectful to have our intentions to be inferred from our protest and tender of resignation.

Since, however, it appears necessary to be more explicit, we beg with all deference and respect, through you to submit to his Honor the Governor of Bengal, within whose cognizance we infer from your correspondence that this matter lies, that it was by no means our intention to admit the right in the Government to deal with the existing trusts and trustees at its pleasure, to re-model their constitution, to add to their number, or to impose upon them and co-trustees what it might think proper. The deed of trust from Governor-General Warren Hastings, under which the trusts have been all along carried on, is express as to the mode of supplying the trust; and, although it may not have been fully or formally complied with, we know of no other authority under which we should be legally justified in acting, either as to the admission of new trustees, or as to the property in the church itself, so as to the trusts that have from time to time been cast upon them by donors or testators, or by orders of decrees of the Supreme Court.

It was with a view to do away at once with all such legal embarrassments, and at the same time to testify

our entire confidence in the Supreme Government, and our deep sense of its merits towards that property of which we are the legitimate guardians, that, in making the offer of a full resignation, we suggested the legal difficulties of our position, and pointed to the Legislative power of the Supreme Council of India, as the only effectual recourse. We beg thus more explicitly to repeat our impression, that no other authority can relieve us wholly from responsibility, in the event of our dealing with the property or the trusts any otherwise than as directed by the instrument of our appointment.

We beg you to draw the earliest attention of His Honor to this matter as we feel it an imperative duty to continue the exercise of our duties as heretofore and without change or variation until legally and effectually absolved.

We have the honor to be, with all respects and submission, your very humble Servants,

T. ROBERTSON, S. P. C.	C. R. PRINSEP.
HENRY FISHER, J. P. C.	J. W. J. OUSELEY.
CHAS. MACKENZIE.	C. R. MARTIN.
FREDERICK CORRYN.	C. B. GREENLAW.

Vestry Room, St. John's Cathedral, 28th September, 1835.

P.S. Annexed is an Extract from the deed of trust for the information of His Honor in Council:—

“And it is hereby declared, ordered and agreed, by and between the said parties to these presents, that from time to time when any one or more of them, the said John Macpherson, John Stables, William Johnson, Thomas Blanchard, Henry Vansittart, Claud Alexander, T. T. Metcalfe, Cudbert Thornhill and Edward Hay, or the Managers or Trustees for the time being, shall happen to die or quit India, the survivors of him or them, with the remaining Trustee or Trustees resident in India, shall and may elect in the room of every such deceased member or manager or of such person or persons quitting India, such person or persons as they in their judgment and conscience shall think fit and approve of, who shall be a member or manager of the said trust estate together and equally with them, the surviving and remaining trustees, and to have the same authority, benefit and power respecting the trusts hereby declared; and in case of the death or departure from India of any such elected member to elect in like manner, and that the election of every such manager for the time being shall be entered and registered in some or one of the books to be provided and kept for that purpose, and that after such time as four at the most of the said trustees shall have departed this life or have quitted India, the survivors of them shall and may add to themselves as co-trustees with them all and every the manager or managers so elected as aforesaid to make up the number of trustees completely nine in the whole, and the said surviving and remaining trustees shall thereupon by advice of Counsel learned in the law convey the said trust, estate, and assign and convey all their estate and interest in the said piece of parcel of ground and the said church so to be erected and built thereupon as aforesaid with every the appurtenances to one or more person or persons to be named by them, to the intent that he or they shall immediately thereupon re-assign all the same estate and interest to the same surviving and remaining members of the said committee or managers and to all the said new-elected managers for the time being thereby to complete the said number of nine. In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year first herein above written.”

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No 53.

TO THE REV. T. ROBERTSON, THE REV. H. FISHER AND
MEMBERS OF THE SELECT VESTRY.

Genl. Dept. Ecl.

REV. SIRS AND GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to acknowledge your letter of the 28th instant, which the Go-

vernor has received with deep regret, as indicating a determined spirit of opposition to the orders and wishes of the Government, for which he is unable to discover a sufficient reason.

2.—He is utterly at a loss to imagine how the introduction of the Right Reverend the Bishop and the Venerable the Archdeacon into the Vestry can justify the gentlemen calling themselves the Vestry in refusing to co-operate with those eminent personages.

3.—On the part of the Reverend the Chaplains of the Cathedral, Messieurs Robertson and Fisher, this conduct appears to be most reprehensible, and quite unsuited to the character of their sacred office, in as much as they, without a shadow of reason, wantonly resist and set at defiance both the Government which they are bound to obey, and their ecclesiastical and spiritual superiors.

4.—The other Members of this party, who are servants of the Company, namely Messrs. Charles Mackenzie, Frederick Corbyn, C. R. Martin and C. B. Greenlaw and Captain Ouseley, appear to the Governor to have placed themselves in a very unbecoming position, by their needless and unmeaning resistance to the well-meant and unobjectionable resolutions of the Government.

5.—The remaining Member, Mr. C. R. Prinsep, who is understood to have been recently added to the number, for the purpose of giving his aid in carrying on this contest with the Government, not being a servant of the Company, the Governor refrains from making any remark on his conduct, but leaves it to his own good sense to determine, whether there is any credit gratuitously taking part in these proceedings, for no purpose whatever of benefit of any description to any one.

6.—The Governor has endeavoured in vain to discover what public principle, what public or even private interest, what duty, what reason exists, to warrant so uncalculated a resistance to the authority of the Government.

7.—He does not recognize in the gentlemen called the Vestry any legal existence independent of the power of the Government over the affairs of the Cathedral. The Reverend Chaplains are Members of that body ex-officio in consequence of their nomination by the Government as Chaplains of the Cathedral. The other gentlemen have been added, the Governor knows not how, but apparently without any legal authority.

8.—Considering the free and easy manner in which the trusts alluded to in your letter have been taken up and put down, and handed from one to another at pleasure without any legal transfer or authority. The Governor would consider the difficulties now held forth with respect to the relinquishment of these trusts, as extremely ludicrous, were he not grieved at the spirit, in which such unfounded pretensions are assumed.

9.—But in supposing that these trusts are the matters principally concerned, you have misunderstood the object of the Government. The primary intention of the Government was to secure to the Bishop his due authority in the Cathedral, from which His Lordship has been excluded by the Reverend Chaplains and the Gentlemen calling themselves the Vestry, and the question of trusts was expressly reserved in the resolutions issued by the Government.

10.—The unexampled tone of your letter considering that, with only one exception, it is addressed by servants of the Company to the Government, precludes the hope of any voluntary co-operation on your part in the furtherance of the views of the Government, and compels the Governor to issue such orders as he believes himself to be competent to issue in this unexpected and unprecedented state of affairs; and to these orders he requires the obedience of all who are in any degree subject to the authority of the Government.

11.—The Reverend the Chaplains of the Cathedral are directed to co-operate with the Right Reverend the Bishop and the Venerable the Archdeacon, in the management of the affairs of the Cathedral, and to obey any orders which they may receive from the Bishop according to the tenor of the resolutions already issued by the Government.

12.—The other gentlemen who have signed your letter having declared their determination not to act any longer as Members of the nominal Vestry, are relieved entirely from the nominal office which they have assumed, and are prohibited from interfering in the management of the affairs of the Cathedral.

13.—With respect to the trusts, the Governor has no intention of disturbing any legal rights which may exist, and any gentlemen who are really vested with such trusts individually will continue to exercise them; but the Governor is satisfied that no such legal rights exist, and that the gentlemen who have taken on themselves these trusts with so much facility and so little authority, may relinquish them with equal ease. He is therefore willing to relieve them from any embarrassments or responsibility on this account, and to arrange on the part of the Government for the due fulfilment of these trusts, assigning them in the first instance to the charge of the Bishop, the Archdeacon, and the Chaplains of the Cathedral, until a Vestry shall be formed in the manner prescribed by the Resolutions issued by the Government.

I have the honor to be, Reverend Sirs and Gentlemen, your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) G. A. BUSHBY, Sec. to the Govt.
Fort William, the 30th September, 1835.

At a Special Meeting held by the Vestry on the 2nd Oct. 1835.

Resolved by the lay members now present that the tone and tenor of the above communication renders it impossible that the Reverend the Chaplains should take any part in this Meeting.

Resolved, that the same motives preclude any expression on our own part.

Resolved, that all acts or proceedings be henceforth discontinued, and the Church abandoned to the Clerical Establishment.

Resolved, that all deeds, vouchers, books, accounts and papers in our charge be left in the Vestry Room under seal in custody of Mr. J. Llewellyn, Vestry Clerk, to be delivered over to the persons authorized by Government to receive the same—proper acknowledgment being entered thereof.

CHAS. MACKENZIE, FREDERICK CORBYN,
C. B. GREENLAW, J. W. J. OUSELEY,
C. R. MARTIN, C. R. PRINSEP.

VESTED VESTRY RIGHTS VIOLATED.

SIR,—Truly the public are greatly indebted to Mr. C. R. Prinsep and to you for the publication of the Vestry correspondence. It serves as an excellent moral lesson to the good people of Calcutta who are rather prone to excessive gratulation in testifying to indications of liberality on the part of their rulers. It is therefore salutary that they should occasionally behold their Idols divested of the captivating attire in which they appear to receive homage on jubilees, and dressed in the plain fustian or linsey woolsey fashion, in which the ordinary official work is per-

formed. That no man is a hero to his *valet de chambre* has passed into a proverb, and it may with equal truth be affirmed that no Governor-General is a liberal to his secretary. The Sir Charles Metcalfe who replied to the address of the Inhabitants of Calcutta on his proposed liberation of the Press, is not *precisely* the same Sir Charles Metcalfe who dictated the letter in the Ecclesiastical Department dated the 30th September, 1835, addressed to the representative of a portion of those same Inhabitants. However, the circumstances were certainly different—any thing like clap-trap or urbanity or reasoning would have been entirely misplaced if vouchsafed to the *valets* of the Vestry! What! persons eating the Company's salt presume to entertain conscientious or legal scruples as to their power of divesting themselves of a trust undertaken by them, when the Governor-General entertains none? Monstrous! "But," quoth some simpleton, "the Governor-General very lately told us that rulers are not infallible, that they are all the better of being told when they are wrong, and that temperate remonstrances and suggestions, from whatever quarter they may come, must be salutary. How then was it possible to imagine that a calm statement of objections, which were invited, could give offence?" As if the smooth *ad captandum* flourishes put forth in a public reply to a public address from a public meeting intended for publication, were to be taken as sober earnest to be acted upon by every one who might think himself qualified to advise the Government! No, no, the liberty of discussion in the newspapers is all very well, for the Government does not appear there as a party—it may profit by newspaper hints when it thinks proper, or it may be conveniently blind to the progress of a discussion when it does not choose to attend—in any case it is spared the mortification of being shown up as worsted in argument. But depend upon it that when once a Government has committed itself to an opinion, to differ from that opinion will even by your Liberator be deemed a grave offence, and to show that it is wrong will be held to be unpardonable. I have not subscribed to the "Metcalfe Library" because I have always thought that Sir Charles's merit in regard to the Press has been greatly overrated. Strip his reply to the address of its common place and clap-trap (which by the way are ill in accordance with his minute in which the Press was mentioned contemptuously, as an engine so insignificant and harmless as to be undeserving of notice) and it merely amounts to this. "I find the Press at Madras free whilst that of Bengal is restrained. We must have one law for the whole country, and I must either liberate you or coerce the people of Madras. It is a choice of evils and I choose that which appears to me the least. Go, you are Free." This is precisely the extent of Sir Charles Metcalfe's liberality, and I do not think it is such as calls for Idolatry, though on the principle of not looking a gift horse in the mouth, I am willing to join in any moderate expression of gratitude. I will therefore subscribe to the "Metcalfe Library" provided the Committee charged with the erec-

tion of the building will consent to have it constructed with four principal entrances—the Arch of Janus Quadrifrons at Rome would furnish a capital model—the famous reply to the inhabitants being inscribed over one—over that opposite Sir Charles's flattering minute regarding the Press—the spaces over the other two entrances to be occupied one with Mr. Secretary Bushby's letter of the 30th September, 1835, to the Vestry, forming an appropriate commentary on the glowing terms in which the Governor-General's love of free discussion is conveyed,—and the other with the Resolutions passed at the Meeting of the Vestry on the 2d of October, 1835, in which they resolve themselves to be tongue-tied by the Liberator of the Press. Other events will no doubt occur which will give occasion to intermediate tablets with suitable inscriptions bearing on the same subject; for, of course, this extraordinary usurpation and the clerical intrigue by which it has been brought about, will not be allowed to pass without some public demonstration. The plan I have suggested appears to me a vast improvement upon H. M. P.'s original, as it would render the Metcalfe Library a faithful record of the memorabilia relating to the Freedom of the Press.

The published correspondence offers some useful hints to the Company's servants, by which they will do well to profit. They are told plainly that they must never in any particular (even regarding the fulfilment of a trust) differ with the Government. Thus if Government should hereafter entertain any plan for altering the management or constitution of the Bank of Bengal, let such of the shareholders as are servants of the Government beware how they act or vote! "Oppose not!"—thus runneth the "special edict" of Loo, and the mandate of Mr. Secretary Bushby in not a whit less imperious. In fact the public (such of them at least as are in the public employ) will find it very dangerous to enter into any partnership with Government whether in Banks, Steam Navigation, Education or Municipal Improvements,—for the Vestry correspondence shows that Governments are not only of a very encroaching and greedy disposition, loving to reap entire crops when they have only supplied a portion of the seed, but they are also apt to get quarrelsome and overbearing with their partners, and being strong withal they find little difficulty in accomplishing their wicked will. A partnership between the wolf and the lamb is never likely to bring good to the latter, and strange as it may appear, the Vestry correspondence shows that the admission of the shepherd into the concern renders the situation of the lamb even worse than before, a fact which would almost induce one to admit that "Shepherds feed upon your flocks" is the true reading of the passage, as suggested by the Examiner.

A PARISHIONER.

In stating in our last the ordonnance dismissing the Select Vestry was a voluminous epistle, we fell into the error of mistaking the manuscript which we received from Mr. Prin-

sep for one communication, instead of which it embraced, we find the whole correspondence which we now submit to our readers and to which we earnestly invite their attention.

The *Englishman*, misled by some very erroneous information we presume, or yielding to the assumptions of authority which appear to us wholly unfounded and unjustifiable, is very facetious upon what he terms agitation—though he is unprepared to say whether that agitation has been singular or dual. We take upon ourselves to say that in so far as the correspondence enables us to judge, there has been no agitation, singular, dual or plural, nor is there a title of evidence to support the charge of obstructing the Bishop in any exercise of his legitimate authority; but the truth is, we trace in these proceedings a desire to grasp at power which we are sorry to witness in our Diocesan. The Trustees or Select Vestry of St. John's Cathedral have sketched the history of that church, and it is only necessary to refer to that sketch in order to comprehend the very equivocal nature of that right which the Governor assumes, to appoint and remove the Trustees of the property by his mere *sic volo*. The Trustees, we believe, understate their case when they admit that the Government gave part of the ground on which the Cathedral is built, unless they mean to refer to the old burying-ground, and we are not sure, that even that belonged to the Government; for in an account now before us it is stated, that "Maharajah Nobo Kishen presented, in addition to the old burying-ground, six biggahs and ten cottahs of the adjoining land, as the Dhurkhaust species, in Mowzah Dhee Calcutta,"—from which we infer that even the said burying ground belonged to the Maharajah, while of the whole cost of erection, 1,84,836-14-11, the local authorities only granted about 15,000, and the Hon'ble Court £1,200—the united sum being less than the value of the ground given by the Maharaja, then estimated at 30,000 Rs! It is true that the Government have kept the Cathedral in repair out of the revenues of the State, and upon the faith of that we presume they claim a right to force into the Trusteeship whom they please! The Trustees have shewn that the Bishop is claiming powers not vested in the Bishop of a diocese at home, as in items first and second; and by item third, they are to be deprived of controul over charitable collections and other funds which have been hitherto invariably subjected to their disposal! According to item fourth again, it will be seen that the Bishop claims a right to interfere in all temporalities upon which the Trustees of St. John's very justly observe, that "to take temporal matters from the vestry and consign them to the Bishop, is to do away with the duties of a vestry altogether."

To the remarks on the fifth item, on which the whole case hinges in fact, we invite special attention. To the uninformed and unreflecting reader, it might have seemed a very innocent proposition, but for the suspicious nature of some of the provisos that precede it: but to those who look deeper into the

matter it will be seen that this item effects by a mere *coup d'état* a total change in the character of the original Trusteeship and vests the *sole power* of the trust in effect in the Bishop!! For it provides that of the nine members, five shall be clerical—one of these five the Bishop, to whom the clergy are enjoined to pay passive, slavish obedience. Of course they *dare* not in any point, however trivial, vote against the Bishop, especially Bishop Wilson of the fearful *soubriquet*!!

Oh! but, some of our readers may say, the sixth item provides for election. Does it indeed!—election of four to be outvoted by the *five*! but as the dismissed trustees justly remark, there can be no such thing as a popular election limited to the residents of the district of St. John's, occupied to a great extent by public buildings; while it is known that many renters of pews who will have no voice, reside out of the district. The proposition for an election is a *farce* and a *mockery*; and what is more, we strongly suspect it is intended to be so—a mere tub to the whale, which can deceive no one who is not gullible to an extent far exceeding any average of gullibility in any given number of the gullible. Elect what! four lay members to do the bidding of five clerical members, three out of which five again, must do the bidding of the other two!! and thus forsooth is to be called an election and to mock us with the form of a popular controul, where in reality there is not a spark of popular principle, but on the contrary an unmitigated clerical despotism over *temporal* trusts!! In fact it would seem that the Bishop has but to ask and have, and we only wonder that his Lordship was not offered a seat at the Council board, for we have heard that a certain diocesan once kindly volunteered his assistance to the Council in governing the country!

The tone of the Governor's last letter to the gentlemen lately composing the Select Vestry is altogether unexampled and indefensible. It is neither dignified in its style nor correct in its reasoning, nor just in the sentiments expressed, and forms a very remarkable contrast in all respects to that of the Noble Marquess of Hastings which is embodied in a former part of the correspondence. The Governor shuts his eyes to the fact that the objection of the Members was not to co-operate with the Bishop in any useful measure; but to place the whole power over the vestry trusts in his hands, making the rest of the Members the mere passive instruments of his will. Such is the real nature of the change which the Governor's new rules will produce—and for venturing to impugn the propriety of which, his honour hesitates not to reprimand the clergy and the members of the service belonging to the vestry, with a severity which could be only justly due* to some very serious delinquency. His Honour tells us, indeed, in paragraph 6, that he is at loss to conceive any public principle on which these gentlemen could have offered this uncalled for resistance to the authority of Government; but we believe that every unbiassed reader of the correspondence,

will at once discover that public principle which to his Honor is so impalpable. The Select Vestry, constituted nearly as the late vestry was, has existed from the very foundation of the Church—the Governor of Bengal annuls it in effect by a *sic volo* without any sufficient ground, conferring the whole power on the Bishop, and then wonders what public principle can induce a body of gentlemen whose legitimate authority in the vestry is thus annihilated, who are called on to lend themselves to a mockery, a form without a substance, to remonstrate against a proceeding at once so arbitrary and so extraordinary!!

Paragraph 7, is a mere naked assertion of power—and a profession of ignorance of the constitution of the vestry altogether extraordinary in the face of the Noble Marquess of Hastings's letter, which referred to usage long previously prevalent—a usage which that letter confirmed pending a reference home.

As for the "free and easy" manner of taking up these trusts, it was, as we have seen, that which was expressly sanctioned by the high authority referred to.

The 9th paragraph is still more extraordinary, for the power of the select vestry is by the 6th resolution of the ordonnance of the 19th August, expressly confined to the trusts which may be committed to them by the Supreme Court.

The 10th paragraph again reminds the servants of the Company of their servile condition—talks of the unexampled tone of their letter considering their situations!! So that because they are the servants of the Company, they are to surrender, without remonstrance or complaint, a sacred trust to a power from which they did not derive it!!! Of course they must obey, but in doing so, they yield not to right but to power.

The 11th paragraph provides for the passive obedience of the clergy and, as we have said, places the sole power in the hands of the Bishop.

The 12th paragraph, which dismisses the vestry, is of little importance after those which precede it.

In the last paragraph we have a reference to the formation of a vestry. For what purpose? To be, as we have said, passive instruments in the hands of others—having the semblance without the shadow of power or controul of any kind! Will any man of spirit undertake such an office? We trow not.

Such is the actual state of the case, which suggests other remarks for which we have not at present time or space. We will only add, that we see no evidence of the slightest intention in the vestry to obstruct our Diocesan in the exercise of any right whatever. As for the weighty affair of placing a screen before Mrs. Atkinson, surely the Bishop might have taken upon himself the office of making that very *flattering* proposition to the lady.

The case is now before the inhabitants, it rests with them to decide whether they are willing to submit to an assumption of power which we hold to be unwarranted and unjustifiable, if not illegal.—*Hurkaru.*

The vestry question is now pretty nearly before the public, and notwithstanding the length of the correspondence connected with it, (which we borrow from the *Hurkaru*) we think the whole business lies within a very small compass. We have said that the question is pretty nearly before the public—by which we mean that we have one or two of the causes, and the general effect consequent upon them—we mean the dismissal of the ex-Vestrymen—before us; but we have not the origo mali—the original dispute or discussion of the vestry with the Lord Bishop. It must have been protracted to considerable extent previously to the communication of Mr. Bushby to the vestry bearing date the 24th of June, 1835, in which were the rules devised by Government in communication with the Lord Bishop, for the removal, so far as the Select Vestry was concerned, of all impediment to the due exercise of His Lordship's functions of superintendence and direction of the Cathedral. We learn from Mr. Prinsep's letter, that the only obstruction he knows of, in which the Trustees had any concern, was the affair of the curtain and Mrs. Atkinson. We presume, therefore, that he is not acquainted with what took place between the vestry and the Lord Bishop, previously to his becoming a Vestryman. The six rules for the regulation of the vestry make it pretty clear, that his Lordship must have met with frequent, nay perpetual obstruction to his views from the vestry. We believe that his Lordship and the senior presidency chaplain were not always exactly of the same opinion on matters connected with the internal regulation of the Church, and, perhaps to this feeling we may trace the promulgation of the learning contained in the vestry's answer to the second rule. It is called second and third items,—by which the Government is informed that in a Cathedral the appointment of servants, menials, &c., rests with the Dean and Chapter,—in a Parish Church with the ministers and the vestry. The framing of the rules by the Government in communication with the Lord Bishop and the spirit evinced in the answer to, and comments upon, the rules of the Select Vestry, convince us that a great deal of discussion had previously taken place between these parties;—the subject matters of that discussion are not before us. Mr. Prinsep, it would appear, was dragged into the business about or previously to the affair of the curtain and Mrs. Atkinson; and whether agitation took place or not before, it certainly does appear to have been rife, so soon as this gentleman makes his appearance in the dispute. The letter bearing date the 29th July, is, in our apprehension, vastly symptomatic of previous agitation among the Vestrymen: it is in the style of an answer to a bill in equity and very nearly as long;

and from its legal complexion, we hope we may without offence, attribute the framing of the greater portion of it to the last of the ex-es and newest of Vestrymen. The *Hurkaru* expresses his dislike to the tone and matter of the answer of Government to this letter of the 29th July,—he should, we think, ask to himself the question, whether both may not have been elicited by the tone and matter of the vestry manifesto. Mr. Prinsep we learn from the Government letter, was added to the number for the purpose of giving his aid in carrying on this contest with the Government;—the vestry were anxious for the benefit of legal advice without paying for it we suppose:—they have got it with a vengeance! If Mr. Prinsep acted as their legal adviser on this occasion, he has certainly floored his clients, an operation with which, we are given to understand, he is by no means familiar, and the newness of the sensation must, we should suppose, render it rather painful to him. We cannot ourselves conceive the utility of moot-ing any one of the questions discussed in the vestry manifesto. The Government evidently assume by the communication of the 24th June, 1831, that it had the right to prescribe the mode in which the select vestry should exercise its functions.

The vestry, in a tone and manner absolutely offensive, full of mock respect, and satirical innuendo, dispute that right;—for what earthly purpose, we venture to ask! Why dispute what they cannot resist? And why instead of a respectful remonstrance, do they put forth such a thing as their long-winded manifesto? Why?—because the spirit of agitation was rife among them. Who stirred up that spirit? The framers or framer of that manifesto, we may surely without offence to reason or to persons infer. The Government evidently considers its right to interfere beyond question. If the Vestry intended to dispute the right, they should have put the matter in issue before a competent tribunal—but no: they prefer shewing their ingenuity and then by way of frightening their opponent, we suppose, hint at a resignation of trusts *which did not legally rest in them!*—and the relinquishing of functions which, according to their own shewing (if we understand the matter,) they had no right to perform! as they appointed their menials by the sanction of Government who pays them. Now, if Government sanctions, and pays, we should think, they may very fairly resume their delegated power to appoint. But, after all, this Select Vestry, like all its fellows is an usurpation,—only that the Calcutta usurpation has not even prescription whereon to base its pretensions. And what shall we ask is the result of this terribly arbitrary act on the part of Government? Why the notice in the *Courier*, and the papers of yesterday for a meeting in the vestry room of the inhabitants of the district for the purpose of elections by ballot for lay members of the vestry,—the very course pursued at home in all cases of the election of common vestry men. As our readers know Select Vestrymen elect themselves, it is, therefore,

a close borough affair. All that Government has done in the business, in addition to turning out the ex-es is to open a close borough. It is true the clerical vestrymen are still four; but inasmuch as some of the clerical members of the late vestry did not exhibit any unbecoming and unvestryman-like deference to the wishes of the Lord Bishop, we may, we presume, expect to see the same spirit of independence evinced in the new vestry by its clerical members; and, in that case, the autocracy of the Bishop need not be a subject of alarm to our contemporaries.

It will be seen that we incline towards Government in this matter to-day. In our former notice of this subject, we disputed the right of Government: there is no longer any use in moot-ing that question. But our opinion is unchanged, although, we confess, the manifesto of the ex-vestry has tended vastly to modify the excess of sympathy we were inclined to extend to their unhappy case. With respect to the angry tenor of the Government letter, we can only say, we would it were otherwise. Why Government should feel or display irritation we cannot pretend to understand. As to the paragraph relating to the Company's servants, we lament that it should have seen the light. The independence of Government servants, in matters not immediately official, has long been tacitly recognised. We sincerely hope that this official wig, to the ex-es is not to be considered as a revocation of that tacit, but, we trusted, fully established recognition.

We must now conclude. We have written this notice in great hurry. We hope it is not calculated to give offence; certain we are, that none is intended by us.—*Englishman.*

An article on the Vestry question from the *Englishman* of Friday last, will be found in another page, which presents a strange contrast between its commencement and conclusion: the former might really seem to have been written by the Bishop himself or some one deep in his confidence—the latter appears intended to reconcile an inconsistency which is nevertheless too palpable to escape the most superficial observer.

We cannot pretend to have access to any such sources of information as those which are on this occasion too evidently open to our contemporary; but we have the less reason to regret that since it is equally clear that they have served to mislead him into assumptions wholly unfounded and unjustifiable. We will, however, venture to affirm, that let our contemporary have derived his information from whom he may, he has been misled, for it is not true that resistance was made to the Bishop. His Lordship did what he pleased in the Church; nor, in so far as we can learn, has any complaint been made to the Vestry of any attempt to obstruct him in any manner. We believe the first intimation the Vestry received of any change being meditated, or rather the first thing that made them

suspect that any change was contemplated, was an application by letter requesting that his Lordship might be allowed to peruse the title deeds.

As we do not profess to be in the secrets of the Vestry we are not sure whether this application was made to the Vestry collectively or to the senior Chaplain; but we have heard that it was addressed to the latter and that he replied very properly, that he had individually no power to comply with this request, but that he would submit the letter to the Vestry. This was done we hear, and copies of the deed and of the correspondence in 1819 were furnished to the Bishop. We should like to know what there was in this proceeding to justify the imputation to the Senior Chaplain in particular or the Vestry in general of obstructing the Bishop? In consequence, however, of some representation made to Government on the subject, by the Bishop we presume, that the instructions of Lord Hastings in 1822 had not been acted on, the letter of Mr. Bushby was addressed to the Vestry; but if that were so, the system was one which had continued from the time of Bishop Middleton. The Vestry were not informed, we believe, that the Bishop coveted a voice in the appointments of the choir, the punkah-pullers, the pew-openers and the mehters. Without stopping to enquire how far it may be consistent with the dignity of the Mitre to grasp at control on such matters, we may at least be permitted to remark that before opposition was complained of, the claim to regulate such important *Church* affairs should have been duly submitted to those who could never have anticipated that the Diocesan of our Church could really, in his love of power, descend quite so low. Before the *Englishman* so readily charges the senior Chaplain with opposing the great autocrat of the English Church in the east, he should be prepared with his proofs, and not deal in innuendoes which have no foundation in truth.

We are reminded that before we condemned the tone and style of the Governor's letter, we should have asked whether they were not elicited by that to which that communication was a reply. We answer that we cannot discover in the latter any of that offensiveness or that tone of mock respect which it suits the purpose of the writer in the *Englishman* to discover in it. On the contrary we see in it only that information and those suggestions and remarks which were called for by the previous letter of Mr. Secretary Bushby. There is nothing whatever in the reply of the Vestry to justify the very offensive, undignified tone and style of the Governor's rejoinder—a communication at which we are equally surprized and grieved. The *Englishman* may endeavour to excuse the sentiments, the reasoning and the style of that letter, but we happen to know that these are condemned by parties who are the least likely to be biassed against the high authority whence this very unjustifiable and indecorous communication proceeds.

Our readers may recollect that they were assured in defence of the Archdeaconry busi-

ness, that the Bishop required some one to be his Archdeacon who would work with him, and thus it was that he first intended the office for his nephew and son-in-law and when, owing to the affair with the missionaries and the awe of public opinion, his Lordship was deterred from fulfilling that pious intention, or was shamed out of such nepotism by the press, he put in a kindred evangelical sou from the junior clergy! We now see what sort of "work" it was that the now Archdeacon Dealtry was ready to perform at the price which his seniors would not pay. Of a truth the Bishop "has not brought peace but a sword." He quarrels with the Christians in the south, next with the Vestry and inhabitants about temporal power, and then sets out on a visitation tour to escape the storm he has brewed!

The *Englishman*, indeed, tells us that all that the Government has done is to open a close borough! a pretty opening, indeed, when the clergy of the Select Vestry are enjoined slavish obedience, accused of obstructing the Bishop's views, and then they and the Company's servants are distinctly reminded of their dependant condition and severely reprimanded for stating, when asked, their conscientious opinions! How after this can any Company's servant ever be allowed to sit on a jury, or consent to do so if allowed, while he is subject to be thus treated if his opinions do not coincide with those of power?

He jests at scars who never felt a wound.

We know something of the effects of this claim to servile obedience in the Company's servants. We have not yet forgotten the case of the Sheriff reprimanded for calling a public Meeting because he happened to be a Company's servant—nor the stamp tax proceedings—or to go further back, Sir George Barlow's persecutions of jurors at Madras. We confess that we cannot think without pain and humiliation of Sir Charles Metcalfe's claiming from the servants of the Company, a blind and slavish obedience and a disgraceful surrender of their duties as the trustees of public property: yet in the face of such a reprimand as the servants of the State, ecclesiastical and lay, have received for daring respectfully to state their views as Vestry-men when called on, the *Englishman* coolly talks of expecting "to see the same spirit of independence evinced in the new Vestry by its clerical members," and in that case we are told that we need not fear the autocracy of the Bishop!!! No indeed; but unless the clerical members should become idiots, it would be a degree of folly bordering on infatuation to expect that they would re-assert an independence, the claim to which has brought upon them the severest reprimand. "*The independence of Government servants in matters not official, which has long been tacitly recognized,*" is now plainly and practically revoked in that very letter which the *Englishman* in the first portion of his remarks endeavours to justify; but which in the last, as if another mind had guided his peroration, he does not venture to defend.—*Hurkaru.*

Our readers will be amused with a long article we copy from the *Englishman*, about the Vestry question, especially with the two short concluding paragraphs contrasted with the two lengthy paragraphs which precede them. Our brother of the *Englishman* was already known to have a happy versatility of talent, which was never distressed by a charge of inconsistency. To find every thing right and every thing wrong by turns was an easy task, and we were sure to be one day agreeing and another day disagreeing with our contemporary upon the same subject. It was therefore quite in the order of things to find him saying, "We incline towards Government in this matter *to-day*," whatever might be his inclinations *yesterday*: but it has not been so usual to meet with opinions as wide as the poles asunder in the very same article—shall we say, from the same pen? The article is in other respects more open to commentary than any we have read for many a day in the columns of a newspaper; but we do not think it worth while to expose the errors of fact and inference which abound in it. The writer has evidently studied to mix up with the conduct of the Vestry matters they had nothing to do with; and because their letter was eminently respectful throughout, he charitably supposes it "full of mock respect and satirical *inuendo*"!!—*Calcutta Courier*.

Our notice of the vestry question has brought down upon us both our morning and evening contemporaries. The *Courier*, whose consistency has always been a theme of public admiration and astonishment, taxes us with inconsistency in this particular matter and with inconsistency in general. As to the general charge, we can only consider it as "too amusing" on the part of the *Courier*,—and so we leave it. As to the inconsistency in this particular matter, we shall rebut the charge in answering the observations of the *Hurkaru*. The *Hurkaru* begins with congratulating himself in not having the sources of information open to him which are evidently open to us, and which have led us into assumptions and insinuations wholly unfounded and unjustifiable! Our assumptions "so wholly unfounded and unjustifiable" are simply these, that "the senior Presidency Chaplain and his Diocesan were not always exactly of the same opinion on matters connected with the internal regulations of the church;" and we go on to say, that the necessity for framing the six rules contained in Mr. Bushby's letter to the vestry, and the spirit evinced by the vestry in their answer, convince us that considerable discussion had previously taken place in the vestry. This is all that we said, and this is what the *Hurkaru* calls by the lofty title of "assumptions and insinuations wholly unfounded and unjustifiable." Our contemporary then proceeds to inform us in what the senior presidency chaplain and his diocesan *did differ*. The first thing which made the vestry suspect that any change was contemplated was an application by letter requesting that his Lordship might be *allowed* to peruse the

title deeds; then comes a little piece of affectation about not being in the secrets of the vestry—*quæque ipse miserrima vidi*, and one of the quorum to boot, we suspect, notwithstanding the disclaimer.) After which our contemporary tells us *he has heard* the application was made to the senior chaplain,—that he replied very properly he had no power to comply with the request, and the matter was submitted to the vestry; and this, according to the *Hurkaru*, is all that took place previously to Mr. Bushby's letter and promulgation of the six rules. Now we, the *Englishman*, have *heard* that repeated discussions had taken place between his Lordship and the S. P. Chaplain *before* this, say for the five or six months preceding, and that the vestry had had cognizance of these discussions; and when we saw the six rules promulgated, we naturally felt satisfied of the truth of our information and concluded that much opposition had been encountered and that the rules were *in consequence* framed.

The *Hurkaru* then proceeds to say, (although not in the secret) that the vestry were not informed that the bishop coveted a voice in the appointment of the choir, the punkah pullers, the pew-openers, and mehters, and goes on to comment on his Lordship in a strain which though highly disrespectful is not by any means surprising in a journal which has systematically opposed itself to the established Church—her interests, *ministers*, and undoubted rights. The *Hurkaru* talks about *our* insinuations and assumptions;—we can only say that, looking at the insinuations and assumptions and *inuendoes* contained in this paragraph of his, we should be extremely sorry to make an exchange with him. We will ask, is it likely that the Bishop would complain of opposition to him in matters of internal regulation of the church, if he had not experienced such opposition? and if such opposition did not take place on the part of the vestry, from *whom did it proceed*? And now we ask, whether or not we have dealt in insinuation and assumption unfounded and unjustifiable? The *Hurkaru* cannot find in the reply of the vestry, any of that offensiveness or *tone of mock respect* which it suits our purpose to discover in it. Whether or no our contemporary have or have not a bias on this question which may obscure that clearness of perception which generally distinguishes his views, we shall not take upon ourselves to say: we have his assertion, and that of the *Courier* opposed to ours; we have the opinion of Government in communication with the Bishop in corroboration of our view of the matter,—*three to two in our favour*.

It may be said that the Government and the Lord Bishop are *collectively* one of the parties involved in the discussion. The *Courier*, as far as the little he does say, and the *Hurkaru* in all that he says, are, if not vestrymen, at least, quasi vestrymen; so we still say that, quoad the opinion entertained of the vestry letter, opinion is three to two on our side. The *Englishman* has not endeavoured to excuse the sentiments, reasonings, &c. of the

Government letter: all that the *Englishman* says about it is:—"with respect to the angry tenor of the Government letter, we can only say, *we would it were otherwise*." As to the paragraph relating to the Company's servants, we lament that it should have seen the light." That is *what* we do say; why the *Hurkaru* should mis-represent us we don't know. The next paragraph does not relate to us. It is a beautiful specimen of the *feeling* of the writer towards heads of the Church,—it is a precious piece of personality and the more reprehensible inasmuch as the writer well knows, that the parties attacked *will* not answer him through the medium he has had recourse to, to communicate his sentiments. The Government letter after all, is nothing more nor less than "a wig;" of course nothing of the sort was ever issued before by Government to its servants, and nothing of the kind ever *can* happen again. "How after this," asks the *Hurkaru*, "can any Company's servant be allowed to sit upon a jury, or consent to do so if allowed, if his opinions do not coincide with those of power?" Here is an assumption on the part of our cotemporary with a vengeance. We deferentially submit that no assumption or insinuation of ours, unjustifiable, ever went this length. The Government writes as follows to five gentlemen who are in its employ, "the other members of this party who are servants of the Company (naming them) appear to the Governor to have placed themselves in a very unbecoming position, by their needless and unmeaning resistance to the well meant and unobjectionable regulations of the Government." This is absolutely *all* that is said. We should very much like to know from the Secretary's office, whether such observations on the part of Government to its servants *have ever* been made before? and whether or not in consequence the independence of the parties so addressed has been so entirely prostrated as to render them *fearful of acting on juries*, etcetera, etcetera, &c. &c.; leaving it to our readers to supply as many shocking cases as their experience or imagination suggests of the evil consequences resulting from this measure! We remember, says our lecturer, the case of the sheriff reprimanded, &c., the stamp tax proceedings, Sir G. Barlow's persecutions at Madras! And *we*, (the *Englishman*) remember Mr. E. Gordon's speech at the press meeting, and the various subsequent speeches and public conduct of many highly talented and staunch supporters of liberality, in cases when the Government claim to servile obedience might, for aught they knew, have been exacted; and yet, notwithstanding the examples within the *Hurkaru's* recollection, they did not desert their post. We repeat it, we do not justify the Government letter, but think under the circumstances the conduct pursued by Government was the best it could adopt; and we maintain, it is perfectly consistent to uphold their anger without approving of the *form* in which it displayed itself;—but this we fearlessly say in the teeth of the *Hurkaru*, that it will take a different sort of letter to that which he holds

in such apprehension, to stay the mouths and stifle liberal feelings in the bosoms of Englishmen whether in the service of the Company or out of it; and its inference of the assumption of despotic authority by Government over its servants in matters unconnected with the service, *because* of the appearance of the paragraph above quoted, is making a mountain out of a mole-hill. That the press should watch carefully every undue assumption of authority we readily admit; we hope we have not been in the background on these occasions; and notwithstanding *what* has taken place, we really think the Government has opened a *close borough*. In fact, the *Hurkaru* agrees with us in so many words; for he says, that our only chance of escaping the autocracy of the Bishop is in the good sense and public spirit of the inhabitants of St. John's parish, to whom the right of voting is most arbitrarily limited, if they elected four independent members, of course out of the service;—in or out, we say, it does not signify a pin's head, so long as they can think for themselves, and are not to be seduced into signing manifestoes:—the autocracy may then be defeated, but not otherwise. We have no doubt but that the inhabitants of St. John's will do their duty, and we have as little doubt that in so doing they will best fulfil the wishes of Government who have given them the opportunity of doing it, which they would not have had, by-the-bye, under the select vestry system. We are not a little amused at the *Hurkaru* supporting *select vestries*:—Talk of inconsistency indeed! We deny any such thing on our parts, and, for a day, we suppose, we take leave of our two contemporaries on this matter.—*Englishman*.

The *Englishman* of Monday has a long article on the Vestry affair to which we refer our readers. Our cotemporary denies having dealt in assumptions and insinuations—has he not assumed that there has been a systematic course of opposition to the Bishop—and insinuated that the Senior Chaplain was at the head of it? has he not asserted that Mr. Charles Prinsep was *dragged forward* to carry on the contest?—the whole of which assumptions, insinuations and assertions were distinctly denied on Monday at the Meeting by the Senior Chaplain. He says we have pointed out in what the Senior Chaplain did differ from the Bishop—we have done no such thing; we have explained that the Senior Chaplain did not choose to act on his individual authority when called on for Papers—that he stated truly that he had no power to act and would refer his Lordship's letter to the Vestry, which he did without hesitation, and they supplied *all* the information required! Was that obstruction we ask? As for Mr. Charles Prinsep's being dragged forward to carry on a contest, we refer to the Senior Chaplain's explanation on that point, and shall merely add that he is about the last person in Calcutta who can be justly suspected of being likely to lend himself to any thing of that kind. Mr. Prinsep is in general careful—too careful, we

regret to say, of mingling in our local politics, —rarely attends public meetings, and is as little of an agitator as any man we know.

We come now to answer an insinuation which more directly concerns ourselves. The *Englishman* assumes that "one of the *quorum*" wrote the remarks to which he refers. He is greatly mistaken—they are *entirely* our own. We admit that it is comparatively of little consequence as a general rule who writes, if the editor adopts what is written; but our practice in this respect is somewhat rigid. Very rarely indeed—one case out of a hundred editorial articles in this paper—we may have the assistance of friends: but we never *yet* suffered and *never* will suffer, the parties in a controversy to make use of our editorial columns or put forth their sentiments and language as *our own*. And assuredly, in this instance, we have neither suffered clerical friends to dictate to us nor legal friends to write a special-pleading article for us, adding a tail piece by way of softening off the effects of their mistaken zeal. In cases of this kind we hold that an editor should not quite so readily adopt what is written for him upon the *ex parte* information furnished to him by one of the high contending powers. Our information is derived from several sources. We are asked whether it is likely that the Bishop would complain of opposition to him if he had not experienced such opposition? Reasoning *a priori* we should have said no: but arguing from actual evidence of what is past, we must say yes! that however unlikely it may have been deemed, it is a fact that the Bishop has misconstrued into opposition that which was not opposition—we are bound to deny that he had just cause of complaint.

We are told that the opinion of the Government in communication with the Bishop, is opposed to us, as to the alleged offensive tone of the Vestry letter, and that these authorities make three to two in our contemporary's favour. We answer, that we can bring, if necessary, twenty authorities, in integrity and intelligence equal to any member of the Government, to support our view on that point; and as to the character of the Governor's letters—twenty did we say? aye, a hundred. If indeed we are to be met with the *rank* of the parties, we have nothing more to say.

We are again accused of misrepresenting—we deny the charge: we have put the case fairly.

We are accused next of a *beautiful* specimen of *feeling* towards the heads of the Church. What our feeling may be, we shall not now pronounce; but there have been heads of the Church for whom we cherished a high respect: they certainly did not adopt any proceedings like those we now condemn. As for "a precious piece of personality," we might perhaps retort in the words of Juvenal—

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione quorentes—

but we deny that we have dealt in personality. We have discussed the conduct of the Bishop in his *public capacity*, and in that alone. The

Englishman may choose to call that personality if he pleases; but he has a very different definition of personality when it suits his purpose: but our alleged *personality* in discussing the public conduct of the Bishop is the more heinous it seems, because we know that the parties attacked (who are they?) will not reply through the same channel. We do not know any *such* thing. Unless we are greatly mistaken they have done so ere now in a certain way—but perhaps they don't recognize the maxim *qui facit per alium, facit per se*.

The concluding remarks of our contemporary, in which he denies that the Government letter at all interferes with the independence of the Company's servants, have received a practical reply from the result of Monday's election and the sentiments there expressed. No Company's servant offered himself as a candidate and it was admitted without any dissent that none could act.

We are told that we support Select Vestries. We support no such thing; but we do contend that justice, decorum, and consistency should mark the acts of a Governor. What we do advocate in respect to Vestries is open election of an independent constituency. Have the Government manifested any desire in their recent proceeding for such a Vestry? we need not pause for a reply.—*Hurkaru*.

In another column we insert the rejoinder of the *Hurkaru* to our article of Monday. Here the Vestry discussion, as far as we are concerned, must stop; and we only regret that further insinuation on the part of our contemporary precludes its cessation without additional remark.

The *Hurkaru* hints that we have been dictated to by clerical friends, and that we have lent our editorial columns to others for controversial purposes. If to listen *once* to information unexpectedly volunteered by a minister, in the presence of others, be to suffer dictation, then we are guilty; but if this mode of obtaining *renseignemens* on an interesting question has in it nothing of that character, then has our contemporary assuredly wronged us.

We now declare most solemnly, once for all, that since this journal has passed by its present denomination, or has been in its present hands, not one single editorial article has ever appeared in it which was either written by a clergyman, or for a clergyman, or in concert with a clergyman, or with the most remote view of serving the views and interests of any minister of the established or any other church! When a question has been mooted in which the interests or government of the church have been involved, it has been our practice to seek information from friends competent to furnish it, and to frame our editorials with reference to the intelligence obtained; but we have never *once* resorted to a clergyman,—we have never *once* received the smallest assistance or information, direct

or indirect, from any clergyman, save in the solitary instance to which we have referred above. We hope this disclaimer will satisfy our contemporary for the future, and that it will not again be cast in our teeth that this paper lends itself to any party or to any cause, but the cause of TRUTH—the party of our supporters.

But we allow “*legal friends forsooth to write special pleading articles for us!*”—a grievous charge—while in the *Hurkaru* not one editorial in a hundred is written by any one but the sole and responsible Editor himself!

There was no occasion for this *naïve* confession on the part of our contemporary. It has been too plain for the past eighteen months that, excepting when the late editor of the *India Gazette* adorned the pages of the *Hurkaru* with his powerful articles, and a certain quondam *Redacteur en chef* occasionally lent his aid in the supply of military and political effusions, nearly the whole editorial matter has been drawn from one o'erlaboured brain. So much industry is indeed praise worthy, but it may be permitted us to doubt whether the force and consequence of a journal are thus most effectually preserved. We confess we employ talent, lay or legal, wherever it is to be found—or wherever it can be enlisted in the service of our readers—but certainly not after the fashion suggested by our contemporary. A particular subject is often pointed out to a friend—the line and course of argument occasionally traced for him,—and we are but too happy to avail ourselves of the form in which our views are embodied and maintained by abler hands than our own. This employment of other individuals may, indeed, produce occasionally a little inconsistency on minor points in the editorial columns, but it is more than counterbalanced by the additional knowledge and talent brought to bear upon any popular subject. We only wish that the newspaper resources in this country permitted of the extension of the system.—*Englishman*.

The *Englishman* has taken leave of the Vestry discussion in an article in the conclusion of which there is what is intended we presume for a deadly hit at us in the shape of an invidious comparison or contrast. The writer is mistaken however, if he imagines that we are quite so sensitive or so selfish as to feel hurt at a just tribute to friends whose talents we have ever readily acknowledged, merely because it seems to be offered with a view to disparage our humble labours by comparison. We can appeal to the pages of this journal for proofs of the fact that we, even when opposed to one of the gentlemen to whom the *Englishman* adverts, as freely admitted his superiority as we have done before and since. We know him too well not to be aware that he will not think the better of any acknowledgment of his abilities, that it is made rather with a view to depreciate us than to do justice to him. Our contemporary in his sketch of the Calcutta

press might have found an opportunity for that warm praise in which he *now* indulges, in which his expression of it would have been less liable to any suspicion of a sinister motive.

With regard to the question of receiving assistance in the editorial department, when we can obtain any like that to which the *Englishman* adverts we are always most glad to avail ourselves of it, but contribution from such writers come, alas!

Like angels visits, few and far between.

What we were anxious to protest against was the charge of permitting the parties to a controversy to make use of our editorial columns—that we never do, because we hold the practice to be unfair.

As for the Vestry question we have not done with it, although we rest on our oars a while to see the course which things will take.—*Hurkaru*.

EDICT TO THE METCALFE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

SIR,—Although you are a member of the Metcalfe Library Committee, you do not seem to be aware that an admonitory letter has been addressed to that body by very high authority. I send you a copy of it which has accidentally fallen into my hands and it may be worth your while to publish it as a stimulus to the subscription which I regret to hear is in rather a languid state—from *you* your contemporary the *Courier* says, but I am greatly apprehensive that the symptoms are those of rapid decline. Your readers will see that the style and temper of this letter bear considerable resemblance to those of a communication which appeared some days ago in your paper, and which related I believe to some parochial matters in which the Vestry were concerned. The rebuke conveyed to the Company's servants for joining in commending the acts of a Government “*which they are bound to obey*,” is severe, but it is dignified and particularly well timed. We have often had rulers who have laid down the dictum that no dependent of the Government must presume to question, far less to blame, any proceeding of that authority, but now for the first time we have the truly magnanimous principle promulgated that those who may not blame must not applaud.

Your obedient servant,

PETER JENKINS, Junior.

10th October, 1835.

To H. M. P. and Gentlemen calling themselves the Committee for the Metcalfe Library.

Gen. Dept. Conservative.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to call your attention to the Resolutions passed at a public meeting at the Town Hall on the 20th of August last, which the Governor has perused with deep regret as indicating an assumed

right of applauding a measure of the Government, for which he is unable to discover a sufficient reason.

2. He is utterly at a loss to imagine how the introduction of a law, which merely gives the same freedom to Bengal which Madras has long enjoyed, can justify the gentlemen calling themselves the Committee in asking the public to co-operate with them in eulogizing the eminent personage who passed the law.

3. On the part of the originator of the Library scheme this conduct appears to be most reprehensible and quite unsuited to the character of his office, in as much as he, with very insufficient reason, gratuitously applauds the act of a Government which he is bound to obey.

4. The other Members of this party, who are servants of the Company, viz. Messrs. —, —, —, —, —, —, appear to the Governor to have placed themselves in a very unbecoming position by their needless and unmeaning approbation of the well meant and unobjectionable measure of the Government.

5. The remaining Members Messrs. —, —, —, who are understood to have been added to the number for the purpose of giving an appearance of independence to the Resolutions laudatory of the Government, not being servants of the Company, the Governor refrains from making any remark on their conduct, but leaves it to their own good sense to determine whether there is any credit in gratuitously taking part in these proceedings, for no purpose whatever of benefit of any description to any one.

6. The Governor has endeavoured in vain to discover what public principle, what public or even private interest, what duty, what reason exists, to warrant the uncalled for compliments which have been lavished on him personally on account of the press law.

7. He does not recognize in the gentlemen called the Committee any legal existence as approvers or censurers of the acts of the Government. The originators of the meeting are Members of that body ex-officio in consequence of their having moved and seconded the laudatory Resolutions. The other gentlemen have been added, the Governor knows not how, but apparently without any legal authority.

8. Considering the free and easy manner in which the office of Committee-man has been assumed and subscriptions have been solicited the Governor would consider the laudatory proceedings of the Committee as extremely ludicrous, were he not grieved at the want of judgment they exhibit.

9. But in supposing that a love of Free discussion gave rise to the new Press Law, you have misunderstood the object of Government. The primary intention of the Government was to secure uniformity in the Press Law all over India, and the contingent benefit

which might result from Free discussion was quite a secondary consideration.

10. The unexampled tone of your Resolutions, considering that with a few exceptions, they are addressed by servants of the Company to the Government, precludes the hope of your voluntary retirement from the false position you have thought fit to occupy, and compels the Governor to issue such orders as he believes himself competent to issue in this unexpected and unprecedented state of affairs; and to these orders he requires the obedience of all who are in any degree subject to the authority of the Government.

11. The proposers of the two Resolutions for raising a subscription to defray the cost of a building and of a statue or bust to be placed therein, in honor of the Governor, are directed to co-operate with the Right Reverend the Bishop and the Venerable the Archdeacon in the formation of Infant Schools, the foundation of Tract Societies, and the promotion of other Institutions having for their object the advancement of the tenets of the Episcopal Church, and to obey any orders they may receive from the Bishop.

12. The other gentlemen who have taken part in your proceedings as members of the nominal Committee are relieved entirely from the nominal office which they have assumed, and such of them as are servants of the Company are prohibited from interfering in the affairs of Government by the gratuitous tender of their approbation of measures with which they have nothing to do.

13. With respect to the subscription raised, the Governor has no intention of disturbing any legal rights which may exist, and any gentlemen who are really vested with the trust of such funds individually will continue to act on behalf of those who have empowered them; but the Governor is satisfied that no right of passing laudatory Resolutions and addressing thanks and eulogies to the Government on behalf of the public exists, and that the gentlemen who have taken upon themselves these offices with so much facility and so little authority, may relinquish them with equal ease. He is therefore willing to relieve them from any embarrassments or responsibility on this account, and to arrange on the part of the Government for the annulment of all the proceedings had up to this period, desiring the self-styled Committee and especially those who are servants of the Company to take back the approbation which they have so gratuitously and unbecomingly offered to the Government which they are bound to obey, until an independent expression of opinion shall be authorized by resolutions issued by the Government.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. A. WIGBY, Secy. to the Govt.

Fort William, the 30th September, 1835.—HURK.

ON CAPITAL AND ITS DIFFUSION IN INDIA.

LETTER IX.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

"The greatest misfortune of a country is an indigent tenantry. Whatever be the native advantages of the soil, or even the skill and industry of the occupier, the want of a sufficient capital confines every plan, as well as cripples and weakens every operation of husbandry."—*Hume's Essays*.

Sir,—I have in a letter which nominally forms no part of the series I am now writing, expressed my opinion on the subject of selling the landed property of Government. I have there given my reasons for desiring to see such a sale made, also a plan for making it; and, with the hope that such a sale will be effected, I proceed with my subject. I might as well preach political doctrine to the hereditary slave as plead the elevation of a class in minor matters, to whom that great, and indeed only foundation for prosperity—*independence*—is denied.

I will suppose, therefore, that there is no insuperable objection to the adoption of this measure on the part of the rulers of this country; and I will not hesitate to believe that, as soon as the other advantages which I am endeavouring to procure for the landed proprietor shall be conceded to him, there will be no deficiency of purchasers of this description of property. Land will in fact be as much desired as other commodities, when it is made equally profitable, and equally secure; the only object for which I write, is to obtain for it such profit; and such security, accompanied perhaps with a few other benefits, which may serve to turn the scale at once in its favour.

One of these benefits, and that which shall be the subject of my present communication, is, titular honour.

No man who has seen with what avidity the title of Esquire has lately been sought in Bombay, and with what pride it has been cherished, can, for a moment, suppose that the native is that apathetic personage some would wish to prove him. The fact is, that, if we were to search the world over, we should probably find few so covetous of mere formal distinctions.

The civil advantage of forming one of the commission of the Peace is not, even in England, very important, how little therefore but the name can exist of it in this country, where the exercise of the official power is so trammelled? Were even the fullest jurisdiction enjoyed by the native justices, their ignorance of the laws, and even of the customs which they must preserve obedience to, is so great, that they could not probably make any good use of it. The nominal distinction then, is in reality the only prize sought after, and the only boon conferred. But unfortunately in every case this distinction has been confined to the Presidency. Merchants and capital-

ists, men who have no more interest and no more influence in this country than I have, are the persons who have invariably been chosen as those most especially to be marked by the favour of our Government.

I cannot say that I ever held in much estimation the policy which would transform native merchants into the administrators of English laws; which, in a word, would confer on them the particular title of *Justice of the peace*; because, I think that it would be hard to show, that a most able and important guardian of our constitutional laws and liberties can, in a moment, be made out of a person most absolutely ignorant of both. The power of those who established the anomaly is undoubtedly very great, but no one will come forward and assert that it extends so far as this.

Such being my sentiments, it is not likely that I should wish to see this grade of honour, so respectable in the well-informed English Squire, so ridiculous in the Parsee or Hindoo trader, introduced into the provinces. It will be time enough to make men administrators of laws when they have become able to understand them: until then, it would perhaps be better to confine so extraordinary a class to the Presidency, where, if they do no good, they perhaps do little harm. But, if I would not recommend the conferring this particular honour on the Mofussil landed proprietor, surely, in this age of invention, some other might be discovered, which, while it might give equal distinction to the receiver, would be more suitable to the nature of his position. The grant of any title to the larger landholders would be a boon of the greatest magnitude. It would give to him, which is the thing most wanted, a right to the respect of his neighbours; and it would make him a man of so much importance in his country, that he would be able to secure not only himself, but also his tenantry and friends from any undue influence on the part of the native officers of Government. I might enumerate a thousand good effects which would attend the establishment of such a grade, but they will be obvious to all without my doing so. Indeed that great Indian Politician, Sir John Malcolm, considered the establishment of a somewhat similar class, namely the Sirdar of the Decan, as one of the wisest measures of Indian administration.

If this class be once established, I think that a privilege of the utmost importance may be granted to it. I mean, freedom from arrest

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for all debts which do not exceed the value of their landed property. In these cases, their property should be considered sufficient security for the payment of the sum, if, upon examination, it should be found to be due. The obligation to register the transfer of estates, in the principal cutchery in the district, would preserve the creditor from any loss; and, to this perhaps it would be as well to add, the necessity of registering mortgages to render them valid, a custom, which I am informed, prevails in Scotland.

It is very far from my desire to make this description of honour a means of eventually ennobling a set of penniless idlers, who may please to live upon their father's reputation, instead of upon the fruits of their own labours. Neither is it my wish to see these distinctions, by conferring influence on persons inimical to our government, turned into weapons to wound, instead of shields to defend us. To prevent, therefore, such consequences, I would not have these honours made hereditary, nor would I wish the privilege of freedom from arrest to be continued to a person, after he had disposed of the estate on account of which it was originally conferred.

The title, the establishment of which I propose, should in fact be of this nature.

1. Landed property within our territories, of a certain value, should be a necessary qualification for the receipt of the distinction.

2. Of such as possess this qualification the Governor-General might, at the recommendation of the local Governor, select such, as from their character and attachment to our interests, appeared deserving, and confer on them the title.

3. The title should remain with him who has received it, till death.

4. The successor to the estate, whether son or purchaser, should not necessarily succeed to the title, but only be qualified to procure a re-grant of it.

5. In case any titled landholder should either mortgage or become dispossessed of so

much of his estate, as to render the remaining portion of less value than that required for the qualification, he should lose the privilege of freedom from arrest for debt.

6. No titled person should in any other case be liable to arrest for a debt of less amount than the value of his qualification.

In this I think are contained all the principles requisite for the establishment of such an order. The person must be qualified in the first instance, both in point of real property, and loyalty; which will make him desirous of distinguishing himself by such property and by loyalty. He will be privileged from arrest as long as he keeps his estate, which will prevent his selling it, unless from necessity: should adversity overtake him, he will, though subject as much as others to the laws, still be respected for what he has been. The continuing the honour for life will prevent his being subject to the caprices of those in power. Its cessation upon his death will make him be careful to avoid conduct which may prevent its descent to his children. In fine, what I hold to be the most important consideration of all, a certain qualification of landed property, being required, the value of land will rise; for many a rich man will be anxious to procure ground, from which he may reap such splendid fruits, but without which he can never possibly obtain them.

In order to prevent that languor in ambitious pursuits, which, while they are improperly directed, is one of the greatest banes, several grades of this species of nobility should be established, the qualifications for which should vary in amount. The largest estates would thus be in request: as in other countries, the wealthy merchant might then aspire to become the privileged noble. Money would be turned in some degree from the channels of trade to those of agriculture, certainly even the farmer would be benefitted by the change, as commerce would be more eagerly engaged in, when it became evident that an early life of activity and enterprise was the surest mode of eventually securing an old age of honour.

LETTER X.

I have constantly said, that my wish is to see more capital expended in agricultural pursuits than either is so employed at present, or ever can be so employed, as long as the present system is upheld with all its defects unaltered. We may talk to our subjects, as much as we please, about the most advantageous way of laying out their money; but, unfortunately for rulers, mankind are apt to prefer their own opinions upon these points, and I doubt whether the eloquence of Demosthenes, joined to the power of an Asiatic despot, could procure a liberal subscription for a scheme, which militated against the plain common sense of the majority of the community.

Considerations, therefore, upon the particular advantages of this, or that particular mode of investing cash are not of any use, as far as influencing private individuals is concerned; these are certainly the best judges of their own pecuniary affairs; and interference on the part of the state in such matters would, at once, overthrow public confidence, in whose wake would speedily follow both public and private credit. Legitimate freedom is essential in most things, but especially so in commerce. The golden stream will neither listen to our invitations, nor to our threats, and any attempt to force it would dry up its current for ever.

The true politician therefore will attempt

neither of these methods. He will know that the property of money is to seek those channels where it may find profitable employment, and where the most perfect, the most sacred security is given to it during its ingress, its egress, and its stay. His only efforts, therefore, will be directed to forming such channels, and he will rest assured that, when they are completed, they will not long remain unfilled. Many men who call themselves sagacious statesmen are most deeply imbued with a mania for interfering with mercantile concerns. They take it into their heads, that some pet branch of commerce is undeservedly neglected, and spend their lives in endeavouring to persuade people to engage in a trade which, had it been found a gainful one, would assuredly have needed no man in power to recommend it. The fact is, that men have so peculiar a love for their money, that none can be found patriotic enough to waste it in speculations purely intended for their country's good; and I really cannot see how a nation could be benefited by the folly of such persons, even did they exist.

But, if it be impossible to woo money to our shores, by either threats or entreaties, there are happily other most infallible methods for accomplishing this important end. These methods are in the power of every government which chooses to employ them: they are a most careful and thorough investigation into every branch of neglected commerce, and the introduction of such alterations and improvements, as may make that a profitable investment for capital, which was formerly not so. If the circulating medium be deficient, let it be artificially increased; if any part of trade stagnates from the excess of capital employed in it, make openings for the superfluity to drain off into some other channels; if it suffers from a deficiency, add such advantages as shall draw to it the quantity necessary to sustain its animation.

There are two grand causes which prevent the rise of commerce to perfection. One of these is some natural obstacle, such as a deficiency of roads and navigable streams, the ignorance of the inhabitants, or their inaptitude for the particular species of trade, an adverse climate, the want of harbours, and many others which will occur to every thinking man. (Perhaps, upon second thoughts, ignorance and inaptitude should not be classed among natural obstacles.) These may, by patience and perseverance, be in a great measure remedied, and there are instances on record of countries seemingly debarred by nature from all chances of commercial success, which have nevertheless raised themselves to great eminence in it.

The other of these grand causes of prevention, and which is certainly by far the most general, is some gross error of the Government, under whose protection the trade is carried on, in the measures adopted relating to it. So generally is this the cause of decay in commerce that were any country in the world pointed out, where there was every natural

facility for trade, yet where some gross error reigned, you might at once, without farther inquiry, set down the mischief to the incapacity of the ruler. Perhaps indolence is as much the promoter of the evil as ignorance; but that is quite foreign to the question, if a man is incapable, it matters little from what cause that incapacity has arisen.

It is a most fortunate feature of the constitution of Britain, that monied men of all classes are to be found in Parliament. The landlord, the fundholder, the merchant and the banker, will there find each a representative of his profession; and therefore, in Britain, few branches of trade have suffered from indolence. Did such an assembly exist in this part of our sovereign's dominions, any remarks upon commerce might be superfluous, as every point of the question would then be publicly mooted. But, to raise such an assembly here, would at present be impracticable and absurd; it consequently becomes the duty of those in power to consider of their own accord questions to which there is no constitutional mode of attracting their attention.

I asserted above that no writing of this description would possibly have any effect upon the conduct of private individuals. Each will pursue what he deems his own interest, without caring much what others may say; and in truth he will do well; for, in each man's concerns, he himself, who is the person most interested in them, is the best judge. I hope, therefore, it will be understood, that in recommending a species of investment for capital, I do not wish to advise individuals to embark their properties. If I had any such notion in my head I should indeed be worthy of ridicule. What I wish to do, is, to point out the manner in which capital may be employed most advantageously for the community in general, hoping that, if neglected, government will not hesitate to inquire into the cause of that neglect, and make such alterations, as by adding to its attractions, shall ensure due attention being paid to it in future.

In order to shew what species of investment of capital is most beneficial to the state, I shall consecutively consider the several sorts under their proper heads. These I take to be five. First, burying money or hoarding it; second, purchasing into the public funds; third, embarking it in commerce; fourth, engaging in manufactures; fifth, devoting it to agriculture and the purchase of land. I shall not consider shipping under a separate head, because a shipowner is a kind of commercial man: neither shall I place subscriptions to public companies among the methods of investing money, because all companies must be commercial, manufacturing, or agricultural, and so they will be included in what I shall say of these descriptions of investment.

I think these five heads will include all other kinds; but, at any rate, if there be a few which do not come under them, I believe they

will be discovered to be such, as are, in a general point of view, hardly worth a thought. It has been said, that if we take care of the pence the pounds will take care of themselves. This may be partly true, and it might certainly not inaptly be applied to political considerations in England. There, commerce is so well represented, there rich and influential individuals receive so much attention, that I have little doubt, they are indeed well able to take care of themselves; while the state of the peasantry, and of the lower orders, agricultural and manufacturing distress, occupy a large share of the attention of the minister. But here, we must recollect, the scene is very different; here the upper classes as well as the lower require our fostering assistance. Kings and princes, the most ancient nobles, and the most wealthy merchants, the owners of thousands of acres, the generals of armies, and the proprietors of fleets are alike at our mercy. If their voices be heard, it is a matter of favour, if their petitions be attended to the measure of our benignity is held to be complete. A single stroke of the pen may consign hundreds of unsuspecting natives to ruin; but can a stroke of the pen again raise to affluence the thousands whom we have destroyed?

A mighty revolution has taken place in this country. Such a century of woe and devastation, of the overturning of thrones, and the annihilation of nobility, as the last proved to India, has seldom, perhaps never, been wit-

nessed in the world. I will not deny that the ruin we occasioned was necessary and that it was at least accomplished with as much humanity as could be allowed to commingle in the task; but still the ruin was not the less complete, and how many bewailed the event!

Now, however, peace has long accompanied our way; unawed by fears from without, unoccupied by distraction within, we have the leisure and I trust also the desire to re-construct. Materials are in plenty, ready fashioned to our hand, to us it alone remains to put them together. Society must not ever remain disorganized. We must not always keep our patient hovering between life and death. If our efforts to regenerate India have been violent, let us shew at least that regeneration was our object. Let us shew that, if Englishmen have the power to hurl down an unsightly pile, they have also the talent to build another in its stead, which may remain a monument of their wisdom, justice, and integrity to after ages. Let us shew that, in all our proceedings, we had not our own interest, but that of a suffering people, in view: and let it be said by the posterity of that people, that we found their fathers in chains, and gave them freedom;—that we found them in ignorance, and conferred on them knowledge;—that we found them benighted in paganism, and brought them the light of true religion;—that we found them, in short, depraved, poor, cowardly, and contemptible, and that we made them virtuous, wealthy, brave, and illustrious.

LETTER XI.

I told you in my last, that I should consecutively offer to your consideration the five different methods of employing capital, in order that it may be plainly seen which is most useful to the public. All, with the exception of the first, I know must be profitable to the individuals who embrace them: and, with that exception, all are profitable to the state, some in greater degree, some in a less.

I have elsewhere stated, and indeed it is a truism in politics, that whatever is advantageous to the community in general must be advantageous to the sovereign of that community, because their interests are inseparable; but it must not in consequence be supposed, that whatever is beneficial to a few persons in a state is to be equally beneficial to the monarch. Smuggling and treason sometimes bring immense wealth to individuals, while they are diametrically opposed to the welfare of the nation in general, and of the prince in particular.

Having premised so much, I will proceed to investigate the consequences to a people of the first mode of disposing of capital: I mean burying it in the ground, or elsewhere, and subsisting on the principal.

Of all the ways of ruining a state this would be the most effectual, if it could only be carried into execution on a sufficiently large scale. Many kingdoms, aware of the injury which the abstraction of the circulating medi-

um must inflict, have enacted laws to prevent its exportation. I cannot however think this a wise measure, because, in the first place, it may easily be evaded, and consequently a great expense is incurred to no purpose; and in the second, though it might, if perfectly executed, detain in the country the gold at present there, it would certainly greatly lessen the amount of new importations of the precious metal. There is nothing which will so soon rid a country of gold as any violent effort to enforce its stay. All attempts therefore, which have for their object to restrain the metallic tide from ebbing, must be confined to improvements in the state of commerce; for, if you can only raise a commodity which shall find favour in the eyes of other nations, they will soon send their coin in exchange for it.

Burying gold, or hoarding it, has perhaps more effect on internal than on external commerce. External commerce is generally carried on in a great measure by barter, or the exchange of the produce of different parts of the world; but, in internal commerce, barter has, in all civilized nations, been wisely abandoned. Were any method discovered of supplying a circulating medium, which should be universally current, and which should be sufficient for the purpose, both descriptions of trade might possibly be carried on on the same principles; though, the necessity of obtaining a cargo for the return voyage, if pos-

sible, would even then be a great obstacle to such an arrangement.

The effect however of burying gold even on external commerce is by no means slight; because, by withdrawing so much capital from the market, what remains necessarily becomes scarce and dear. The merchant is, therefore, from the paucity of cash, unable to purchase from the interior any thing like so large a quantity of produce for exportation as he otherwise would have done, and, owing to its dearness, his purchases must, even if other circumstances were favourable, be much more confined. His profits are nearly absorbed by the interest he pays; and his speculation is attended with extraordinary risk, as even a slight fall in the value of his goods may, all things considered, be ruinous.

This reduction in the export trade will diminish the import in a far greater degree; because, when once foreigners have lost, by bringing to our harbours more goods than we are able to buy, they will not probably, the next time, bring even a sufficient quantity to exchange for all we wish to give them. Thus matters will go on from worse to worse; and it will not be easy to stop them in their downward career. Merchants cannot afford to be always speculating in uncertain markets, and if ours once become such, they will look out for some others where sales are more steady.

But the great blow which hoarding capital gives, is to the internal trade of a kingdom, as also to manufactures and to agriculture. There is not one of these ways of securing a livelihood that does not require capital. Internal commerce cannot advance a step without it. A scarcity of money will begin by lessening its gains, and end by destroying it altogether. As with external trade, with this too, abstraction of coin from circulation will make interest excessive; and when interest becomes excessive, capital can no longer be employed; for who will engage in business with borrowed cash, when the price he has to pay for it is greater than the profits it procures? Thus, then, we see that hoarding money will destroy that useful and industrious class, who furnish to the indolent capitalist a fair rent for his pecuniary assistance, at the same time that they earn an honest and respectable income for themselves. Persons who trade with their own purses are comparatively few, but these are the only men who can continue to exist under such a state of things.

Manufactures must likewise fall before this method of disposing of gold. The very soul of manufacturing industry is capital, and this, to be productive in this way, must be obtained on easy terms. The outlay, at first, is in this branch of trade so great, and so long a time must necessarily elapse before the returns can be secured, competition likewise is so busy, that whenever the market rate of interest becomes even moderately high, manufactures receive a blow of the severest nature.

If this be the case in countries where ma-

nufactures have attained to a great degree of perfection, (as it assuredly is), how much more severe must be the struggle, which, in a country like this, they must maintain against a scarcity of cash. Experience has shewn us what must be the issue of this struggle. Of the wars which long desolated India not the least consequence has been the entire destruction of what few manufactures it possessed. The event could not well have been different. Insecurity naturally caused the precious metals to be hidden, and, when they had disappeared, the main-stay of manufactures had disappeared with them.

If we look at agriculture, we shall find the case similar, with this slight variation, that, by agriculture, a bare subsistence, at least, may yearly always be obtained. With regard to the payment of rents, sale of produce, &c., I have in former letters shewn what effect the absence of a sufficient capital must have. The working classes also, of every description, must be ruined by such absence, for who can build houses without money, who can make wells, watercourses, or other improvements without money; who can hire a sufficient number of labourers to work his farm properly, unless he has money to pay them?

And now, having stated what the effects of burying gold must be in every country, let us see whether India forms any exception. Is not external commerce struggling on the brink of ruin? Is internal trade in a better state? Do manufactures continue even to form an item in calculations of the wealth of these kingdoms? Is not agriculture reduced so low, that a bare subsistence is all that can be gained by it? Are not the working classes depressed to the lowest point? Are any buildings of consequence raised by private individuals? Are watercourses made? Are wells dug? Are expensive improvements common? Do hired agricultural labourers exist in numbers sufficient to be worthy of much consideration? Or does not rather each seek a separate maintenance on a separate piece of land? You, Sir, and all India know what answer must be given; and is this the country once proverbial for riches? Is this the country which seems peculiarly blest by the prodigal hand of nature?

If you wish to know the reason of all this wretchedness, it is, because men in this part of the world have begun at the wrong end of things; they have left off where they ought to have commenced; in short, they have made money an end whereas it is only a means. Instead of using coin to purchase landed estates, or manufactories, or commercial establishments, they have laboured in all these vocations to procure coin, which they afterwards hoarded, and so, made their wealth a means of injuring those occupations, for the benefit of which wealth is principally advantageous.

What has been the consequence? Every fortune so disposed of has lessened the resources of the country. Every fortune so disposed of gave a blow, instead of assistance to the state. Instead of rejoicing at success so used, the nation should rather have wept at

Such prosperity was more destructive than the most extreme adversity: the latter's influence might have been withering for the moment, but the former consumed the very vitals of the system. It is needless to mention the millions which have probably never been recovered from their secret positions; it is needless talking of the millions those millions would die; this time have begotten, had they been employed in a proper manner. The state of the deficiency of circulating coin is evident to every one; and even if it were not, the miserable state into which trade and manufactures and agriculture are plunged must soon lead men to discover the cause, and indeed only adequate cause. Nevertheless, almost every disease has its remedy, and I am sure this particular one may, with a little trouble, be dispelled. This, however, is not the place in which to treat of the

method of cure, as it would occupy too much room. I shall find a better opportunity hereafter. I trust, in saying what I do, I am not to be considered presumptuous. No man can be more worthy of pity than he who pretends to infallibility. For myself I claim no such attribute,—I do not profess to be more knowing than the generality of my fellows; but still, I have perhaps weighed this matter more than many, and in consequence, I believe I have observed some things which may have escaped their attention. Entertaining these opinions I commit my remarks to paper; for, if it be a correct one, they may not be wholly useless. This consideration alone is sufficient for me: I may want the power to serve the cause which is dearest to my heart, but at least, I have the proud satisfaction of possessing the will to do so.

LETTER XII.

Having discussed the first head, namely, the nature of the Funds, I will proceed to the second, that of the Public Funds. This is so ample a subject that to treat it fully would require a volume of itself, but I believe I shall be able to say every thing regarding it, that is necessary to be mentioned here, in a very small space.

In order to comprehend the subject clearly, I will rather as pleasantly as possible sketch will admit of elucidating it, ought to be viewed in three distinct parts. In the first, we should examine the nature of the Public Funds in the abstract; in the second we should examine the effects of the burthens which the necessity of paying interest on loans must impose upon the people; in the third, we should see in what manner those loans must be conducted in order to be profitable or prejudicial to the state which contracts them. I shall proceed to speak in as few words as possible my sentiments on all these points.

The first of the nature of the Funds considered in the abstract. As increasing to a great extent the circulating medium, and changing into active employment the gold which might possibly have been hoarded, had not this method of investment offered itself, these Funds are above all praise. Another great advantage of them is, that both the cash which is paid into the Treasury, and the Government, acknowledge for that cash, equally possess the properties of money. Thus, where a loan is opened to the amount of a million, that sum is virtually added to the resources of the really expert financier; and under this matter thoroughly, and perhaps the more fortunate increase and diminution of the currency, as one of the great operations of banking. If the coin which is received by the appointed officer were thrown into cellars as soon as obtained, the currency would still not be diminished; but, in fact, the security, the paper note is as valuable as the gold coin; and, as it is an inex-

pendent nearly as soon as acquired, the token still remains in circulation with the addition of the note.

It is well known that nothing is more common than for agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial men to procure, at pleasure, money in exchange for Government acknowledgments, or as a loan on a deposit of them. Such acknowledgments, are, therefore, in reality equivalent to sums of actual coin, and are generally preferred to a heap of pieces of their nominal amount, because more portable, and less liable to be lost by robbery or fraud. They are the best species of wealth, for, the possession of them does not at all diminish the circulation of the precious metals, and yet, they have themselves all the good qualities of those metals; they are, in short, not gold, but may in a moment be converted into it; they are the best kind of paper credit, and without paper credit of some description, commerce cannot possibly be carried on on a large scale.

The great use of paper credit is to represent property, which the man who issues the bills is known or believed to possess, but which cannot, without great loss or inconvenience, be turned into cash at the particular moment and at the particular place at which cash is wanted. If no such credit existed, the merchant would be obliged to lodge in every town where he has an establishment, large supplies of gold, the abstraction of which from circulation would be a serious injury to the world, and the keeping of which unemployed would occasion great loss to himself. Paper credit does away with such necessity; and national stock Paper being the safest, the most universally current, and the most convertible of all paper into money, besides bringing in a considerable amount of interest to the holder, is of course invaluable to trading kingdoms. One thing, however, must perpetually be borne in mind: the Funds must always be

the handmaid of commerce, not the mistress; if once her charms prove so attractive as to seduce the followers of more productive methods of employing capital, the state will be ruined. To an excessive mania for paper wealth, in preference to the advantages to be gained by honest and honorable industry, may be ascribed the beggary which overtook the French after the bursting of Law's Bubble, and that which pressed upon the English at the time of the South sea scheme in the early part of the last century, and also later in 1825. The evils at those periods were not, that much paper proved to be valueless, but that every branch of productive industry had been either partially or totally deserted to procure this paper. But while the helm is held by wise statesmen, we may confidently hope that the vessel will be steered clear alike of the Scylla which would crush all paper property, and of the Charybdis which would engulf all other possessions in this.

The second point to be examined is the burthen which must be imposed upon the people, in order to pay the interest of loans contracted. There is only one remark to be made upon this part of the subject; whatever else relates to it will be included in what I shall say about the expenditure of the public money. This remark is, that exorbitant interest, or that demanded in consequence of the apparent necessities of the state above the ordinary market rate, must be very injurious. It, however, unfortunately happens that Governments seldom require large loans except in time of war, and then, the obligation to obtain them is so absolute, that they must be had upon any terms. It would be requisite in order to enquire into the possibility of discovering any remedy for this, to enter into the consideration of many more details than I have any intention of speaking of. The most obvious plan is to borrow as early as possible, as that of course will prove a cheaper plan than to wait till the last moment.

The third point, — and indeed that by which the whole fabric must stand or fall, is what has generally been attended to the least; namely, the manner in which the Public Treasury is expended. To raise money seems to have been too often considered the main accomplishment required in him who is placed over the finances of a nation, but to spend it properly is by far the most important art in every way. If money fairly raised be properly used, the resources of the country will be increased instead of diminished, but if it be wantonly squandered, they will most certainly in time be destroyed. The great error of the economists of the present day appears to be this; they object to raising any money at all, and wish to reduce taxation and expenditure to the lowest point; but this is a very mistaken mode of enriching a state. It is not of much consequence how much money is raised, but it is of the utmost consequence how that money is expended. The first question which a financier should ask himself, before he proposes a new loan, is similar to

that which a banker would ask himself before accepting a new deposit; it is this, can the money intended to be so obtained be employed in such a manner, that the advantages derived from the use of it will more than counterbalance the interest to be paid for it; in other words, can it be beneficially employed? If he can lay his hand upon his heart and answer in the affirmative, he needs not be at all afraid to use his utmost exertions in favour of the measure; should he imagine that a negative must be given, he ought at once to drop all thought of proceeding with it.

I shall now state a rule by which it may at any time be easily seen whether the public money be expended in a beneficial or injurious manner. I hold the public estate to resemble very nearly a private one in the matter of loans. Nothing can be of more service to a private estate than borrowing money upon mortgage of a portion of its revenues, if the interest be moderate, and the cash be laid out wisely, and *bonâ fide* upon the state itself, — neither can any thing be more advantageous to the public than acting in the same manner. Let us see what are wise methods of using money, borrowed on the security of private property, and we shall find similar modes to be legitimate with regard to public treasure.

There are five reasons for which money may be prudently raised on mortgage, and I believe only five. First, to make such buildings and improvements as may be so profitable, as to repay within a moderate time the capital laid out on them; improvements hardly ornamental can never justify a man's encumbering his grounds; second, to make such additions to the property by new purchases, as may cause the whole to be more secure and more saleable, at the same time that the additions are such, as will in time redeem the purchase money; third, to prevent the owner's being necessitated to sell land on produce at a loss, when a temporary pecuniary accommodation will enable him to keep it till he shall obtain better terms; fourth, to make such advances to his tenants in times of extreme distress as may support their credit, and enable them to keep the land in a state of cultivation; the fifth and last is, to preserve ones-self from utter ruin, which an uncontested law suit commenced by a vexatious adversary might entail; or indeed, in any other case of great necessity, where, through hesitation to sacrifice a part, a person may risk the loss of the whole. There are many other reasons which appear to some sufficiently valid; but an estate will soon go to the hammer if they be allowed. I speak of mortgage, not sales; a man may have fifty good reasons for selling an estate, and indeed that is the best mode of raising money by it, unless in the five cases above specified. In short, unless absolute necessity, which obviates no law, requires it no money ought to be raised but such as can be profitably expended; and by increased rents will more than be repaid eventually.

The Public Revenue is of a similar nature, and I shall make the application of these rules regarding private estates to the Public Revenue.

LETTER XIII.

The first legitimate reason for raising money on mortgage of private estates is to make such buildings and improvements, as may be so profitable as to repay, within a moderate time, the capital laid out on them; but, the desire of effecting improvement barely ornamental, can never justify a man's encumbering his grounds. Nothing can be more just than the application of this first rule to the public revenues.

I think it may confidently be asserted, that, until within these few years, this method of applying the treasure of the state has been wholly neglected in India; and even now, the roads and bridges which have been made, are mostly in such positions, as to prove that the convenience of Governors has been consulted more than the welfare of the people in their construction. But, if such mode of expenditure has not hitherto been adopted, there is reason to hope that a more enlightened policy will in future be pursued, a policy, which, if it cause a trifling increase in the demands on the state in the first instance, will eventually place ample means at its disposal for the repayment of them.

To any person who reflects upon the subject it must appear most astonishing, that while the rulers of this country have tenaciously clung to their rights as landed proprietors, and have ever held the increase of the land-tax to be of the first importance, and its occasional decrease to be sufficient to call forth their most anxious fears,—who have considered that branch of their Revenue as their most splendid acquisition in times of prosperity, and as their destined anchor whenever adversity shall overtake them,—it is most astonishing I say, that men, who have esteemed this tax to be of so vital importance, should yet have neglected the most ordinary, and most obvious ways, to make it more productive and more secure.

There are three stages to be passed before wealth can be acquired from land. The first is a mere possession of the soil, which will no more bring a man income than will the parchment on which the title-deeds are written; the second is the mere cultivation, which is only good to preserve the actual existence of the persons engaged in it: the third is the sale of the superfluous produce, and this indeed is a mine, which if properly managed, will prove richer than one of the purest gold. It is very evident that whatever money is gained by agriculture can only be gained by the sale of the excess of produce which each man raises over that required for his own consumption. The grand business then of the landed proprietor is to procure a good market for his crop, and also every facility for approaching that market. In these advantages lies the whole difference in the relative value of estates which are equal in point of richness and extent. Thus, if the grounds of A be ten miles nearer the market town than those of B, A's estate will be worth more than

B's; but if there be a rail-road or canal connecting B's with the market town, his will then be the more valuable property, as the facility of communication, and cheapness of carriage will more than compensate for the loss sustained by distance. This, then, is the most important truth to be attended to by proprietors, *take such measures, as shall make the superfluous produce sell for the largest possible sum*; what these measures are I have pointed out. It is all very well for superficial observers to talk of the prosperity of a country, because they see large crops overspreading the fields; but believe me, Sir, the best way to learn the true state of things is to ask what price those crops have obtained: the owner of one quarter of wheat, in a besieged city, will probably be a richer man than the possessor of ten, in the open country.

If we wish to make our dominions valuable, we must certainly expend some capital in improving the means of communication. I do not mean to say that we are to throw away money on roads which are so situated as never to be able to repay us; I do not mean that, for the sake of lessening the time taken by the post in travelling from one end of India to the other, millions are to be squandered. When these kingdoms shall have become so wealthy as to furnish any excess of Revenue, such propositions may be entertained; until then, we may as well remain content to wait for the news a day or two longer than might be desirable. The roads which should be made are principally what in England are termed cross roads, in other words roads from one part of a province to another; these to the agricultural classes are invaluable, whatever may be thought of them by the luxurious inhabitants of cities. Perhaps the most judicious plan for the superintendence of this branch of expenditure, would be to form a committee at the Presidency, to whom reports on the state of the roads, bridges, &c., in each collectorate might be forwarded by the civil officer in charge, assisted if necessary, by an engineer officer from the nearest station.

The general introduction of tolls into India has been much deprecated by some, and no doubt, the measure should be well weighed before it be adopted. But, if the finances will not bear the devotion of sufficiently large sums to the purposes I have mentioned, it must be evident to every one that they should be imposed, rather than that the country should be left altogether without amelioration. The Kandallah Ghaut is an instance, where a toll is not objected to by the public and where the road which occasioned it has proved of the utmost benefit both to the people and to the Government. I am well aware that our native subjects, are ill able to bear additional pecuniary burthens, and therefore, the levying any tax, which has a tendency still more to impoverish them, should be most scrupulously avoided; but, where the payment of a trifling impost would save them in

each journey they performed, fifty times its amount in cart-hire, it must be a very false economy that would forbid its introduction.

But it is not so much of tolls that it is my present province to speak, as of the expenditure of the ordinary public money. If ever we wish to see this country rescued from its present miserable condition, a large portion of such money must be devoted to public improvements. If they be only judicious ones it would be better to borrow money to carry them into execution, than to relinquish all idea of so doing. There cannot possibly be a more legitimate object for which to raise a loan, for the revenues which might be mortgaged for the payment of it would soon be almost doubled.

Roads and bridges also, though the more obvious requisites to produce prosperity, are not the only ones. In a region where so much irrigation is necessary, to extract from the earth all that it is capable of yielding, and where capital laid out in establishing the means of such irrigation, always returns usurious interest, wells and water courses deserve much attention. Neither should inclosures be neglected, but these details belong more to the subject of farming, than to that on which I am at present writing. What the particular improvements may be, on which it would be most advantageous to expend a limited sum, the professed agriculturist must determine; but, that capital to a considerable extent should be appropriated to improvements in general, I have no hesitation in declaring.

Improvements purely ornamental, I believe, can never justify the mortgage of Revenue. The only advantage derived from such expenditure is the assistance it gives to the labouring classes; but this must be counterbalanced by the interest which must be paid, even by those very labourers, for the money borrowed. It is however a matter of notoriety that many public works have been carried on professedly with a view only of assisting these classes.

There are many persons who think that all expenditure of capital ought to be made by individuals; they urge that, if any undertaking appeared of paramount importance to the people, they would themselves voluntarily engage in it. But however plausible this argument may appear, little value ought to be attached to it. Even in England, how necessary are corporations to carry into effect any important scheme? But of what use would be a corporation of paupers, in this country? and where are the men of large landed estates, whose names would furnish security to subscribers of a better class, that their money

would be honestly applied to the purpose proposed?

The fact is, we must not view India and England in the same light, because they are in almost every respect essentially different. In England, the great mass of landed property is in the hands of subjects; they are therefore able to do what they please with the soil which is their own. The whole rents go into their pockets, and therefore, as to them, the profits of all capital expended on their ground must accrue; to their option it is wisely left to lay out capital in that manner or not. But here, whatever may be alleged to the contrary, the Government, if not rightfully the *nominal* owner of the land, certainly possess all the *substantial* advantages of ownership. It is therefore if possible more to its own interest than to that of the tenantry, to devote a portion of its wealth for increasing the rents derived from cultivation. In short, the interests of the Government and of the ryots here are respectively similar to those of the landed proprietor and his tenant in England.

I would, before concluding this letter, beg that this matter may be well considered by those in power. Every description of reason has been assigned as the cause of the impossibility of consulting in this part of the world at once the good of the finances, and the happiness of the cultivator. The names of many who have written on the subject, are names which carry the greatest weight with them, but I humbly trust, for the sake of humanity, that I am correct in supposing them to have been mistaken. Their error seems to have been a desire to grasp all, and to expend nothing; but there never was, there never will be, a spot of earth, from the largest empire to the smallest paddock, which could possibly thrive under such a method of treatment. A diamond mine will yield nothing, unless capital be first employed upon it, and how can land be expected to do otherwise? Even a great part of the revenue at present derived from the soil, is merely the return produced by the capital which has been devoted to it in former days. We reap the fruits of old wells, watercourses, and roads, but we too much neglect to make new ones; unless however some portion of the public cash be applied to these most legitimate purposes we shall learn eventually, to our cost, what I suspect we have begun to discover already, that a country without capital is like land without manure, which, instead of annually becoming more productive, will daily decrease in worth, and must even continue to do so until it shall return to its original condition of a barren waste, too much exhausted to yield to ordinary, and too sterile to repay the cost of expensive cultivation.

LETTER XXV.

The second justifiable ground for mortgaging either private or public revenue is to make such additions to property or territory as may give the whole more security, at the same time, that the additions are so valuable as eventually to redeem the purchase money.

The mode of acquiring private estates is simple enough, but the usual method of obtaining territorial acquisitions is by war: negotiation can scarcely be considered an exception, as all diplomatic proceedings must be based upon the position previously acquired by force

of arms. All military charges ought therefore to be considered as the purchase money of conquests, or as deductions from their profits. The expenditure then of public treasure occasioned by aggressive war is the point to which I shall principally attend in this communication.

But first, it would be perhaps proper to observe that I by no means pretend to advocate the systematic sacrifice of human life, whenever profit may be obtained by it. The justice of so awful an appeal must be judged by moral principles; but, with these, when considering war merely as a financial measure, we can have nothing to do. Our present business is less with consciences than with purses. Narrow, however, as this method of viewing the subject may appear, it is not without its uses. Financial knowledge is not less necessary than ethical. It is perhaps to a statesman, if possible, more advantageous; as a proper attention to increase the wealth of a country is more requisite than are efforts to better its morals. National wealth, in fact, whatever may be said to the contrary, is itself the best evidence of national morality; for, however individuals may profit by vice, general wealth can only be acquired and retained by a general observance of good faith and honesty. Riches are considered by many as the seed of the evil; but that seed could never grow up in rank luxuriance, unless a ground of poverty existed on which to sow it. Those who pander to the vicious appetites of the wealthy are ever to be found among those whom want, rather than their will, induces to degrade themselves to base occupations. How many millions are there in the world whom the loss of a thousand pounds would drive into the paths of crime, how many millions are there whom the gift of that sum would enable once more to tread the ways of virtue!

But both the species of science which I have mentioned are of the utmost consequence; because, the certainty of gain will never justify the breach of morality, neither will the purest moral justification be held a sufficient reason, by a prudent man, for engaging in an undertaking, if the destruction of his property must be the inevitable consequence of his so doing.

Aggressive war is a war considered advisable not absolutely necessary; for such absolute necessity would at once stamp it as defensive, whichever party struck the first blow. It is a war, in fact, solely undertaken for the sake of conquest, though a more plausible reason is seldom wanting, with which to amuse the world. A war of this nature should never be engaged in unless it be pretty certain that it will prove profitable in a pecuniary point of view; and to be so possessions must be conquered more than sufficient themselves to repay the expenses, or so valuable as to form an ample guarantee for their payment by the unsuccessful party. It has been alleged by many eminent men that war can never possibly have so fortunate a termination as this; and certainly, with regard to civilized Europe, the opinion is pretty correct. There, the conqueror will have reason to plume him-

self upon his good fortune if he even secure a bare indemnification; for there, the system universally upheld forbids, in general, any large territorial aggrandizement. In this country, however, the case is different, and there are few instances on record of wars undertaken by the East India Company, in which they did not add considerably more to their pecuniary resources than sufficient to answer all demands occasioned by the cost of conquest. Their conquests then generally have been in accordance with sound financial policy; and I think any one who peruses the history of their proceedings will confess that it is rather to these successive additions to their lands, than to any other measure, that their continued prosperity must be attributed. It now however appears that all ideas of future conquest are to be abandoned. Such self-restraint is doubtless most honourable to the more powerful party; but the effect of it will be, that much greater attention must be paid to internal improvement than has hitherto appeared requisite. The company will learn that the sequestration of the revenues of foreign princes is a shorter, if less noble road to riches, than the improvement of its own resources. I would not be thought to speak slightly of this resolution. Whatever other good cause they might have had for engaging in former wars, pecuniary advantages attended most of them, and if they choose to give up the prospect of similar advantages in future, they have doubtless such reasons for their conduct as far outweigh all paltry considerations of self, and will establish their reputation as the most humane, as they have long enjoyed that of being one of the most able public bodies in the world.

There have been always three drawbacks in the financial benefits to the state of even the most successful aggressive war in India. The first is, that there is rather a scarcity of population: human life must consequently be much more valuable here than where it is more abundant. The second is, that a great part of the money paid on account of each campaign must be sent to Europe, instead of being laid out among our native subjects; a method of disbursement which would give a great temporary activity to trade, and afford them an opportunity of making those large fortunes, which are not often acquired except in war time. Stores of nearly every description, clothing, and even a portion of the food for the European Regiments, were brought from Europe. The outlay on these accounts must have been immense, and England, not India, profited by it. Whenever the remittances were made in native produce, the loss was perhaps not great, but whenever bullion or specie were shipped, the public here must have suffered severely. This is a matter which requires the deepest attention; but it is most difficult to reconcile the present interests of the two countries on this point: then eventual interests are indeed identical, as any increase of wealth in India must bring a proportionate increase of its demands for British manufactures. But nations will seldom forego small present advantages

secure even the most ample future ones. To do so is like planting an oak, by which our successors only are likely to be enriched; but unless we sacrifice some little for the sake of posterity, our own children as well as those of other men will suffer. We ought to moderate our desires, and, content with what we possess, encourage as much as possible the Indian manufacture of every thing connected with our army. The natives pay its expenses, and it is but fair that their contributions should return into their own pockets. If we really were in earnest in our endeavours to effect this, I cannot believe that we should find the obstacles insuperable. A slight inferiority in the articles at first would be fully compensated for by the good which the sale of them would produce, even a little additional cost ought not to deter us from so benevolent a course. The efflux of the precious metals is daily lamented, but the adoption of such measures as this would greatly check it.

The third drawback is the enormous evil, which must be occasioned by the taking away from more productive occupations, so large a number of men, carts, and cattle as usually follow in the train of an Asiatic army. Even the consumption of produce at an exorbitant price, benefits but slightly the landed interest as the crops have probably been disposed of long previously to the bunya, who is the only gainer. The followers are often well paid, certainly, but as many of them have with their cattle neglected their accustomed

cultivation, none of the money they receive will go into the treasury of the state.

Where the land is not, as it is in India, the principal source of existence to the people, and of revenue to the sovereign, the temporary withdrawal from the occupation of it, by a considerable portion of the peasantry, will not be of much permanent consequence, but where the system is such as prevails here, it will be a serious injury to the community, and one that will be long felt. The demoralization also, and licentious habits engendered by war, can be considered as no trifling impediments to the future realization of the taxes.

In fine, though there will generally be a preponderance of good reasons against war, yet, should they even be ever so much in favour of it, in any particular instance, one state should never voluntarily attack another, if it be evident that it will suffer a pecuniary loss by so doing; and it would be much better that there were no public funds at all, than that they should be wasted in such imprudent aggression. Such ill-advised expenditure, instead of enriching a country, will impoverish it, and when the time for repayment arrives, it will find itself more unable to liquidate the loan than it was even at the time when it contracted it. This is almost difficult to foresee, that end can only be national bankruptcy, and private ruin.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

FOUNDLING.

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLVII.

PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF OUDE.

The state of this kingdom has during the last two years excited considerable interest, and produced no small portion of discussion in the public prints. Like most others, it has had its day, and given way to succeeding topics of temporary interest, and possibly might have been altogether forgotten for the time being, had not the attention of the public been again drawn to the subject by the recent instructions of the Court of Directors, empowering the local government boldly to throw off the mask, dethrone the King of Oude, and annex his dominions to those of the East India Company. The motives of the Court in issuing such orders are obvious enough—again, situated as Oude is, locally, the taking possession of it would not require us to augment our military force, whereas it is anticipated, that after defraying the expenses of its civil administration, a considerable surplus would remain for the benefit of the Company; besides which, its acquisition would render our territories more compact. Sometime ago an exchange was effected between the Saugor territories and Schindia of several small tracts of land to the great

benefit of both parties, and the names of which I have forgotten.

benefit; considering the locality of both government and the people. The Court of Directors strongly disapproved of this; yet they sanction the seizure of Oude in the face of existing treaties—why? They gained nothing by the former—they hope to gain considerably by the latter.

The above instructions were received in India just before Lord Bentinck resigned the reins of government. Instead, however, of carrying them into effect, his Lordship sent home a remonstrance. It is not so easy to divine, precisely Lord William's motives, for so doing; in all probability, however, they were of a mixed nature. In the first place he had sufficient experience and discernment to perceive, that the misgovernment so generally attributed to the native states had been considerably exaggerated, while, on the other hand, that the advantages derived by the people under the dominion of the British government were not quite so great as national vanity and prejudice had led us to imagine; his frequent travels into the interior of the country had, probably, led him to this conclusion, and prevented him from being seduced by the popular clamour. Among the defects of Lord William's administration, his want of information or intelligence are not to be included.

ed; all that is to be lamented is, that with natural abilities for acquiring information and such ample opportunities for receiving it, so little benefit has resulted either to the country or the people. For any improvement in the state of either which has hitherto appeared, Lord William might just as well have remained in Calcutta for his only really beneficial measure, that of facilitating the administration of justice, and throwing open situations of honour and trust to the natives and East Indians, was resolved upon very shortly after he assumed the government. Indeed, the measure had so long been recommended, and advocated by so many well-informed and influential men, that it would probably have been adopted when it was, whoever might have been the existing Governor: at any rate it could not have been long delayed. A second reason probably may have been, that Lord William's immediate departure was at hand, and that another would have had the glory of displaying the balance sheet, showing the increase of revenue, which the seizure of Oude is expected to produce. Had the order been received a few years before, it is probable the result would have been very different.

Whatever may have been the motives which prompted the above line of conduct, the appropriation of the territories of Oude have been postponed for at least a year; and I propose in the mean time to take a view of the state of that kingdom. We have heard so much of the anarchy and misrule prevalent in Oude, that it appears a sort of heresy to hint the contrary. We are something like the Turk who had all his life so firmly believed that the sun moved round the earth, that to adopt a different idea was like the attempt to acquire a new sense which his mind had not room to entertain. Nevertheless I do not fear contradiction to the statement I am about to make from any unprejudiced and impartial observer who will visit the country and take the trouble to see and judge for himself.

First. The uncultivated state of the country is one of the common assertions. Now in the first place, the rent demanded from the peasants much less than in our own provinces: they are consequently not only much better off in the number of their flocks and herds, quality of their food, clothes, and other necessities of life, but are not, as is the case in our provinces, compelled to cultivate every spot of ground which can possibly be made to yield a return, where, while the people are obliged to work much harder than the Oude peasants, they must be content with a bare subsistence. It may here be remarked that the mere extent of cultivation in a country, unconnected with other circumstances, is by no means a criterion of the prosperity of the agricultural class: it was not infrequent in the West Indies, that those estates, where the best cultivated and yielded the greatest return whose slaves were in the most miserable state. The simple fact is, that in Oude, the peasants retain so large a share of the profits of their labour, that they are not necessitated to cultivate other than

the good soils; while the waste yields them brushwood for fuel and grazing for their cattle. With regard to the following parts of the country, I can speak positively, for I am myself acquainted with some and within the last few months friends upon whose testimony I can rely, have visited them. From Lucknow to Seetapoor is well cultivated; from Lucknow via Sandee, and from thence branching off either to Shahjehanpoor or Furruckabad, was a perfect sheet of wheat and barley the whole way, while groves or rather forests of mangoes and other fruit trees are so numerous that in many parts of the road they actually bound the horizon in every direction. The same observation will apply to the roads between Lucknow and Futtehpore; and Lucknow and Benares. Between Lucknow and Cawnpoor there are large parts of waste land, and certainly to the eye of an unobservant traveller there is little but a barren waste: the truth is the land is not worth cultivating; yet even here industry is busy: wherever a return may be expected. In the march from Onnao to Rehmutgunj, on the north of the road, and at no great distance from it, are a number of large shallow tanks of which advantage is taken for irrigation; as far as the water will flow, as the traveller finds to his annoyance, from the great number of large artificial water-courses (upwards of twenty in one stage) which cross the road. Numerous groves of mangoes also were observed: in a distance of about a hundred and thirty miles, not less than sixteen of considerable extent were counted close to the road, which had been planted either this year or the last; besides others from three years growth upwards: most of them were surrounded by a bank or ditch; and one or two had wells lined with masonry. This does not look like insecurity of property or poverty; for the mangoes in that part of the country does not yield any tolerable return until fifteen years. Plantations of betel vine are also to be seen; and one was just completed near Sooltangunj on an artificial mound of earth the raising of which must have cost two or three hundred rupees.

The Police is at least as efficient as our own, and it receives considerable assistance from the landholders. Crimes such as gang robbery and affrays are certainly not more numerous than in our own territories. Burglaries and small thefts are less so. The tranquillity of Lucknow itself is remarkable; few people carry arms; and affrays, thefts, and quarrels are far less frequent in proportion to its size than in the average of large towns in the British provinces. In the interior, at least along the high roads, there are Police stations and guard houses at a distance of a few miles from each other who keep up a good patrol. The Police in Oude are allowed to interfere in many petty matters to the great benefit of those concerned. If a traveller refuse to pay a shopkeeper a few pence for the food for his horse; if a cow strays into a field and eats a few penny worth of corn, the sufferers are not denied all redress unless they submit to the loss and inconvenience of

travelling perhaps from ten to a hundred miles, and wasting three or four weeks in attendance on a Court of Justice, to say nothing of legal expenses and exactions. In Oude, these and other trifling matters are settled at once by the local authority; whereas under our system, the Police are prevented from interfering; so that in practice, all these minor abuses are virtually sanctioned or at least tolerated; and as a natural consequence, they are far more numerous in the British provinces than in Oude. Indeed if the fashion which has lately obtained among our Magistrates of taking it for granted that the Police always abuse their authority, and if the restrictions which are now imposed upon them be much further extended, it would be much better to abolish the Police altogether, and leave the people to make their own arrangements, and enact their own rules on this head.

Civil justice is intrusted to the Chuklidars or Aumils (Governors of Provinces) who also are vested with the criminal jurisdiction; and the assessment and collection of Revenue; as in our non-regulation provinces, the same individual is Judge, Magistrate, and Collector. Doubtless instances of partiality in favor of individuals is sometimes shewn, but it is very doubtful whether this is more frequently the case than in the British provinces. The difference is that, there the Aumil, being a native of the country, has greater temptations to oblige his relatives and friends than the English functionary, who is a foreigner: individually, the amount of partiality practised by the latter is infinitely less than by the Oude Aumil; but when we consider the roguery, chicanery, and intrigue which is carried on by the native officers of our offices, it being a part of our system to give such inadequate salaries to the majority of the situations that no honest man would accept them, the difficulty the foreign Judge labours under in acquiring sufficient knowledge to enable him to counteract this, and the pressure of business which devolved on him, I have no hesitation in saying that previous to the reformation of the civil administration corrupt influence had greater effect in our Courts than in those of Oude; that this observation will still hold good regarding many of our Civil Courts; and that if the present system of making Judges of all the inefficient Revenue officers, be carried much further, the state of things will be as bad as ever.

In Lucknow, and some others of the large towns, regular civil judges are appointed on respectable salaries. In some cases as much as a thousand rupees a month: of which one fourth is the perquisite of the prime minister, and the remainder *bonâ fide* paid to the individual. With respect to corrupt influence and partiality, the foregoing remarks are pretty applicable here. Probably these evil principles have greater effect in the city of Lucknow itself, as being the residence of a host of profligate courtiers, than in the interior. Delay in the decision of suits, either by the Aumils or the Judges; is less than in our own

Courts (taking the average of able and inefficient Judges) even on the improved system.

But in Oude, the people have one great resource of which they have been deprived in a great degree in our territories. Not having been cursed with "first-rate collectors," who would ruin a district to procure a good name and promotion for themselves; or with ryot-war systems by which almost all the middle and upper ranks of society have been reduced to poverty to encrease the Government rent roll, there is still in Oude a pretty numerous middle class of landholders, to whom the people look up with hereditary respect, and who are of the greatest use in settling claims and disputes: so that but a small portion are ever referred to the Aumils. In the towns also, the merchants are very much in the habit of resorting to arbitration.

The observations on the subject of corrupt influence and partiality are equally applicable to the administration of criminal justice. In theory, the British Government and English Magistrates do not tolerate any thing of the kind; but owing to our system in the appointment of the subordinate native officials, who too often enjoy all the subordinate authority, while the Magistrate is a mere cypher, the evil exists fully as much in our provinces as in Oude.

Still, it will be urged that the constant insurrections proclaim an oppressed people; and that the Government officers in Oude cannot collect the revenue without an armed force. They certainly have occasionally a rough mode of managing matters in Oude, nor do they carry on their business in the systematic manner in which ours is conducted. Moreover, every thing there is magnified and commented on as if nothing of the sort ever occurred in the British dominions. It may, however, well be doubted whether disturbances which merit the name of positive insurrections are much more frequent in the king of Oude's dominions than in our own; the difference chiefly lies in the different terms we employ to designate them—what we call "insurrections" there, would on our own side the river be denominated "petty disturbances." Within the last ten years we have seen a very serious insurrection in the Saharunpoor district; more than one of some consequence in the Dehli division; a minor one respectively in Meerut and Moradabad, another of greater importance within twenty miles of Calcutta, all of which were only prevented from becoming very serious by strong bodies of well disciplined troops being close at hand; to say nothing of that of the Coles on the south western frontier, which owing to the scarcity of troops in that direction, raged for more than two years, and which was not suppressed until about five thousand square miles of territory were laid waste. With the exception of one that near Calcutta, the whole of these were the result of misgovernment, and the subsequent tyranny and extortion on the part of the officers of the Courts and the Police. Can such a list be compiled from the history

of Oude during the same period? It is amusing to see the different causes which we assign for an insurrection in Oude, and in the British provinces. The former is, as a matter of course, attributed to oppression and misgovernment; the papers teem with philippics, and loud calls are made on our Government to bestow the blessings of their rule on the poor suffering people of Oude. In the latter—villany of some class of natives; instigations of the evil-disposed, and others of a similar nature are given in explanation.

With regard to the necessity of an armed force to collect the revenue; if men were not blinded by vanity and prejudice, they would perceive that this does not prove that people are taxed to the utmost; but that in reality they are much more lightly taxed than our own subjects: for the simple reason that the Oude Government has not at its command the overwhelming military force to support extortion which we possess. The people find their account in resistance, as it enables them to pay less and keep more for themselves. When we first acquired possession of the western provinces, resistance to the payment of the revenue was frequently offered. The people, however, found by experience that a military force was always at hand which it was impossible to resist; that it was immediately called into action, and the severe punishment of forfeiture of the estate of the insubordinate was almost immediately enforced. In Oude, the very reverse is the fact. The very weakness of the King's Government, as regards military force, is one reason why exaction cannot be pushed to the same extent that it is in our own provinces. Besides the real truth is, that in many cases, the resistance is merely nominal "for the honor of the thing" as described in No. 16. of these papers: while so much more lenient is the Lucknow administration than our own, that the punishment inflicted rarely exceeds a moderate fine. Those too, who have heard so much of the story hordes of rebellious zemindars (landholders) will be surprised to hear how few forts really exist in Oude. In Kyrabad, and some of the wild jungly districts, they may perhaps be pretty numerous, but in other parts of the country it is quite the reverse. On the whole length of the fine roads above mentioned, which traverse well peopled districts, there are not ten forts visible to a traveller from the roads. In one line of more than a hundred and thirty miles, only one is to be seen.

Another proof constantly adduced of the misgovernment of Oude is that men of low birth are raised to offices of rank and importance. That such an objection should proceed from Englishmen is extraordinary, when we consider that in our own country this very circumstance is one in which we pride ourselves. It is quite the boast of an Englishman that he is free from that prejudice which imposes such severe trammels on other nations; that real talent, however lowly its origin, is sure to make its way to eminence; and that a butcher's son may be Lord Chancellor. The objection, too, comes with a peculiarly bad grace

from the English who are employed in India, nor would it gain much, were it to be placed on the higher grounds that men without talent or qualifications were raised to high situations.

For a considerable time after India came into the possession of the East India Company, the members of its service were composed of men of low birth and little education, to say nothing of broken down gentlemen and men who from some misconduct or other had found it convenient to absent themselves from England. Not many years since, any one could command a writership by paying a certain sum of money, while many a tradesman's bill has been paid by the appointment of his son or nephew to a cadetship. In the present days undoubtedly the service is, generally speaking, composed of men who are by birth and education in the rank of gentlemen; but has merit or talent any thing to do with the selection of those who are annually sent to be "provided for" in India, either by the cholera or good appointments? And even after their arrival here the nature of an exclusive and routine service has, together with interest, so much sway, that merit has with few exceptions nothing to do with their subsequent and progressive promotion. I could mention a quondam member of Council whose talents and qualifications were about on a par with those of an inferior Clerk in a merchants counting house; notwithstanding Lord William's merit-fostering scheme and all his espionage to boot, there are several men now holding the situations of Commissioner, Judge and Collector, whose places would, as far as the administration of the affairs of the country and the interests of the people are concerned, be far better supplied by the respective Surish-tedars, (head Native Officer—a sort of Clerk of the Court.)

"But," I shall be answered, "if the English are blockheads, they are at least honest, which the native officers are not." Softly.—The English functionaries in responsible situations, not counting the highest—the members of council receive each from £2,500 to £4,000 and even £6,000 sterling a year. The pay of the native officers is from £100 to £150. Try the same experiment with the natives that has been tried with ourselves—(for as I have already observed, it is notorious that until they were well paid English honesty would not stand scrutiny), and then, and not till then, may we pronounce a judgment as to the difference that exists between us. With respect to Oude, there are unfortunately many profligate and low people about the Court; but it is a calumny that all the Governors of districts are men of that stamp; or that the districts are universally farmed out to the highest bidders. The Court of Lucknow are well aware, that the landholders and peasantry are, in the absence of a superior military force, far too high spirited to be ruled by men of the above description. A great many, perhaps the majority of the Oude Aumils, are not only men of family and respectability, but generally possess considerable hereditary

landed property. It is in our own provinces that we must look for the degradation of the old native gentry, and the elevation of upstarts of neither birth nor education: there it is we may behold men who were formerly menial servants in the employ of Englishmen and who have neither the talents or acquirements to entitle them to hold a higher situation, lording it over native Princes and landholders who are possessed of considerable wealth, power and influence.

Still it will be observed, how could the idea of the misgovernment of Oude become so general. Because opinions which flatter our vanity are usually received with eagerness and because ignorance and indolence are glad to acquiesce in them instead of taking the trouble to make enquiries for themselves. A summary of the principal causes, however, which have concurred to establish the above opinions, may not be amiss in this place.

First and foremost stands the fixed creed of the English, that every thing of English origin, or appertaining to ourselves, must be superior to every thing connected with the Natives. Oude is a Native Government—*ergo* it is very inferior to the British rule. This logical deduction is quite sufficient with a great many; they never advance a step beyond it; and with the greater number, it more or less prepares the mind to receive favorably all accounts to the disparagement of any Native Government. It also forms the foundation, often indeed the whole superstructure of the lucubrations of Calcutta Cockneys whose qualifications for forming an opinion of any thing connected with India, beyond the precincts of Bow Bazaar, and the characters of a few of their own servants, are precisely on a par with those possessed by General Pillet* to describe the manners and customs of England.

Those who travel in Upper India particularly if they visit Oude, must be able to form some opinion. Granted; and it is to the unprejudiced and observing of these that I would appeal; but not to the mass, who are as ignorant as the Calcutta Cockneys. Of the civilians, few ever visit Oude: those employed in the border districts have been too glad to look upon that country as the scapegoat to bear the blame of the inefficiency either of themselves or their Police—"the banditti and the thieves come from Oude" is the burden of their song, and this has by some been so often repeated that at length they believe it; while others from the first knew no better, and were misled by their Police to adopt the notion. I do not know what the Magistrates on its borders would do for an excuse if we take possession of Oude. The poor King and his Go-

vernors are obliged to bear the imputation in silence, but were the country under British functionaries, these would contradict the assertion, and retort it on the accusers.

As to the military, the grounds on which the majority form their opinion are as follows:—A great many have seen no more of Oude than the road between Khanpoor and Lucknow, along which are considerable tracts of unculturable and consequently waste land. They seldom or never look around them or ask a question, but as a matter of course, attribute the waste land to the oppression exercised upon the inhabitants. The servants of others are sometimes beaten for attempting to enforce the purveyance and forced labour system which they are accustomed to do with impunity in our own provinces, and when the masters abuse the people they sometimes meet with the retort courteous—because the peasantry there, not having had, like our subjects, their spirits completely broken by a grinding system of extortions, are more independent, and less inclined to submit to these exactions and abuse. This of course produces furious complaints of the misgovernment of the country and the insolence of the people.

A third and very numerous class have never been in Oude; but form their ideas from the flattery of some of their sipahees, whose object is to make the officers, and through them the Resident, tools to enable them to obtain possession of land to which they have not the slightest claim, or to perpetrate some other piece of injustice. I allude generally to this in No. 162 I will here describe the transaction in detail. A sipahce who wishes to advance some unjust claim, procures a letter from his commanding officer to the resident at Lucknow, painting a miserable picture of the injury the poor man has received from some tyrannical Aumil. The Resident hands the case to the Ministers, requesting it may be inquired into; and orders to this effect are dispatched by the Minister to the local governor (Aumil). With the order to support him, away goes the sipahce to the Aumil, and treats him in the most insolent manner in open court. The Aumil having investigated the claim, and finding it without the least foundation, (for full nineteen cases out of twenty are such that, were they preferred in our Courts the complainants would not be let off with a simple dismissal, but would be fined,) dismissed it. The insolence with which he has been treated, he is obliged to digest as he can. Away goes the sipahce again to the Resident with a tremendous complaint of injustice, oppression, &c., &c. The Resident again writes to the minister, expressing his "astonishment that although your Highness sent express orders to the Aumil, the poor sipahce has not yet been able to obtain justice," or, something to this effect. Another order is not unfrequently issued, and the sipahce again presents himself to the Aumil, behaving with increased insolence of tone and manner, and there have occurred instances in which by such means as these, a sipahce has obtained possession of

* Many of my readers may not recollect to what this alludes. A few months before the peace of 1814, a French General Pillet was taken prisoner, and confined on board the hulks at Chatham. At the peace he was released and immediately returned to France, where he wrote a book describing England and English manners. Among other things, it was stated, that the English ladies daily got drunk upon French brandy: the rest of it was much in the same style, and was so extremely absurd, as to be quite amusing, however, about as correct, as the notions entertained by the majority of those who have never left Calcutta, relative to the interior of India.

a piece of land, to which he had no more right than the author of this paper had to appropriate the Government House at Calcutta. Is this sort of proceeding likely to raise a native chief, his ministers or local authorities in the eyes of the people? I am aware that much of these proceedings are contrary to the orders of Government, I only describe what occurs in practice. In the paper alluded to, I also mentioned, that the most unfounded suits were often preferred even in our own Courts by sipahs, under shadow of a letter from their commanding officers. A number of specimens were lately forwarded by one of our Judges to the Sudder Dewanee, which, if I can procure a copy, will amply bear out the truth of this statement.

The summary of the whole is, that the people of Oude are not worse governed than our own subjects. It is true that things are not yet carried on with the regularity which is practised in the British provinces: a rougher and more precipitous mode of proceeding is occasionally adopted, with the loss sometimes of a few lives in consequence; and the revenue officer, if he find an estate very productive, will sometimes demand a higher rent than was originally agreed to. Such are, I believe, all the real grievances they have to complain of, and an individual hardship is thereby now and then caused. But the mass of the people—I speak not of those in power, but of the land holders and peasantry—are far more lightly taxed than those of the British dominions. The civil and criminal administration is certainly not worse than ours; i. e., judging by the only true criterion, the difficulty or facility of enforcing a claim; the people are governed by their hereditary rulers, and benefit by the expenditure in the country of the revenue that is raised, instead of being subject to a few foreigners, by whom as much wealth as possible is carried out of the country. In every part are to be found respectable land-holders and heads of villages of various degrees of rank and wealth, forming the chain between the higher and lower classes, instead of as in provinces, the whole being reduced to the equality of a nation of paupers. They are not cursed with confiscation laws, or special commissions; nor with salt, opium, or other monopolies; they have not one system for realizing the demands of Government and another for individuals; nor is the punishment of revenue defaulters to be compared in severity to that of our proceedings: the people are not excluded from every office which a man of integrity could accept and men who in our provinces are slaving on a bare subsistence which they have little prospect of increasing, cast a wistful eye towards Oude where they see that the door even of the highest offices is not closed against them, merely because they are dark coloured natives instead of white Christians; and without exception there is not a single class which does not possess more wealth and prosperity than the corresponding class in our own provinces. Such, and I fear not any enquiry properly conducted, is a true picture of the state of

Oude at this moment; and yet we are told that the people are sighing for the blessings of the British Indian rule! When the voice of the people shall be really heard—not that of courtiers and men in power, but of the land-holders and peasantry—they will be found to unite in one cry of, “of all miseries keep us from that.” So far from their entertaining any such feeling I can inform my readers, that in one part of the Doab, not many months ago, the people, farmers and peasantry, held quite a rejoicing on hearing a report that that part of the country was to be transferred to the King of Lucknow: there are English merchants residing on the spot who can corroborate the truth of this statement. My readers will here be inclined to start at the mention of the wealth of the people of Oude, in proof of which I beg to make the following observations. In the first instance, look at the bazaars, not only in Lucknow but in any town in the country. They are filled with far more numerous and expensive articles than those of corresponding size in our own territories. This is an excellent criterion, because no merchants or tradesmen will keep a stock of commodities unless sure of a sale; and men cannot buy expensive articles who have not tolerable incomes. Secondly, the large sums which are invested by the merchants of Oude in the Government securities; and thirdly, on the receipt of the orders of the Court of Directors, the members of our Government talked openly with great satisfaction of the Judge which was about to fall to them, stating their conviction, that whereas the gross revenue of Oude is not now above sixty or seventy lacks (six or seven millions of rupees) the country might easily, under our revenue-screw, be made to yield a net revenue of one crore (ten millions) while the crack Collectors, both in *esse* and *posse*, were all on the *qui vive* in the hopes of being able to raise their fame by employment in Oude. It is to be supposed that both Government and the first rate Collectors, who like vultures snuffed their prey from afar, must have laid some grounds for their anticipations; and in this point of view, it must be obvious that a country which can be made to yield about double its present amount of taxes can neither be very poor nor very much misgoverned.

But so prone are we to minister to our own vanity, that continual assertions are made that the natives of Oude place their money in British securities to prevent its being arbitrarily seized by their own King. There is not a shadow of ground for the statement. The reason is simply this. First, the whole revenue of Oude is spent within itself. Secondly, immense sums of hoarded treasure, amounting to many millions of rupees, have within the last few years been spent by the King in excess of the regular revenue. From these two causes, there is much specie in Oude which the merchants do not know how to employ; for the internal trade of the country is very small, most parts of it producing the same commodities; and the ruinous system of transit duties enforced in our territories which

bound those of Oude on three sides, the fourth abutting on the Himalyah, over which little trade can be carried, prevent the extension of their foreign commerce. There is no channel for the employment of so much capital within the country, and sooner than allow it to lie altogether unproductive, they are content to vest it in Government Securities. Strange as it may appear to my readers, I am strongly inclined to think that our commerce-whithering transit duties are one great cause of the high premium of the Government securities; and that one of the first effects of altering this system, which is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, will be that the funds will fall, from the large sums which will be sold out to be employed in trade. The twenty year settlement now forming will probably have some effect of the same nature.

But notwithstanding this favorable picture of the present state of Oude, there is, I apprehend, little doubt, that the downfall of its independence is at hand, and that it will, ere long, be merged into the British dominions. The King himself is a profligate and a sot, devoid of sense, who thinks of nothing but his own licentious pleasures, and of the indulgence of every whim. When any thing annoys or vexes him, he has recourse to liquor to drown thought: he squanders his money like a child spending thousands in building a Palace one year and pulling it down the next. He is surrounded by a host of sycophants of all shades, English, Native, East Indians, who prompt him to every species of extravagance, which they may hope to gain any thing for themselves. The minister Roshunool Dowlah, is said to be a well disposed man who is fully aware of the dangers of the path now followed and who would gladly change its course, and introduce a reform; but he wants nerve to face the storm which would be raised by those who profit by the present extravagance, so he is content to let things go on in their present train. It is lamentable to see money so wasted which might do so much good. Steam boats, windmills, and other works are begun and partly completed, and then the lancy dies away. The canal of which we have heard so much and which has cost so many lacks of rupees, is left completely at a stand: and the Engineer Officer who was lately transferred to the service of the King for the express purpose of finishing the canal, is losing his time because the King will neither give directions nor supply funds. It is a great pity that the canal was ever begun: it will be of little use, since a very small proportion of bulky trade comes in that direction. Had the money it has cost been spent in making roads, infinitely greater benefit would have accrued; and it is probable that even now, the advantages would be greater if the canal were left as it is, and the money necessary to complete it, expended in roads. The King spends nearly double his annual income which amounts to about sixty or seventy lacks (60 or 7 millions of rupees) but, hitherto, this has caused rather good than evil. He is not obliged to borrow money or to increase

his demands on the people, having still some of Sadut Ali's treasure remaining; supposed to be about 3 crores of rupees (thirty millions.)

The English Government are mainly to blame for this state of things. How is it possible that native Princes who are kept in a state of pupillage, and almost treated like school-boys, should have any self respect or proper independence of feeling! This has been the case with Oude for the last forty years. Had (as I once before observed) the British Government turned their supremacy to good account, by insisting on the education of the native Chiefs, so as to qualify them for the art of Government, this would have been a measure entitled to the highest praise; but so far from it, the interference of the Residents has been almost always exerted for evil, indeed so extremely difficult is it to discover the slightest benefit arising to any class of people from the establishment of Residents at the native Courts, that there is strong ground for the supposition that the measure has been adopted and maintained for the express purpose of promoting misgovernment and confusion in the different principalities, so as to afford plausible excuses and opportunity for our taking possession of them. A species of interference, such as that suggested in No. 39, would be a real benefit. Lucknow has not, at most, above three or four years longer to remain as an independent kingdom. By that time, the King, if he live so long, will have spent the remainder of his treasure; and as he will not have the sense to reform his conduct, borrowing and exactions will become the order of the day; disturbances will ensue: and the British will settle the matter by taking possession of the country.

Had Mehendee Ali Khan (commonly called the Hakeem Mehendi) remained at the head of affairs, matters would in all probability have taken a very different turn. He really set about reform, not only in good earnest, but with good sense. He reduced the expenses, especially the salaries and pensions of favorites who had done nothing to deserve them;—he was gradually introducing all over the country, the best parts of our system; (i. e.) written agreements regarding the revenue to be paid; regular Courts for Civil Justice; and an established Police. His shrewdness of observation on the native vanity of the English also is worthy of note, and the mode in which he, like Rammohun Roy, and some others, deceived them by practising on their credulity is amusing. He used to drop hints that he wished to see Oude in the possession of the English. Why the man's whole energies were at work to prevent such a summation, for which end he pursued the best plan he could have devised, by endeavouring to place the administration of affairs there on such a footing as would give us no reason to interfere; and there can be no doubt that had he remained he would have introduced much better Government there than ever existed in our own territories.

Blinded, however, by prosperity, and imagining himself to be much more firmly seated on the pinnacle of greatness to which his talents had raised him than was really the case, his pride and arrogance rose accordingly. Adopting some of the worst features of the English conduct, he affected a haughty reserve, and disdain towards his countrymen; he disdained to return almost any man's salute, or to treat those with whom he had to transact business with the courtesy and civility which was their due; and when remonstrated with on the extent of his retrenchments, he would make a harsh, unfeeling retort in imitation of a certain Governor-General. This was the real cause of his downfall. But for this, he might have been in office at this very day; and it is a fact worth noting in support of assertions I have so frequently made, of the effects of similar conduct among ourselves in disgusting and alienating the people.

As to his wishing to see the country absorbed into the British dominions; what could he expect to gain by it? at the most some insignificant pension—what would he have lost thereby? The Minister's salary is three lakhs, and he is allowed a perquisite of a deduction of one fourth from all regular salaries and payments. It is supposed, that his income amounts to about twenty-two lacks (more than two million pounds sterling) of rupees per annum: he enjoys power, authority and patronage to a great extent: all this, it is to be supposed, he would willingly sacrifice, and retire an obscure individual upon a small pension for the disinterested pleasure of seeing his country under the enlightened rule of the English!! It is impossible that any one acquainted with the real state of things, could have given credit for a moment to such professions; but the general ignorance which prevails on the subject, aided by the gratifications which our vanity received induced them to be very generally believed.

Mehendee Ali Khan however, has not, I believe, the slightest chance of being restored to his premiership, unless by the positive orders of the British government; and, indeed, although had he remained, he might have been able well enough to carry on a system which was in regular train, he is now an old man, and though by no means superannuated, is too infirm to plunge again into the sea of politics. There appears little hope that his place will be supplied by a man of equal ability, so that, at furthest in about three or four years, we may expect to see the dominions of Oude usurped by the English. In my next, I shall offer a few suggestions on the best mode of administering the government of those territories, and of avoiding the course, which has rendered the English name so odious to the people of the North Western provinces.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

APPENDIX.

Complaints by Sipahcees, when they can prefer them under cover of a letter from their Commanding Officers.

I have been fortunate enough to procure a few of these presented to one of our Civil Courts, which I subjoin as a specimen.

The summary of one petition is this. "My father died nine years ago; certain of his relations dispossessed my brother of the lands; I beg an immediate order may be issued to put me in possession of the lands." Here both the sipahce and his brother (who lived not far from the Court) had by their own account quietly submitted to be ousted for nine years, and then a petition of the above nature is forwarded. If the sipahce could not have procured leave, his brother might have complained.

Another coolly requests, that a village shall be given over to him, and that he should be put in possession of a grove of trees: no grounds whatever for the demand being stated.

A third states in general terms. "I have been kept out of my lands and houses for many years by my relations, I beg an order may be issued to put me in possession," i. e., of whatever he chose to call his, since no particulars were given.

A fourth states as follows. "I sent an order for 50 Rs to a man named Lallmun some years ago, to give the money to my family. Two or three years ago I went to question Lallmun about it, he beat me, and turned me out of the village. I beg an order may be issued to make Lallmun instantly pay the money to my family." By the man's own account he submitted to the loss of his money and the beating besides, without complaining, although his village was actually within two miles of the Court. He rejoins his corps, and three years after forwards the above petition.

On all these and numerous others, the order was to sue in the regular way, for which by the Regulations every facility is afforded to the native soldiers; they have advantages over all other suitors: the consequence was that nothing further was ever heard of the suits; of which probably not one had the slightest shadow of foundation.

It is extremely common for sipahcees on leave of absence, if they live near a Court of Justice, when their leave is nearly expired, to trump up some complaint and prefer it to the Court so as by good management to enable them to over-stay their leave a month or so; and then they get a certificate from the Judge or Magistrate, that they were in attendance at the Court from such a date to such a date. Notwithstanding all the fine things that are said about the honor of the native soldiery, there is "probably no class in India, where you will find more fraud and chicane,—a hundred times more so than among the unsophisticated peasantry from among whom they are taken. Whether this arises from their communication with the English I do not give a decided opinion.—Hurkaru.

NELLORE COPPER MINES.

ANALYSIS OF THE ORES FOUND WITHIN THE LANDS IN GRANT TO THE COMPANY.

Through the kindness of Mr. C. A. Kerr, I have had a further opportunity of examining the produce of the Nellore copper mines, of which cabinet specimens were presented to the Asiatic Society two years ago, before the formation of the "*Indian Copper Mining Company*" at Madras, for the purpose of turning to profit the mineral stores of this promising district.

From a pamphlet published at Madras, we learn that the copper mines in the Nellore and Cuddapah districts were discovered about 40 years ago, by Mr. Benjamin Hayne, whose report to Government, inserted in his *Tracts on India*, gives the fullest and most satisfactory account of them. From this pamphlet, we glean the following particulars of the locality, and of the quality of the ore.

"The districts on the coast in which copper ores have been discovered are those of the Calastry and Vancatagherry Zemindaries, and the Udyherry Jaghire, in the zillahs of Nellore and Duppaud and other places in the ceded districts.

"The principal mining places are at the distance of about 30 miles N. W. from Nellore, 30 miles from the sea, about the latitude of Rāmpatam, and about 40 miles N. E. from Cuddāpa.

"Several rivers run right through it on their way to the sea from the western hills, of which the Pillapeyeroo, Vuppovagoo and Manyroo form a junction not far from Guramanyepenta, the principal mining place, and form a pretty large river, which is said to have a great deal of water throughout the year. Its beds are very stony, which seems in the eyes of the natives the greatest objection against its being made navigable for boats: it deserves therefore an accurate survey.

"The general aspect of the country is barren, and uncomfortable in the extreme: large trees are only found in and near the villages; and on the wide extended plains, on both sides of the river, nothing encounters the eye, but here and there a small thorny shrub. The grass, which, in the rainy season, every where else carpets the country with a refreshing green, is here both scanty and of the poorest kind, a species of "*aristida*," which, as the name implies, is a compound of long beards or bristles. This is the case in most mining countries; the surface of the soil contains in many places so much salt, that the inhabitants could make enough, if allowed to do so, for their own consumption.

"To the eastward, the country is open; only here and there a few low hills are to be seen: but to the westward, there are ranges of hills, the nearest at the distance of about 10 miles. Due west is one called Mala-couttah, from being the highest hill in the range. It

is said to abound with wood. The Udygherry mountains are to the south-west, about 16 miles, and the highest in this part of the country: the highest point I take to be about 3,000 feet above the level of the low country: I have seen myself, that plenty and large wood grows there, particularly between the valleys.

"About 20 miles on the way to the sea, in the direction of Rāmpatam, are extensive jungles, consisting of—1. Kora, *Panicum italicum*, L. 2. Aruga, *Paspalum tomentarium*, L. 3. Woolava, *Glycene tomentosa*, L.

"This country is, geologically speaking, of a primitive description; the general rock formation is a mica-slate, of different colors and consistence. It shows itself first in the low country, at the distance of about 15 miles east from the hills; it forms sloping mountains, which are often capped with hornstone slate, which passes into sand-stone, and on the other hand, into jasper. The tabular summits and mural precipices of the Udygherry hills consist of the latter stone-kind: the layers or strata of the mica-slate occur in different positions, and inclination to the horizon; often in the low country forming a right angle with it; on and about the Udygherry hills, the strata appears in the utmost confusion, as if thrust by force out of their proper position. Traces of copper ore are often found in this rock, and it is generally known to contain various metallic veins, as gold, silver, and copper.

"Subordinate to the former is green-stone slate, in mighty layers, often as to appearance constituting the principal rock of a district for many miles. This is the case about Guramanyepenta and the other mining places. The layers or stratification of the latter rock I have as yet always found in a horizontal position.

"The green-stone slate is often approaching to green-stone; it occurs then only obscurely slaty, has a jet black color, strong glossy lustre, foliated fracture, hard in a small degree; in this state it seems here barren of metals of any kind. The real green-stone slate is of a bluish black color, with small white spots of decomposed felspar, half hard; and when exposed to the air, it crumbles soon to pieces, and takes green color. The rock is reckoned one of the richest '*mothers of ores*' of any in the world. In it are found silver and copper in rich beds or layers, as in the case here; but never in veins, as in other formations."

* One of my specimens from Nellore is abundantly curious and interesting. It consists of distinct layers of the carbonate, alternating with black micaceous schist, or rather green-stone, affording exactly the appearance of gradual deposition from a liquid at this earliest period of geological formations. The angle formed by the strata of this stratified rock with the horizon is stated by Mr. Kerr to be about 45.—J. P.

"The layers of copper are of different thickness, and distance from each other: the general run of the pieces of ore, constituting the layers, is two inches in thickness; but they have been found also of several feet. The pieces are in general flat, as if compressed, and coated with ochre. The vertical distance between the layers is 4 to 8 feet, and the horizontal is even more uncertain.

"A corroded honey-combed quartz is found in great abundance in the green-stone slate, particularly along with the copper ore. It appears often on the surface, in such places where the water has washed the earth away. It looks then like indurated marl, which in other parts of the country is very common.

"The rock* is covered with a red coarse gravel, which is the superficial soil of this part of the country. In my opinion, this is formed from the decomposition of the green-stone slate, and its quartzose and ferruginous contents; for copper ore is often found in considerable quantity, and in the same situation, as in the slate rock.

"At Yerrapillay, in a new mine, which I opened, I found two layers of ore in it, at distances of four feet asunder.

"The thickness of this stratum of gravel differs according to its situation, whether it is on a high or low ground. I have found it from 4 to 6 feet, and more.

"The copper ore which Dr. Thomson calls Anhydrous, the most common kind, is in flat pieces, externally of a brown ochry color; internally of a black iron color, which often passes into green; when moistened with water, it becomes almost immediately throughout green; in some places, it is bluish grey throughout. Lustre, in some places, where it is black, semi-metallic; and in the bluish grey, metallized. The copper, indeed, is in an almost metallic state in it. Fracture approaching to even fine grained streak; of the black, brighter metallic; powder, "greenish;" not very hard, except the iron black and bluish grey part; which is with difficulty scratched by quartz; brittle; not particularly heavy. Specific gravity, 3.09. Some pieces are found of a nut brown color, and some with conchoidal fracture. The foreign admixtures are various, as white and green quartz, mica, iron ore; mountain blue and malachite are in some places found with it. In other places, I suspect the admixture of silver. For the analysis, I must refer to that of Dr. Thomson, in a paper laid before the Royal Society of London, which I was permitted to publish as an appendix to my "Tracts on India." I will only mention here, that on an average, he procured 56 per cent. of pure copper. In the dry way, or by simply smelting the ore, we have received the metal in greater proportion, which may be

easily accounted for by the quantity of iron, which the ore contains, that cannot be separated, as when the analysis is carried on by acids and other re-agents."

Mr. Hayne seems to have been wrong in imagining, that the natives had only discovered these mines 50 or 60 years before (about 1750.) Mr. Kerr, who has since visited the whole of the mining district, and examined all the formations, and the old works, with great care, states, that the former excavations are of prodigious magnitude, many of them occupy several hundred feet square, and having a depth of 50 or 60 feet. The matrix rock and rubbish are now accumulated in these immense tanks; but on clearing them away, the mouths of the galleries extending into the rocks were discovered; blocks of the ore, (perhaps some that had been gathered previous to the discontinuance of working the mines from some political convulsion or oppression,) have been used to mend the village tank at *Gurumangpenta*, and Mr. Kerr imagines, that any quantity of the richest ore* may be obtained at a trifling expense, and within 100 feet of the surface. Extensive hills, formed of lumps of ferruginous slag, now covered with vegetation, point out the situation of the ancient smelting houses. A piece of this slag (which was at first mistaken for a volcanic product) was analysed by myself. It yielded but faint traces of copper, shewing that the native processes of extraction, however rude, were effectual in completely separating the metal. But I must now proceed to observe upon the actual specimens of the ore submitted to my examination, purposely avoiding all allusion to the mercantile value of the mines, the estimates of the expense of working them, and the invitations to join in an association for this purpose:—objects which are highly interesting to the community, connected with so laudable a measure for developing the natural riches of the country; but which cannot with propriety be entered upon in a work devoted exclusively to literature and science.

The ores now presented to me are from three different localities. They differ considerably in quality one from the other, and all from the former ore, which Dr. Thomson pronounced to be an anhydrous carbonate, new to mineralogy.

No. 1. A parcel, weighing 90lbs. of roughly-picked and cleaned ore, has a quartzose matrix, in some parts colored green, or appearing so from the malachite beneath the transparent crystal. It contains much iron, which, on solution in an acid, appears in the form of a yellow ochre. Ten per cent. of quartz was separated from this specimen on pounding it roughly before setting it apart from analysis.

No. 2. A parcel of the same weight is labelled "*Bungerul Mettah*," and is the species

* See Dr. Benza's observations on veins of quartz pervading decomposed pegmatite, J. A. S. iv. 421.—Ed.

† This description accords so completely with that of No. 3, in the subjoined analyses, that I have no doubt Dr. Hayne has mistaken the sulphuret for Dr. Thomson's ore.—J. P.

* The "steel-grained, crystallized silvery ore, invariably found in green-stone slate, and partly imbedded in quartz, the richest ore met with," is doubtless No. 3, the sulphuret.—J. P.

stated to be found in clustered nodules in the alluvium, of rounded exterior, as though they had been detached from their original site, and reburied here. The ferruginous matrix of this ore, on solution, assumes the appearance of a dark-red oxide. It is the same probably as that of Dr. Thomson's specimen. The carbonate of copper runs through it in veins, but the mixture of sulphuret of iron, and perhaps of copper with the oxide, gives the whole a dark arenaceous texture.

No. 3. The richest ore of the three is at the same time the most abundant, and promises to yield the safest return, as it runs in unbroken veins. This ore is a combination of carbonate and sulphuret, the former intermixed with the latter, but readily distinguishable from it, as the sulphuret is crystallized, and has the grey metallic lustre of galena. The specific gravity of this ore is 3.77, being intermediate between that of the carbonate 3.2, and the sulphuret, 3.5.

The analysis was conducted for the sake of exposition on separate parcels of 100 grains each, in lieu of attempting the separation of the ingredients from a single parcel. Some variation may thus be induced from the irregularity of the ore; but, on the whole, the results ought to be more trust worthy. Thus; the carbonic acid was estimated by the loss of weight and digesting 100 grains, finely pounded, in dilute nitric acid. The water, (for none of these ores was found to be anhydrous,) by heating in a glass tube, removing the aqueous vapor by bibulous paper, and ascertaining the loss. As the ore generally lost its green colour by this operation, it is possible that a portion of carbonic acid was also driven off. Calcination in an open dish, in the muffle of an assay furnace, gave a loss, which was compounded of that of the carbonic acid and the water. Calcination drives off the sulphur also, but the equivalent of oxygen, which replaces it, being of precisely equal weight, this operation affords no test of the quantity of sulphur present. In fact, not expecting from Dr. Thomson's analysis, to find sulphur in the Nellore copper ore, I at first neglected the precautions necessary for its separation. This was accordingly effected on other samples, by boiling in strong nitric acid, which, from its heat, caused part of the sulphur in a pure state to rise in fused globules to the surface; while a portion, being oxygenated, was afterwards separated by precipitation with barytes.

The quantity of copper was most conveniently estimated from the black oxide taken up from the calx by dilute nitric acid. It was also obtained directly from other samples by reduction of the oxide with charcoal and borax. The iron and pyrites were deduced from the difference between the residue in the cold solution, and that from the hot dissolution in strong acid of another parcel, before calcination.

Collecting together the results of the above operations, we have the following data, whence to deduce the composition of the three specimens.

No. 1. No. 2. No. 3.

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
a. Loss of carbonic acid by digestion in dilute nitric acid...	12.0	14.6	7.0
b. Loss of water (and some carb. acid) by heating without air in a glass tube,	5.0	7.0	3.0
c. Total loss on calcination with access of air,	17.5	17.8	21.0
e 2. Ditto average of two other trials (more carbon etc.),	20.0	20.3	23.5
d. Oxide of copper taken up from calx by dilute acid,	37.7	49.2	73.7
e. Residue of insoluble earths and ox. iron, after d,	44.8	33.0	5.3*
f. Residue from digestion of crude ore in boiling nitric acid, ...	20.0	13.9	19.0
g. The same, after burning off the sulphur and redigesting in do. ...	20.0	8.5	0.0
h. Sulphur, separated on boiling in strong acid,	0.6	2.1	9.0
i. Sulphate of barytes precipitated afterwards,	1.4	17.8	28.5
k. Weight of metallic copper actually recovered from e 2,	28.5	52.2	59.0

In regard to d. No. 3, it was observed on digestion in cold nitric acid, that a very considerable portion of the calx of copper was of a red color, or in the state of protoxide, or perhaps in a metallic state, and was not taken up without disengagement of nitrous gas;—the weight 73.7 must therefore be increased, to give the true weight in terms of the peroxide. This is also proved by the amount of loss in e, 21.0, which is considerably in excess; and it was remarked on removing the calx from the fire that it was agglutinated, so as perhaps to have prevented the access of air to oxidate the interior. The sulphur enables us to approximate the correction of this item; for 12.8 requires 51.5 copper, = 61.3 black or peroxide; and this, added to 22.8, the peroxide of the carbonate, would give 87.7; which is 14.0 greater than the actual return from the fire. Again, deducting the deficiency after calcination (c.) 21.0, from the sum of the three volatile ingredients—sulphur, 12.8; carbonic acid, 7.0; and water 3.0 = 22.8, there remains but 1.8 for the weight of oxygen absorbed in place of the sulphur; whereas 12.8 are required. — Adding the difference 11.0 to d. we shall have 84.7. This number will be found to be a little in defect from the subsequent results; while 87.7 is a little too great; a mean may therefore be adopted.

From the above data, we may now proceed to extract the simple elements of each specimen of ore:

No. 1. No. 2. No. 3.

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
l. Metallic copper, calculated from the oxide d,	83.2	39.5	69.0
m. Pure sulphur, from h and i	0.8	4.5	12.8
n. Carbonic acid, less $\frac{1}{10}$ th for hygrometric moisture	10.8	13.1	6.3

The carbonic acid being supposed to be wholly combined with copper, while the sulphur may be partly united with iron, we may calculate the proportions of the carbonates sulphurets by means of the scale of chemical equivalents, thus:

* In the second Analysis of No. 2, however, the copper actually recovered, &c. so much exceeds this quantity, that it is evident this ore frequently contains sulphuret, or is of very variable quality.

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
o. The carbonic acid will require copper,.....	31.4	38.6	18.3

Now in the first two of these, the copper required so nearly agrees with the calculated weight of metal, *l*, that the latter may be looked upon as existing here wholly in the form of carbonate, and the sulphur as united entirely with iron*. In No. 3, however, we find that the majority of the copper remains; and knowing the nearly total absence of iron in this specimen, we may conclude it to be a mixture of nearly two parts sulphuret, with one of carbonate.

The miner would rest content with the determination of the pure metal in the ore, and would have good reason to be satisfied with the 60 per cent. "actual yield" of No. 3, or even with the 30 per cent. of the poorest of the three ores; but the mineralogist will prefer an exhibition of the component salts of the ores, according to the usual synthetical formula. I may here remark, that the water separated (*b*) is more than is required to convert the carbonate into a hydrate or ordinary malachite: thus,

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
p. The copper combined with carbonic acid being,.....	30.2	39.5	18.3
q. will require water to hydrate it,.....	4.2	5.5	2.6

The excess in *b* may have been carbonic acid, partially driven off.

The chemical composition of the three minerals may therefore be thus expressed:

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
Hydrated carbonate of copper, 52.4	63.5	31.7	
Sulphuret of copper,.....	0.	0.	63.0
Sulphuret of iron,.....	2.1	12.4	0.0
Oxide of iron, silice, &c.	43.5	27.1	5.3
Loss or excess,.....	2.0	-6.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

The excess in No. 2, is doubtless owing to the irregularity of the rocky admixture in different specimens, whereof one yielded 41, and another only 13.9 of insoluble matter, on digestion in acid.

The richness of the last of the three minerals will more than compensate for the increase of trouble and expense in the reduction of the ore by successive roastings; and practical miners assert, that the glance or grey sulphuret is a much steadier and more plentiful ore than the carbonate.

I should add, before concluding the above imperfect analysis of the Nellore copper ores, that I tested them in vain for silver and other metals. Neither did arsenic appear to be present.

I may here mention, that among the specimens of minerals presented to me by Mr. Kerr, as occurring within the copper mining district, associated with the micaceous schist, are the following; corundum and adaman-

* * This residue may have consisted partly of sulphuret of copper that had escaped decomposition in the fire; for another specimen was wholly soluble, and little iron was present in the solution.

tine spar, garnets, dark green actinolite, red chalk, manganese; besides carbonate of magnesia, and other minerals of which specimens have not yet reached me. An ore of mercury is also suspected to exist in the same range of rocks. The surface of the gneiss or micaceous schist, were exposed to the air, is frequently seen tinged of a green colour, from the trickling of water holding carbonate of copper in solution, through crevices of the rock.

J. PRINSEP.

TIN MINES.

The mines are generally excavated on the swampy flats at the base of hills of primitive formation. They average from six to twenty feet in depth, following the streams of ore (*Ulu'r bijl*), which will sometimes run in a horizontal direction to the distance of three miles, according to the nature of the ground. These excavations are termed *Lombongan*. The streams vary in diameter from six inches to eighteen and twenty, and consist of a quantity of small heavy granulated portions of a dark hue, and shining with a metallic lustre, intermixed with a glittering white sand. The excavations made by the Malays, are more superficial than those dug by the Chinese, as they are too lazy to work the streams, which lie deep.

The strata under which the ore is found are commonly, 1st, a black vegetable mould; 2nd, red clay; 3rd, white clay, with white pebbles, apparently decomposed quartz, and 4th, a bed of shining white sand, called *Pasir bijl*. Under the ore lies a stratum of steatite, called, *Nāpal*, or a hard bed of decomposed rock. The native term for the tin ore is *Bijl tima*, literally seeds of tin; when melted, it has the name of *Timah masak*. Crystals of quartz and fragments of micaceous schist are sometimes found among the alluvial earth thrown out.

The soil carried out by the miners in baskets, suspended at the extremities of a stout elastic bambu or *penāga*, which passes across the shoulders. The men are divided into two parties, which work in regular succession, one entering the shaft with emptied baskets, while the other makes its egress, with the filled ones. At Ulu Pondoi, in Naning, and at Jeram Kambing, I am informed, the mines are natural caverns in the rock. The Malays and *Jacouns* collect the ore by the light of dammer torches.

The ore is taken to a stream, conducted by artificial channels, lined with the bark of trees, to the vicinity of the mines and stirred about with an iron rake, or a *choncole*. The water carries off the sand, small pebbles, and earth, leaving the ore and large stones at the bottom, which are afterwards separated by a riddle and the hand. The ore, thus cleared of extraneous substances, is deposited in the *koppos*, to await the process of smelting.

Smelting or Melanchūr.—The smeltings are

carried on at stated periods, twice or thrice a year, according to the quantity of ore collected, and always at night, to avoid the great heat.

The ore and charcoal, (of the *Kompas*, *Kamoui*, or other hard woods,) are gradually heaped up, in alternate layers, in a rude furnace of clay, called a *Bulowe*, with an aperture below, to allow the escape of the fused metal. The fire is urged, and the whole mass brought in a glow by a sort of leathern bellows called *Hambisan*, and sometimes by ruder ones, constructed like an air-pump, and made from the hollowed trunk of a strait tree, with a piston, headed by thick folds of paper. These are called *Kalibongs*.

The Malays for the most part content themselves with the *trapong*, which is merely a hollow bamba converted into a sort of blow-pipe, and worked by the mouth.

As the heat increases, the melted metal is received into a hole dug in the ground, called the *Telaga*, or reservoir; and thence, with the assistance of iron ladles, poured into the moulds.

The tin now assumes the shape of the ingots of commerce, of which there are two kinds common in Sungie Ujong, viz. the *Tampang* and *Kepping* or *Bangka*. The former weighs from half a catty to two catties, and the latter, from fifty to sixty catties; one catty is equal to one pound and three-quarters.

The *Tampang* is generally used by the Malays.

In the furnaces used by the Chinese, 800*lbs.* of metal may be produced during the course of a night. Those of the Malays seldom produce more than one-sixth of this quantity.

From 100 parts of the ore, it is calculated, from 65 to 77 of pure metal are produced. The ore of Banca yields 58. That of Junk Ceylon, according to an assay made by Mr. Blake 61½.

The water is drained from the mines, it shallow, by means of a channel, leading into a neighbouring stream; but if deep, the *Putarum Ayer* is had recourse to. This hydrolic machine is, I believe, of Chinese invention. The Rev. Mr. Tomlin, a zealous missionary, gives the following description of it.

"The apparatus is simple, consisting of a common water wheel, a circular wooden chain about 40 feet in circumference, and a long square box, or trough, through which it runs in ascending. The wheel and chain, I think, revolve on a common axis, so that the motion of the former necessarily puts the latter into action. The chain consists of square wooden floats, a foot distant from each other, and strung as it were upon a continuous flexible axis, having a moveable joint between each pair.

"As the float-boards of the chain successively enter the lower part of the box or trough, (immersed in water,) a portion of

water is constantly forced up by each, and discharged at the top. At one of the mines we were much struck with the simple but efficient mode of its application. There were three distinct planes or terraces rising above each other. On the middle one was the wheel; the lower was the pit of the mine; from the higher a stream of water fell and turned the wheel, which, putting the whole machine into motion, brought up another stream from the pit; these two streams, from above and below uniting on the middle plane, run off in a sluice, by which the ore was washed."

Regarding the smelting of tin, in a recent number of Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, (No. 15, pp. 21 and 22,) are the following remarks on the advantages of pit coal over charcoal: "Authorities are not agreed as to the time when pit coal first began to be substituted in the reverberatory smelting houses (of Cornwall) for wood or charcoal, though this is generally supposed to have been about 1680.

"In the smelting of this (tin,) as of other metals, the application of this fuel has been productive of immense advantages; and such is the perfection to which our metallurgic operations have been carried since the economical introduction of this cheap and plentiful fuel, that the regulations of our custom-house alone prevented the carrying a scheme set on foot some years ago, for the importing of the tin ore from the eastern mines, for the purpose of being smelted in this country, and afterwards re-exported."

It would appear to have escaped the observation of the author of this article, that the enormous forests which thickly cover the whole of the Malayan peninsula, and the Island of Banca, under the very shade of which the miners may be said to work, furnish, on the spot, a cheaper and more economical fuel than the coal pits of Newcastle or Whitehaven do to the miners of Cornwall, at the sole expense of the labor of felling them; setting aside the loss of time, the expense of importation and exportation, and disinclination of the natives to such a scheme. Moreover, according to Mr. Crawford, the cost of producing a cwt. of Banca tin is but 22*s.* 8*d.*, whereas that of Cornwall amounts to 64*s.* 7*d.* The cost of producing a cwt. of the metal in Sungie Ujong is estimated by an intelligent native at 23*s.* The immense natural obstacles in Cornwall, only to be surmounted by the most powerful steam engines, and the unremitting application of all the means human ingenuity can devise, together with the high price of labor, are, however, the principal causes in the enhancement of the cost of production in England.

The time perhaps is not far distant when like ingenuity and similar means will be applied to the unlocking of the hitherto partially developed resources of the East.

According to the best native information, the annual produce of the peninsula, before

the late disturbances in the tin countries, was as follows.

Places.	Peculs.
Sungie Ujong,.....	7,000
Perak,.....	7,500
Quedah,.....	600
Junk Ceylon,.....	1,500
Pungah,.....	1,500
Salangore, Calang, and Langkat,.....	2,000
Lukút,.....	1,600
States in the interior of Malacca,.....	900
Pahang,.....	1,000
Kemaman and Tingano,.....	7,000
Calantan,.....	3,000
Patani,.....	1,000
	34,600

The discovery of tin in the peninsula cannot be traced, but it is assuredly of ancient date. Part of Perak is said to be the *Tenath*, or land of tin, of PROLEMY, and *Calang*, (a name signifying tin in Malay,) to be the *Ma-*

laiou Colan of the same author, and the *Malaya-Culam* of the Hindus.

The tin mines of Banca are of modern origin, being accidentally discovered, Mr. Marsden tells us, in 1710, by the burning of a house; the trade of the peninsula suffered considerably in consequence.

According to Mr. Crawford, (as before stated,) the tin of Banca, produce of 1817, amounted to 35,000 peccals, or 2083½ tons, equal to half the produce of England. But under the management of the Dutch, I am informed, it now scarcely produces half that quantity.

The price of Banca tin is from 16 to 16½ dollars per pecul=133½ lbs., and of Straits tin, (chiefly from the peninsula,) from 11 to 15. British block tin, in 1832, was selling at £3 12s. 6d. per cwt.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society for October.*

TOPOGRAPHY OF MIDNAPORE.

The civil station of Midnapore, the principal town of the zillah of that name, is distant from Calcutta about 70 miles in a south-westerly direction and about 45 from the nearest part of the Bay of Bengal. It is placed upon a considerable elevation of table land upwards of a hundred feet above the level of the river and in some spots nearly a hundred and fifty.

This elevation consists of a mass of limestone rock, mixed with a large proportion of iron called by the native conka, and is apparently an off shoot from the large tract of iron limestone formation which extends for some hundreds of miles in a westerly direction through the hilly tract of Chota Nagpore, Palamow, &c. This rock in the more elevated spots is quite bare, though in other situations it is covered with a rich productive soil. The latter is very shallow however, inasmuch, that the large trees with difficulty find root in it and are compelled to seek support by spreading their foundations literally; in many cases the fibres of the largest *Pepul* cannot penetrate more than a foot into the ground in a perpendicular direction.

On the East this rock rises gradually and imperceptibly from the flat country, but on the south it terminates more abruptly, having a narrow slip of cultivated land varying from a quarter of a mile to a mile in breadth between it and the Cossye river, which chiefly bounds it on that side. On the west and north it is lost in undulating ground, covered with dwarf trees, the commencement of the large tract of jungle which stretches into Nagpore in one direction and almost to the foot of the Rajmahl Hills in another.

The most elevated parts of the station are the Parade Ground, which is a large plain on the north of the sepoy lines about a mile and

a half long and a mile wide, and another plain of nearly the same dimensions, situated on the western extremity of the station. The surface of the latter is more barren and more irregular than that of the former, but it commands an uninterrupted view to the southward whereas the other is more confined. There is a small tank of good water about 300 yards to the southward of this plain, which dries in the hot weather, but which might easily be deepened, and doubtless water could be procured in the neighbourhood by boring, as wells are plentiful in every direction throughout the station. These plains are about two miles distant from each other.

The rest of the station consists of undulating ground of nearly the same character with that of the plains, but in the centre of the place there is a jheel, which drains through a narrow tract of rice fields, into a dirty channel, and which after running through the native town terminates in the river. Some years since a plan was prepared by Mr. Dick, the Magistrate, to dry up this spot, and it was approved by the Government, but no further steps have been taken to carry it into execution. It would be a most feasible and not a very expensive operation to drain this marsh and would contribute greatly to improve the purity of the air around it.

The water found in the tanks and wells is generally much impregnated with iron.

The station is a large one, and though at present there is only one native Regiment, there are bells of arms for two corps. Houses are plentiful and all the materials for building and labor very cheap. Grain is rather dear, but other provisions are very reasonable.

The gardens produce every species of vegetable in great profusion, but since the destruction caused by the late storms fruit is scarcely to be obtained.

The communication with Calcutta is of course easy, the distance being so small; but the river is open only in the rains and then not to be relied on, as it is dependent upon the mountain streams for supply, and consequently varies greatly in the quantity of water. Boats are thus frequently delayed for a week together and sometimes take a month to accomplish the journey from Calcutta, which, if no stoppage occurs, is easily performed in eight days.

There are three land routes to the Presidency, one by Keerpoy into the Benares road, making a distance of about 100 miles; a second by Ooloobareah, which is 51 miles from Midnapore on the banks of the Hoogly, and distant by water 25 miles from Fort William, the land journey from the opposite bank by Budge Budge being 13 miles; and a third by Tumlook, which is 36 miles from Midnapore and 50 by water from Fort William. There is no land route from this latter place to Calcutta.

These routes are practicable throughout the year; but the late inundation has destroyed a considerable portion of the Ooloobareah road and has much injured the Tumlook road at one or two points*.

With regard to the comparative advantages of these routes, the Keerpoy road is long, and the halting places bad, but there are no rivers to cross, whereas on the Ooloobareah road there are five, viz.—the Cossye twice, the Roopnarin, the Damoodah, and the Ganges, the three latter being very broad. By the Tumlook road the Cossye is twice crossed, but at the second crossing at Pauchkoorah Ghaut the river is not more than a hundred yards wide though very deep, and a bridge might easily be thrown over it. For dak journeying the Ooloobareah road is the best, but for the passage of troops and supplies the Tumlook route is most desirable: the land journey is short, the halting places good, and a steamer could run between the last stage and Calcutta in six hours. If the latter road were made *pukka* it would of course much improve it and the cunkur of Midnapore makes the finest roads in the world.

The climate of Midnapore is remarkably salubrious, resembling more that of the upper provinces than Bengal, indeed the whole external appearance of the station reminds one of the up-country cantonments rather than of a place within 50 miles of the mouth of the Hoogly. The peculiar dryness of the air, at all times of the year, is very striking; but its purity and elasticity are most observable in the rainy season when compared with the close moist atmosphere of the surrounding country, and especially of Calcutta and its neighbourhood. The quantity of rain which

actually falls, and the period of its continuance, do not differ from the usual proportion in the rest of Bengal; but the nature of the soil which receives the water materially influences its effect upon the air. On the hard rocky ground of Midnapore the rain never lays: and after the most violent and continued storms the plains become perfectly dry in a few hours, so that the roads will not wet the soles of the traveller's shoes.

During the rains the thermometer varies from 80 to 90; sometimes it is as low as 75 degrees. The cold season is not remarkable either for its continuance or severity; it does not last above three months, and the thermometer is seldom, even at day break, below 50, though occasionally it has been known to fall as low as 40; during the day it ranges between 60 and 70. On the high ground the cold weather fogs are almost unknown and even in the lower parts of the station they are rare, and the air, unlike the damp raw cold of Calcutta, is always fresh and bracing.

During the hot season the temperature, as indicated by the thermometer, is not greater than that of the surrounding country, ranging usually from 95° to 100° in the shade, rarely attaining to 100°, but the hot winds blow strongly, and out of doors the rocky ground reflects the sun with great force. The greatest heat does not last above six weeks at the outside, and rarely more than a month if the rains fall early; but during the whole of the S. W. monsoon a strong sea breeze renders the nights delightfully cool and refreshing.

In common with the neighbouring country Midnapore has been lately visited with frequent hurricanes, and from its exposed situation great destruction has been caused by them; but in the ordinary course, storms are not more frequent here than elsewhere; it must be observed, however, that many accidents from lightning have occurred in certain parts of the station, the electric fluid being of course readily attracted by the great quantity of iron in the soil.

We may naturally expect this climate to be more than usually healthy, and as far as Europeans are concerned it is strikingly so. But little malaria can be generated on such a soil, and consequently remittent and intermittent fevers are almost unknown, though of course many cases of the latter are found, which have been brought by the patients from some other district, and several of these have derived great benefit from the dry air of the station. In comparison with most other places in the low country dysentery is a very rare disease at Midnapore.

The diseases to which a European constitution is most liable are, as in all other rocky tropical soils, inflammation of the viscera and plethoria; but in referring to the mortality of the last ten years, I find that in a population averaging forty Europeans, only one fatal case of the patitis has occurred; six adults and three infants being the total number of deaths which have happened amongst the

* This was written last year, but I believe the damage has since been repaired.

European inhabitants during the whole of that period, with the exception of the officers of the 38th Regt. Native Infantry who were brought from the Bomaughatta jungles in a dying state, and whose deaths, of course, have nothing to do with the Midnapore climate.

The station does not appear equally salubrious for the natives, as the proportion of sickness and death is almost as great amongst them as in any other part of Bengal, though they themselves think highly of the climate. Indeed, the mortality in the Jail Hospital has at times even exceeded that of most other neighbouring stations: the peculiarity of their mode of living, their general habits, and the fact that the native population inhabit all the confined low damp spots which can be found in the place, appear to me sufficient to account for this difference. The native regiment, which is at present stationed here, has had a large proportion of sick, but it suffered severely during two campaigns in the Cole country, and the sick are chiefly the old invalids who were affected in these campaigns. The most prevalent diseases amongst the natives are, as usual, fever, dysentery, and diarrhoea; and for some years a species of Hospital Gangrene in the shape of severe sloughing ulcers has at times visited the Jail and latterly, the Military Hospital.

Midnapore cannot, of course, be looked on as a sanatorium; but the superiority of its climate over that of the surrounding country would make it perhaps a desirable place for invalids to resort to, who require merely a temporary change of air to a better climate

than Calcutta, and its neighbourhood can afford them, and its vicinity to the Presidency makes it easily available for such a purpose.

Considered as a residence for Europeans it is certainly far preferable to any Bengal climate, with which I am acquainted within a moderate distance from Calcutta. Intemperate habits would doubtless suffer more here than in the rice fields, from liver and determination of blood to the head, but they would be comparatively free from many other equally fatal disorders and the dry invigorating air would be very beneficial to the constitutions of those who have been exhausted by frequent fevers and dysenteries.

These remarks have been drawn from observations upon Europeans of the better classes, whose habits are careful and temperate, but I have since learnt that about 18 years ago a squadron of European cavalry were quartered at Midnapore for some time, and that cerebral affections, which prove extremely fatal, were prevalent amongst them to a great extent. This may be attributed, perhaps, to their intemperate habits accompanied by exposure to sudden changes of temperate in the careless fashion which European soldiers indulge in; but it is an important fact with reference to Midnapore, being ever made a station for English troops, and would require more than ordinary precautions to be adopted in regulating their mode of living, &c.

W. H. GOODEVE.

Calcutta, Sept. 20, 1835.

India Journal of Medical Science for Dec.

ON THE DYN MUHR OF THE MOOHUMMUDAN LAW.

TO MAJOR BENSON,

Military Secretary to the Right Hon'ble Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India.

SIR,—In the present communication I proceed to offer a few observations on the subject of the Dyn Muhr or dower of the Moohumudans.

It is a point of purely Civil Law, and I confess I am doubtful of the propriety of addressing the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General on the subject; the remedy, however, which I have to propose, does not amount to an actual alteration of the Law, and I am emboldened accordingly to proceed.

In treating of the subject, I shall endeavour to unfold the original object of the law-giver of Islam in instituting the Dyn Muhr, the modifications which have taken place in the structure of society affecting the fitness of the institution; and lastly I shall detail how I propose to restore and congeal the law to

the original object contemplated by its founder.

No Moohumudan woman is perhaps ever married without a Dyn Muhr, and, although the Prophet has fixed the minimum for dower at ten dirhems, (between 3 and 4 rupees), no sum has been stated as a maximum, and strange to say a menial servant, who has probably not ten rupees in the world, would think it disgraceful to him to give his wife a smaller dower than 20,000 Rs. and others, in proportion, according to their actual wealth, or the former importance of their families, or to view the subject probably in a more correct and certainly in a more pleasing light, perhaps no father will be found willing to bestow his daughter on less unequal terms.

But it will seem still more strange, that these women, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, never receive one farthing of their dower; on the contrary, the Moohumudans with true parental affection, almost always give a portion of their wealth in the shape of clothes, jewels and cash to their daughters on

their marriage. What then, it may be asked, is the object of this institution? The above facts sufficiently point it out. It is intended solely to prevent the husband from turning off his wife at his pleasure, which he cannot do without previously paying her dower. It likewise secures her against want, should she have no family, and her husband by other wives have heirs, who might otherwise neglect her; and happy is it for the Moohummudan women of this country, that such an institution exists, for by long intercourse with the Hindoos, they have adopted the custom, though repugnant to the doctrines of the Koran, of entering into no second marriage.

Their marriage rites are simple in the extreme. An attorney on the part of the female attending, an offer is made of the bride, for a certain dower, of which offer the future husband accepts. This passes before two Moohummudan witnesses, a few pages of the Koran are read by the Cazee or his Clerk, and probably some refreshments are offered.

In law, one half of the dower is due immediately after this ceremony, and the whole on the consummation of the marriage.

We read in the Koran and elsewhere, how exceedingly jealous the Arabs were of the honor of their daughters; in so much, that they were in the habit of destroying their female offspring from their anxieties and distrust on this subject.

It must be acknowledged that an institution like the present was admirably calculated to protect them from the miseries, perhaps the infamy of divorce, and to restrain the males within some bounds, in the almost unlimited number of wives they might otherwise have espoused, under the prophet's toleration of polygamy, and his equally licentious facilities of divorce.

Nor does it appear, that the institution could have been attended with many disadvantages in a rude state of society, where property consisted almost wholly of lands, flocks and cattle, where the extended operations of commerce were utterly unknown, interest on money strictly prohibited, and borrowing consequently, except between friends and relations, little known: and where the romantic, savage, and warlike spirit of the inhabitants led them to obtain by the sword, instead of by craft and artifice, whatever money was required either for the gratification of their virtues or their vices.

In such a state of society the injurious effect of this institution could have been little felt; we have now however to examine its operation, in a state of society widely different from the former, and were we inclined to look into futurity, where we must suppose the difference to be daily and progressively increasing.

In Hindoostan so long as the country remained under a native Government, the law was probably found to be equally apt. The penalties of divorce to the female were infir-

nitely more severe, and consequently more to be guarded against.

It is true, the riches of the country were more abundant, and the pastoral habits of the people very different from those of Arabia, yet the insecurity of property was equal or perhaps greater. The inhabitants were constantly engaged in foreign or civil wars, and a ready outlet was thus afforded for the vicious, the daring, and the profligate.

In such a state of government, neither the genius nor the vices of a people lead them to acquire by fraud, and there could be little advantage in proceeding by forgery and artifice, where there was scarcely a probability of finding a legal tribunal, on which to impose.

The present state of Oude may probably present to the mind a more lively picture of the state of society I mean to describe, than any words I can employ.

During these periods, it is probable that the helpless females were the sufferers and bore in silence where there was no hope of redress; and indeed there is reason to believe that they not unfrequently do so at the present time when our courts of law are comparatively so easy of access.

But the spirit of the times is now altered, the sword has been suddenly converted into the ploughshare; for though our armies are still on foot, the soldier comparatively frequently sinks into the grave, in the common course of nature, instead of being swept away, in the vast waste of human life, which must have been fearfully progressive in the days of the Mogul Empire. The reckless, the daring, and unquiet spirits are thus left to court fortune through humbler channels.

The country has been conquered, and is now in the hands of the conquerors, and its inhabitants like other enslaved nations have adopted and are daily more and more substituting for force, the feeblor weapons of artifice and fraud. In the tranquillity which has succeeded, Courts of law, with comparative facilities of obtaining justice, have sprung up, the forms of civilized life have been established, and the interests of commerce have become more complicated and extended.

Let us now look what effect these changes have had on the aptitude of this civil institute of Islamism.

The Moosulman marries his one, two, three or four wives as he pleases: protection to these females against the miseries of divorce is equally requisite as before, but the claims of the merchant have become doubly urgent.

The husband has property, he has estates: he first disappears the last are deeply involved, and ruin stares him in the face. In this state of affairs a *hyemuka-sat* or deed making over the whole of his property to his wives in satisfaction of their dower, or a portion of it is made out, and collusively antedated, or perhaps, in the prospect of such a consummation, has been long since privately executed.

The effect is ruinous, the claims of his creditors are worthless, and they have no prospect of obtaining a settlement of their claims, save by working on the affections of the wives by holding out the terrors of incarceration to their husbands.

Nor is this the only evil of the present system: the amount of the Dyn Mahr is almost only known to the parties: in one case it is called for, in twenty it is not. The husband dies: the outstanding debts are brought against his estate: it is already absorbed twenty-fold by the dower of his widows, and the lawful creditors can only share with them, in a paltry proportional dividend.

Farther, a Moosulman of property may have a family by one wife, and none by another; the latter may prosecute for her enormous dower, and obtain a great part of the property, which will not devolve at her death to the heirs of her late husband, but to her own: or should the husband be the survivor, the heirs of the deceased wife may legally prosecute him, and obtain the full amount of her dower. This is hardly consonant to our ideas of justice.

Nor are these the only evils: the family of the deceased probably remain together as before: on the one hand debts are contracted by the widows; but when the just claims are brought against them, they have nothing, they have committed the whole amount of their dower to the other heirs: on the other hand the son runs into every extravagance, and at length his bills and bonds are produced against him in fearful array: he has nothing: the whole of his father's estate went in satisfaction of his widows' dowers. In short the real heirs of a Moosulman are never known, until the point has been actually settled in a Court of law.

This is a state of affairs, which ought not to be allowed to subsist; and in my opinion, it is not inausceptible of a remedy.

I have already shown, that the great evil not the sole object of the Dyn Mahr is to prevent the husband from divorcing the wife at his pleasure, which he otherwise could do; such an arrangement in my opinion is essentially necessary to protect the female against the unfettered facilities of divorce. I would therefore propose no alteration of the law, as it now stands, in so far as it affects these parties conjointly. To them the terms of the contract are mutually well known; but let us consider, how it affects the lawful creditors and heirs of the deceased husband.

On the death of his debtor, or on the transfer of his property, the creditor is quite taken by surprise. He had no means of knowing the amount of the widow's dower, and he trusted she would not claim it, for in nineteen cases out of twenty, it is not called for; but when it is called for, he has already mentioned the various modes in which he may be deceived. The other heirs are scarcely in a more pleasant situation, constantly at the mercy and caprice of the widows, who are probably in

their turn influenced by less disinterested advisers; but, before we proceed to show the remedy, perhaps it may be argued, that the law as it now stands, is frequently useful and rectifying that unequal and apparently unjust provision of the Moosulman Law, Code, by which the family of a man who has died during the life of his father, is excluded from inheriting.

Such an object of this Institute would not appear to have been contemplated by its founder, and I am afraid that the plan is more specious than real; for the widow, instead of using the power thus acquired, is correcting this defect of the law, more frequently abuses it, by making over the whole of her husband's property to some favorite son or grand-son, to the exclusion of a whole host of other heirs.

To obtain all the advantages, and at the same time obviate or mitigate the inconveniences of this institution I would propose, that the law should remain in full force, in so far as it affects the husband and wife conjointly; but that no woman should be entitled to sue for dower, save on divorce, and that neither she nor her heirs should have claim to such on the death of her husband.

As an heir of the deceased husband, she is entitled, without any special provision, to one-fourth of his property if childless, and to one-eighth if there be children; these of course are likewise heirs, and this would appear to be amply sufficient.

Should a husband however, from motives of affection, or from a wish to give his wives a more complete control over his children, desire to devolve his property or a portion of it on them, in satisfaction of dower, there can be no objection to his doing so, provided the community are fairly and timelously apprized of his intentions.

This can only be effected by having the deeds publicly executed in the office of the Caze of the Purgunnah, and afterwards registered in the Zillah Court; provided likewise that no undue partiality be shown to any one wife or her children, and that such estate be still held answerable for all debts contracted *bona fide*, previously to the execution of the deed.

Should such an alteration be deemed too sweeping, great advantage might be derived from simply enacting, that no Dyn Mahr or deed in satisfaction of dower, be considered valid or binding, (save on the husband during his life,) unless duly executed, on a suitable stamp in the office of the Caze of the Purgunnah, and afterwards registered in the Zillah Court, and that all such deeds be considered in full force, until the property has been legally alienated, or transferred in a similar manner.

Were such a provision enacted, there is little doubt that every Dyn Mahr of any consequence would be thus executed, and considerable revenue might be made to accrue to the State, were such a mode of raising revenue

considered desirable, while our mercantile interests would be protected; and if, as we should foolishly persist in advancing money, they would do so with a full view of the consequences before them.

Such a system of registry would facilitate the transaction of Dakhili Kharij suits, and might likewise afford considerable assistance to the Collectors of Revenue, in enabling them to determine on the sufficiency of securities, offered by the renters of Government lands.

It may be objected to the proposal, that it would be an encroachment on the rights of our Moolahmudan subjects; the second plan would not be so; but our alteration of their laws regarding debtors, mortgages, limitation

of time in suing, &c. &c. shows, that we have not hesitated to alter and modify, where it appeared to be for the benefit of the country to do so, and I am confident, that we shall meet with no opposition from the natives so long as they are satisfied that such is our object.

In conclusion, may I beg, you will do me the favor to lay the foregoing remarks before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, who perhaps will do me the honor of perusing them.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

JAS. HUTCHINSON.

Gyah, June 30, 1830.

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NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

No. XLVIII.

ON THE MODE OF ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT OF OUDE WHEN IT SHALL FALL INTO THE POSSESSION OF THE ENGLISH.

In my last I attempted a sketch of the present state of Oude, and endeavored to show that the satisfaction of the people with their own Government was much greater than that which exists in the neighbouring provinces under the authority of the English; yet that in the course of a few years, perhaps indeed within the next three or four (setting aside the anxiety of the Court of Directors to take it immediately into their possession) affairs were taking that turn which would almost of necessity place the country under the British dominion.

The anxiety of the Court of Directors to realize the tempting revenues which may be expected from Oude, will probably prevent their waiting for the natural course of things; and by the end of the year, the reiterated order to take possession of the country will probably be received in India. This however is immaterial to the subject of the present paper, in which I propose to discuss the best mode of governing Oude, when it shall come into our hands.

In the first place, I hope we shall avoid the mistake we have hitherto made for many years, in our acquisition of different portions of territory. No sooner have we taken possession, than at one blow we have annihilated every existing establishment, whether for the administration of the revenue, or of civil or criminal justice. We have pronounced the natives in the mass to be corrupt and incapable; and dismissed them all from their situations however respectable, and however well-qualified, they might be to discharge the duties of them with fidelity and efficiency. In attempting to supply their places, we have usually appointed about one-

third of the number of officers required. Our next step has been to raise the taxes to a much greater height than was ever done by their own governments, the large landholders who possessed establishments of servants, elephants and horses, being especially marked for plunder;* and this course has been persevered in until we have succeeded in reducing almost all the landed proprietors (those only escaping who had the means to bribe, or who were connected with the native officers of our establishment) to a happy equality of pauperism. They may now rest contentedly. "*Qui prociibit lumi, non habet unde cadat.*"

Such is the plan on which we have hitherto acted and yet we boast of the blessings we confer upon the people, and flatter ourselves with the idea that our Government is much more popular with them than their own. It is absurd to see the effects of self-delusion and vanity in blinding the eyes of men to the real state of things even before their eyes. In any other case in which prejudice and interest have no concern we should be quick enough in perceiving the truth; and indeed would we give ourselves the trouble to reflect a little even here, we could scarcely remain long in error. Is it possible that any nation

* The sight of a native in good circumstances, with a retinue of three or four elephants, a score of horses, and a long train of armed and unarmed attendants, seems almost always to have been peculiarly annoying to the young Civilian. After a visit to the young Collector the latter constantly remarked in his journal some, "I could not tell you how much I was annoyed by this show." The remark of a "first-rate" Collector was, "I use the past tense because there are now scarcely any such people left in our provinces." That "yellow" can afford to pay a much higher rent to Government, which was speedily allied to "I am inclined to think that the Government is not so much a much finer establishment than himself, was one great cause of the trouble, in which the "yellow" people were held to such a young Collector, for there were few exceptions, whose estimate of their value and importance was not so very great.

would endure an oppressive and galling yoke, and while bending beneath its weight, witness the hand which presses it upon them! Would the people of England consider the domination of a handful of African conquerors as exercised a blessing to them? and are not the passions and feelings of human nature, and the same in all countries, on points where they are much exercised or wounded? But the day is gone by, when this system can be continued with impunity, and rejoiced in indeed am I to perceive, by the manifesto lately issued by the head of the Government that this is at length perceived and acknowledged. It is indeed a proud day for India when the Governor-General stands forth and boldly asserts the principles expressed in his letter on the press and when the chief authority of the state comes forward to support their cause, we may indeed hope for better things. Let it not be forgotten, let the words be written as "with a pen of iron," and engraved upon our hearts and memories, that "whatever be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future Government of India, it is clearly our duty, so long as the charge be committed to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our abilities for the good of the people," (see Sir Charles Metcalfe's letter on the proposed press law) and again—"It cannot be that we are permitted by divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenue of the country, pay the establishments necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency—we are doubtless here for higher purposes," &c. (*Ibid.*) Yes, if we wish to retain India we must indeed learn to govern it for the benefit of the people, and not on the principle that has lately actuated us—the sole benefit of its foreign rulers. All that is required is to act up to these sentiments.

But with respect to Oude. That country has been governed by natives from the earliest record we possess relating to it. It is still governed entirely by natives; and notwithstanding a corrupt and debauched court, I do again and again assert, without fear of being contradicted, with proof, by impartial and unprejudiced men, that the people at large are much better satisfied with their government than the population of our north-western provinces are with ours. We shall, too, find it a much more difficult matter to introduce the system above described into Oude than we did in the neighbouring districts. In these, the levelling system and extra taxation at every settlement has come more gradually upon the people; but those of Oude have witnessed not only the progressive operation, but the result also; and they plainly perceive that our subjects are much poorer than themselves. It would require a considerable military force to introduce the English revenue-screw into Oude, and especially if it be accomplished with the discharge of every respectable native from employment, and the introduction of the lower classes of natives who have almost exclusively been substituted for the natives. Instead of attempting to introduce such a system it would be far more judicious to attempt to govern the country in all the details by the natives,

with only a few Englishmen at the head to lay down general rules; and soot that they were attended to. We cannot say, how do of our own provinces; that there are no individuals of rank or respectability to be found in the different provinces of Oude capable of holding situations of equal or greater power than our Judges, Magistrates and Collectors; and the people are better satisfied than our own subjects. But I will proceed to the detail.

Oude is large enough to be divided into six or perhaps seven districts. To superintend these, five English functionaries will be sufficient, provided they be men of ability, well acquainted with the country and the people. Of these, two should form a Board of Revenue, two a Court of Sudder Dewannee and Nizamut; and the 3d be a Superintendent of Police. Their respective establishments must be on a very moderate scale.

First for the Revenue. The Board should make the tour of the country, and appoint in each district, an Amil as Collector. It should examine the old records, as to the collections of the district, and from these, and the inspection of various parts of it, a rough estimate might be formed of the sum which the district could afford to pay—this should be explained to the Amil; and he should be left to make a twenty year settlement in detail, with each village, or with the rich talookdars or landholders. The Board should also explain as clearly as possible to the people, the orders that had been given to the Amil. Proper agreements would of course be drawn out in duplicate, and deposited, one with the Amil, and one with the Board. Instead of turning all the large talookdars, or landholders out of their estates, our object should be to uphold them, as much as possible. We would ultimately gain more by the assistance which might be derived from these, than by the small increase of revenue which their plunder would produce. They might be made to furnish a quota of men according to their means for the assistance of the Police.

If the members of the Board divided the country and made their periodical tours separately, they would be able, during the cold season, most closely to overlook the conduct of the Amils; and after the settlements were completed—provided each member, instead of general observations, would content himself with a few local ones, and note down what he had observed—annual tours, during its existence, would enable them to form a very fair estimate of what the next settlement ought to yield. It would be very expedient not to have the long settlement made for the whole country in one year, but to introduce it gradually into two or three—for the first year, two the second; and two the third. Making temporary settlements with the latter in the mean time.

This would enable the Board most fully to superintend the proceedings of the Amils, and at the first, and at any subsequent settlement.

NOTES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The next point is the Police. In each district I would have a Magistrate under the name of Foujdar, and an assistant with a small Police establishment of burkundases, constables, the chief use of which would be to be stationed on the high roads. The duty of reporting crimes, apprehending criminals, and assisting, when called upon, should, as it is now, be chiefly imposed on the landholders; for the Ryotwar system, having happily been unknown in Oude, these this class of people still retain considerable power and authority over the rest of the villagers, which, with a little tact on our part, might be rendered of such use as to enable us to keep but a very small paid establishment. Some of these landholders might be intrusted with authority to adjust disputes regarding trespasses of cattle and other minor matters; always reporting the same to the Magistrates. It would be a considerable benefit to the people; and the existence of an authority on the spot would very often prevent a slight quarrel from ripening into a serious dispute, in which perhaps swords would be drawn and blood shed. The power of the Magistrate should be equal to that of our Magistrates; and all more serious cases should be committed for trial as in our provinces. Appeals from the decisions of Magistrates should be either to the Superintendent of Police or the Court of Sudder Nizamut, as might be most convenient to those who preferred the appeals. The Superintendent would of course be making frequent tours to watch the conduct of the Magistrates; and introduce one uniform system.

The third point is the civil administration. In each district there should be an officer for whom the native name of Hakim would probably be most appropriate; whose situation should be nearly equivalent to that of our Civil and Session Judges. In civil suits I would have his powers quite the same, and under him for the decision of different classes of civil suits should be a proportion of Principal Sudder Ameens, Sudder Ameens and Monsiffs, whose numbers would be fixed according to the quantum of business which might be expected to be brought before them. In criminal trials the Hakim with the assistance of the Principal Sudder Ameen or Sudder Ameen as an assessor, should sentence as far as seven or perhaps ten years imprisonment. All cases requiring a more severe punishment, to be referred to the Sudder Nizamut.

This Court would, in the first instance, make a tour to appoint the judicial officers; and while one remained at head-quarters to conduct current business, (which would naturally be at Lucknow) the other should annually make a tour of the different districts to inspect the conduct of the judicial officers.

The City of Lucknow itself would probably be sufficient to make an eighth district, as far as regards the civil and Police jurisdiction. The number may be precisely on the footing of one of the districts. For the Police, con-

sidering the number of men of rank residing in the City who have hitherto enjoyed, practically, almost an immunity from subjection to the ordinary authorities, the great variety of population to be found there, consisting of men of almost every nation of Asia and Europe, it would probably be found expedient to have an English covenanted Magistrate, with an assistant. The whole of the other situations should ordinarily be given to natives, although I should not object to a sprinkling of East Indians; and some years hence, to the introduction of Europeans not regularly in the service of Government.

Nor would I confine the selection of natives entirely to those of Oude. The greater number would however undoubtedly be from that Province, for there alone, in all upper India have natives of rank and respectability been employed in situations of dignity and emolument, so as to have acquired habits of authority; for I again repeat that so far from the Aumils or even the Tehseeldars being people of low origin who have acquired their situations by bribery among the courtiers, the majority of those officers are men of good family and some wealth, and residents of the provinces of Oude. It may be thought, that I have fixed the establishments at too low a scale; but we should recollect that in Oude the feelings of the people have not been outraged, nor their customs overturned, as has been the case in our own provinces by a succession of ignorant young Englishmen.* That they have had no Ryotwar systems to split the land *ad infinitum* and thereby occasion hundreds of complaints and suits regarding possession: that they have not been harassed by judicial divisions one year, reversed by Special Commissions the next: that their estates have not been sold by auction either for a trifling balance, or for no balance at all, by the contrivance of revenue officers; that they have not been annoyed by a host of vakeels and maktars (inferior attorneys) who are ready to promote every species of family quarrels and other disputes, in order to enrich themselves: consequently, that in a given population, there will be much fewer suits and complaints than in our own territories.

With regard to the succession of officers, I would have it understood that an able assistant might, on the occurrence of a vacancy, be appointed Aumil or Foujdar; and that in the judicial line, a Moonsiff, Sudder Ameen, or Principal Sudder Ameen, might each be promoted to the next superior grade, not even excluding that of Hakim itself. At the same time, it would be injudicious to lay down any invariable rule of this nature, by which men of rank and respectability and good qualifications who would not probably accept the lower situations, would be excluded from the higher appointments.

It would be necessary that for each class of officers, a set of rules should be drawn up. The spirit of course to be taken from the regulations, without their technicalities and

* See Holt Mackenzie's Minute of the 1st October, 1830.

wordiness, and certain forms and reports should be prescribed. The English superintendents must be men of a superior stamp, well versed both in the letter and spirit of the Regulations, but not of that prejudiced class with whom all law is gospel. They should be well acquainted with the language and customs of the people; prepared to view things with a liberal and lenient eye, and instead of supposing that all is going wrong because a few inequalities are discovered; where they are unintentional, they should quietly point out the mistake, and be content to allow a little time for affairs to be brought into that regular train in which they ought to be. They must not be too strict on the subject of what is called bribery—of course any thing like a bribe for a specific purpose of which proof could be obtained would be brought forward and punished; but it must not be supposed that every present is a bribe. The custom of making presents to those in authority on certain festivals is so strong among the people, particularly in the native Governments, that it would be almost impossible to eradicate it all at once.

Let us now calculate the expense of ruling Oude on the plan I have suggested.

	Per Month.	Per Annum.
15 English Functionaries at Rs. 3,500	3,500	Rs. 2,10,000
Establishment for all these at 1,500	1,500	18,000
For each District.		
1. Judge or Hakim	1,000	
Establishment	200	
2. Principal Sudder Ameen including Establishment	500	
3. Sudder Ameen ditto	300	
4. Moohshams at 150 ditto	450	
5. Aumil or Collector	1,000	
Establishment for ditto	200	
Tahseeldars and others for the Collection of the Revenue	800	
1 Assistant to the Aumil	200	
1 Equidar or Magistrate, including his Establishment	1,000	
1 Assistant to ditto	200	
Police of the District	500	
	6,350	
Multiply for 7 Districts	44,450	5,33,400
For Lucknow itself.		
Civil Establishment equal to that for a District	2,450	29,400
1 English Magistrate with his Establishment & Police	3,000	5,000
	5,000	60,000
Total		per annum. 8,50,800

Every thing is here put down rather on a high scale. The Tahseeldar establishment of the Aumil might probably be reduced as soon as the twenty years settlement was completed; instead of having to collect as in our provinces from a host of poor impoverished tribes who just contrive to exist, the revenue is realized from a much better class of people, well able to pay and demand against them. The Sudder Ameen, &c.

is probably larger than will be found necessary. The way of doing business is entered on a higher scale than those in our provinces; whose emoluments are certainly, by far, too small. Nevertheless the charge for the whole of Oude, including the superintending English functionaries, and comprising, in fact, eight districts if not much more than the establishments of the Judge, Collector, and Magistrate for three districts, would cost in the provinces, taking into consideration the proportion of the expense of the Commissioners, Board of Revenue, and Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, which should be charged to those districts. With regard to the pension, which should be allowed to the King, that I leave to Government to settle, as I have not the means of forming a guess as to what the amount may be; but I would here give a caution against too suddenly withdrawing the pension and sinecure salaries, which so many about the Court now enjoy. It is true that few of them really deserve what they receive; but we should recollect, that almost all who receive, keep up large bodies of retainers, and armed followers: were all these men suddenly turned adrift, which must be the consequence of suddenly stopping the income of those by whom they are supported, the dispersion of so many thousand armed men who were deprived of the means of subsistence might lead to serious consequences in a city like Lucknow, containing an immense mass of wealth, and composed almost entirely of narrow streets, which are never lit up.

It would be equally inexpedient to disband suddenly the whole of the King's troops, as it would fill the country with men who would, probably, resort to plunder and robbery to support themselves. It would be a much wiser plan to entertain a portion of them, sufficient to form two Regiments of Infantry and one of horse, placing them on the footing of our Local Corps. They might be made extremely useful for Police purposes, and would probably enable us considerably to diminish the strength of the Police as above estimated, particularly in the city of Lucknow itself. They might also be employed in escorting treasure for short distances, and in other modes, thereby relieving the troops on the line from a variety of harassing duty. Hereafter, as affairs became settled, and those who were discharged began to find other employment, the pensions might be reduced, and these Local troops gradually disbanded. The gross revenue which might at present be realized without difficulty from Oude would probably somewhat exceed the cost of the Local Police. The expense of collection and management I have already estimated: what the net revenue might be would depend on the pensions granted to the King, his Ministers, and courtiers, and those who now draw money from the public treasury. Undoubtedly were the country delivered over to the Crack Collectors who from the neighboring districts are looking with longing eyes on what they consider their prey, a large sum might be realized, but who would be the losers? The poor and impoverished

the people when the extra sum acquired would be absorbed in the increased expenses of the collection; and in credit and other indirect gains.

The suggestions above advanced will, I have little doubt, excite the scorn and contempt of many; but the truth nevertheless collected, for truth it is, that Oude has been governed entirely by natives; and that notwithstanding certain abuses, the mass of the people are better contented with their government, with all its imperfections, than our subjects are with ours in the adjoining provinces.

When we do obtain possession of that country, it would be a noble opportunity by proper selection of British functionaries to carry the system into effect, of showing what may be done by native management, and how much more cheaply we might govern India than we have hitherto contrived to do.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

June 15, 1835.

[Hurkaru.]

ON CAPITAL AND ITS DIFFUSION IN INDIA.

LETTER XV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

The greatest misfortune of a country is an indigent tenantry. Whatever be the native advantages of the soil, or even the fertility of the land, the want of a sufficient capital confines every plan, as well as cripples and weakens every operation of husbandry. — *Hume's Essays.*

The third good reason for borrowing money on mortgage of private estates exists not I believe with regard to the public. The Company have ceased to trade, and therefore can have nothing to do with a principle which has reference only to trade. Of that part of the public property which consists in official buildings, &c. there is seldom a sufficient quantity in the market at any one time to make the manner of their disposal a matter of much national importance, and to prevent any appearance of partiality, as well as to realize their price immediately, public auction is the mode most commonly used. Doubtless a field may be found for the exertion of economy even in such matters, as these, but it will be the economy of the petty details, not that of the great principle.

No two things can be more different from each other than these two species of economy, though unfortunately they are too often confounded together. I do not know whether the names I have given them be those usually adopted, or even whether their natures will be quite understood by such description, but to explain my meaning more fully, I will mention a few of their qualities. The economy of details looks, so nothing but the quality of money expended; the economy of principles looks, chiefly to the result of the expenditure. The former may often err in its application; the latter must always be right. The former is like the miser, who loves to hoard his cash, yet through stinginess, will not lay out a penny in insuring or securing it; the latter is like the liberal but cautious banker, who is not ashamed to scrutinize well the security upon which he advances his money, but has not found that time is worthy care little to what extent his assistance is given. The former is like a landlord who would not even go

to the expense of tilling his own grounds; the latter is like him who would cultivate even the hired land of others, grudging not the disbursement at seed time, for he knows he must be repaid amply at the harvest. The former will do well if it prevent a man's declining in the world; the latter is annually adding to his riches. The former, in short, is like the mean and paltry economy of the save all, which the merest kitchen wench might have planned; the latter is like the economy of the steam engine and all those other economical inventions in mechanics; the search after which has so greatly advanced the noble sciences, and the discovery of which has raised their authors, to the highest pinnacle of fame, and left admiring nations in uncertainty whether their improvements have most increased the wealth of the world, or their splendid genius contributed to its adornment.

We will now proceed to the fourth legitimate cause for mortgaging private revenue; a cause, which is particularly reasonable, and ought to be allowed as extensively as possible in the disposal of public money. It is, to make such loans to respectable tenants, in times of extreme distress, as may support their credit, and prevent the lands being thrown out of occupation. Even in the most barbarous times, such loans have been granted by Indian sovereigns, though the terms on which they were bestowed and nearly all their other measures relating to the cultivators, show that it was not so much out of compassion or a desire to improve the condition of their subjects they granted the favour, as through fear their revenue, carried to too great extremes would have been lost. The miser, who would not even go to the expense of tilling his own grounds, the latter is like him who would cultivate even the hired land of others, grudging not the disbursement at seed time, for he knows he must be repaid amply at the harvest. The former will do well if it prevent a man's declining in the world; the latter is annually adding to his riches. The former, in short, is like the mean and paltry economy of the save all, which the merest kitchen wench might have planned; the latter is like the economy of the steam engine and all those other economical inventions in mechanics; the search after which has so greatly advanced the noble sciences, and the discovery of which has raised their authors, to the highest pinnacle of fame, and left admiring nations in uncertainty whether their improvements have most increased the wealth of the world, or their splendid genius contributed to its adornment.

however are not the loans which are necessary; they must not be such as barely to enable the debtors of the state to keep body and soul together; they must be such as will afford them the means of advancing with rapid strides towards a state of comparative wealth, and as to gradually do away with the necessity of borrowing money at all.

Do not suppose that I am chimerical enough to desire that the interests of Government should be wholly, or even at all, neglected, and that it should advance treasure freely to every one who happens to be in want of such assistance. I am well aware that, even at the present moment, considerable difficulty is found in making the receipts cover the demands on the state; and certainly, under those circumstances, to waste, or even to risk any sum in absurd projects would be most unpardonable. Every thing ought to be suffered rather than that public credit should be injured, and public credit can only be maintained for any length of time by a wise expenditure of the public money. I know that though it would be well that a considerable portion of cash should be occasionally advanced to assist our tenantry, and enable them to work their farms, and dispose of their produce to much better advantage than they can do at present, in a word, that they must before the country can become prosperous, be rescued from the clutch of the bunyas; (whose slaves the greater part of them by borrowing at usurious interest virtually become,) yet still, centuries of misrule before our arrival have reduced the people to so low and indigent a state, that to grant them loans with safety to the finances would at the present moment be impossible. Some small sums indeed might be lent on the security of standing crops; but these, after deducting the rent, would be too insignificant to give any permanent relief, in fact such loans are always injurious eventually to those who contract them.

It is well known that at present few *monied* men will cultivate the Company's land, except those whose whole property is so fixed to the soil, that they could not realize its benefits without continuing to follow that employment. There is an excellent reason for this, which is, that a man can generally make larger profits by lending his money to landholders, than he could by occupying land himself; and this enormous interest is procurable, because the landholder has often little security to give but that of his person, which it is useless to attach in case of insolvency, or that of his crops, which is an uncertain pledge to the lender, and I have in a former letter shown to be a most ruinous one to the borrower. This is a most unnatural state of things, and nothing but the extreme poverty of the ryots could produce it: poverty is a hard taskmaster, but even positive slavery would by most men be preferred to starvation.

To destroy this system of usury on the one part, and paucity on the other, is the purpose for which, at the proper time, the Government

ought to open its coffers; though, as in most similar affairs, it will only be necessary for it to lead the way, for it certainly will not want followers; then it will be able to withdraw from the field, leaving it to the more proper rivalry of private speculations.

At present there is little or no good security to be offered for money advanced for agricultural purposes. The first thing then which must be done is to create it. Unless capital be applied, the land will not yield half the profits it is capable of returning; and unless the interest paid for the use of that capital be moderate, no one can afford to apply it. But to procure large sums at low interest, good security is requisite, and until it is in the power of the landholders in general to offer such, they will never be better than day-labourers.

The best security for a farmer is land or houses, because he may always use them, and need only mortgage a part of their profits whenever he is in want of funds to lay out upon his farm. It should in consequence be an object of our greatest attention, to lead our subjects as much as is in our power to invest their wealth in this species of property. Whether it be bought or merely taken on lease is perhaps less important, though of course the more complete the purchase, and the longer the lease, the better will be the security which they give. In leases, however, we should endeavour to introduce that kind, in which the value is paid at the commencement, rather than the other, in which a large annual rent is reserved; as, in this latter case, the property will be held in little estimation by bankers. The sums which are obtained by persons commencing business, and the smallness of the interest paid by Government and mercantile houses of repute, prove incontestibly, that it is mainly for want of good security that the agriculturists are unable to procure money on such terms as will admit of their being able to profit by its use, and that if this impediment were taken away, capital would be at least as accessible to them as it is to others. But still the Government may have to set an example, and when masses of real property shall have accumulated in the hands of its subjects, there will be neither difficulty nor danger in its doing so.

How far the existing laws relating to successions should be modified, it is not for me to say. To introduce beneficial measures is the duty of every government; but how far it may be justified in altering the fundamental institutions of the state is a question of no ordinary difficulty to solve; one thing, however, is certain, namely, that no ruler, even if he had the power, should entertain the will to interfere with such, except in cases of the most urgent necessity. But whether any alternation be made or not in the law, it is doubtless in the power of the Government to do a great deal towards directing the wealth of its subjects into any desired channel, and I think that, until the landed interest has attained a more flourishing position, the best in-

workmen should be landed property, in the world, the most strenuous efforts of those in power ought to be directed towards encouraging the accumulation of masses of real property in the hands of their subjects, and towards assisting those who have good security of this description to give with loans at low interest, until private capitalists shall be relieved to the necessity of either advancing money to agriculturists on equitable terms, or deserting a branch of their business, which, then if not usuriously lucrative, will

give them a certain and sufficiently ample return. Which alternative they will accept no man can doubt, and when they shall have accepted it, Government will be at liberty again to leave matters to their ordinary course and return to its proper position, which is that of a powerful and vigilant moderator, destroying alike the vicious machinations of riches and of poverty, but ever ready to give a helping hand to virtuous and suffering industry.

LETTER, XVI.

The fifth and last good ground for mortgaging private revenue is unavoidable necessity, when the hesitation to risk a part may cause the loss of the whole. This, of course, must apply also to the public revenue, and, indeed, so obviously, that it is quite needless to say any thing more on the subject. The only question that can ever arise on this point is, whether at any particular moment such unavoidable necessity exists or not; but, of this, those who are placed at the head of the state, are supposed to be generally the best judges, because they are possessed of information which few or none in inferior grades can have access to.

Whenever money raised by loan is expended in one of the five ways which I have enumerated, it is expended beneficially for the country; for other ordinary purposes the ordinary revenues are available, and, whatever may be said by these economists who will run all hazards and defy all consequences in their endeavours to save a few farthings, a country will never be ruined by such disbursements. These persons are excessively fond of asserting, that the craft of statesmanship is a mere chicanery, and that nothing but common sense and common honesty are requisite in conducting public affairs; but is their own conduct guided by either common sense or common honesty? Would common sense even induce a man who wanted a servant, to put up the place to public auction, and give it to him who might agree to take the lowest wages? Would common honesty lead any one to discharge, or reduce the stipend of an old and faithful domestic, who had merely consented to accept a low salary originally in consequence of a promise expressed or implied, that he should not be cast off in his old age? If in the first case such servant should prove unfaithful, would it be astonishing? If, in the second, he were to believe that dishonesty in the master might be fairly met by dishonesty in the man, would any body be surprised?

The fact is, that both common sense and common honesty are the best ingredients, perhaps the principal, in the character of either an upright man or an upright minister; but, I hope it is not presumption in me to say that, those who, in political matters, want most the strength of these qualities, will too often be found to possess them least. I do not mean that they are more than others ally inclined, but that their public views are

frequently such, as if entertained by one man against another in private life, would consign him who held them to well merited infamy.

There is something so noble in preserving public faith at all risk, there is something in such conduct which must endure a government to its dependants, the implicit reliance, which under such circumstances the subject will ever place upon the sovereign, is productive of so ardent a loyalty, and so anxious a desire to discharge with integrity the duties which the latter may require, that I cannot but wonder that, for paltry pecuniary considerations, this, the very keystone of the arch of power, should be endangered. I will not say that salaries should never be curtailed, or that abuses in the public expenditure should never be corrected because individuals may profit by them. Government is omnipotent in all arrangements relating to these matters; but, if it be all powerful, it should at least remember upon what foundation that power stands, and never trifle with the base of a structure, the rapid rise of which has astonished foreign nations, who are already both predicting and plotting its downfall.

Every writer who has touched upon Indian politics has declared that the main foundation of British power in this country is the high estimation in which British faith, justice, and generosity are held. I will not endeavour to injure so fair a picture, I will not suppose that our arms had much to do with our conquests, I will even forget for a moment those passages in Indian history, which describe the occasional subservience of all the greatest in the nation to the worst of princes, their emulation of each other in adulation to sovereigns, the flagitiousness of whose lives was hidden by the number of swordsmen at their back. Indeed I am right in not raising this objection; for the intriguing and debauched nobles who preferred the sale of their honour to facing danger in the field, espousing the cause of virtue in the council chamber, no longer deform our territories, and, as upon the ruins of the feudal power in Europe, the commons rose to a new and a distinction, and became the most important and influential parts in the state, so, as will it be with India; the power of its having been destroyed, a party is now forming itself, perhaps who

will certainly be also more patri-

bornly independent than that which preceded it. With these, then, the empire of opinion must be strictly preserved; for, with these, public opinion will be the standard, rather than the banner of war and the kettledrum: implicit faith in the integrity of the English Government is a feeling which must in their breasts be fostered to the utmost degree; to effect this two things are essentially requisite; first, the dedication of our whole faculties to benefit this country in every manner possible, and second, to be particularly cautious in extending financial reductions to the salaries of natives, which have already been sanctioned by authority.

The majority of every people is more interested through the pocket than by any other means. A lavish expenditure too often reconciles men to despotism, over-taxation will make even liberty galling. Knowing this we ought to be aware that the very worst economy this country could ever be cursed with, is an injudicious application of the shears to the allowances of public servants or pensioners.

Native public servants are generally the most intelligent persons in the native community. Accustomed to a free intercourse with their European superiors, they learn more thoroughly to appreciate their characters than other men possibly can. In their eyes we are not deities; they have entered the penetralia of the temple, and have probably discovered how little the worship we receive is owing to the majesty of the idol, how much to the superstition of the crowd; they have seen that we too are subject to passions; they have perhaps learnt to take advantage of them. They have doubtless found that great intellect is not universally the attribute of the white man, and that even personal firmness has been denied to some of our nation. They are intimately acquainted with the resources of the provinces in which they have served, and have not been unobservant of the sentiments of the inhabitants. They often return at last to their native villages, there to enlighten their neighbours with anecdotes of their rulers and to take perhaps a prominent part either with the supporters of our power, or with the opposers of it as the treatment they met with in our employ may have been satisfactory or otherwise.

In our plenitude of power, we have not, I dare say, entirely forgotten how absolutely necessary we found it upon our first taking possession of each successive addition to our territories, to conciliate this class of men, in order to obtain their co-operation with us in setting the civil arrangements with the details of which they only were acquainted. In fact, in every country, the class of official men must be gained before any great progress can be made in its administration. They are well versed in business, and often possess more information upon practical points, than many of those who are pleased to look down upon them with contempt. Is this, then, a body which we can even now venture to slight with impunity? Or, even if it is possible to do so, would any wise man run the risk of exciting

their opposition? Do you suppose that a set of discontented men of this description, with the advantages for working both good and evil which they possess, could not be provoked to do more mischief, than any petty deduction from their pay or their pension would compensate for? To admit a man to the knowledge of all the arcana of Government, and then deliberately to make an enemy of him for the sake of economy, is certainly the most extraordinary way of adding to the stability of dominion that man ever heard of. We cannot govern any country, especially a conquered one, without paying for assistance; to attempt therefore, to curtail any really necessary branch of expenditure, would be about the same as the conduct of a labourer, who should, to increase his property, save half the expenses of his dinner daily, and then in a week reduce himself to so feeble a state as to be unable to earn the price of a dinner at all. Disaffection is always expensive to the Government, by causing either a decrease in its revenues or an increase in its expenditure; then what economy is there in provoking it? Why for the sake of a trifling present saving, sow the seeds of discontent, the fruits of which, when mature, it may cost you millions to destroy!

No man has ever doubted the right of sovereign power in India, (wherever that power may be) to reduce expenditure to what point it pleases; but sovereigns should have some regard to policy as well as right, and the best policy is that, which dictates a strict fulfilment of existing engagements whether expressed or implied, inclining, in the interpretation of them, rather to the side of generosity than of penuriousness. But public servants do not live for ever; and though old engagements should be acted up to, there is no necessity of entering into new ones; moreover, there is always a great number of persons, who may be said for the moment to have the bounty of Government, rather than to be permanently to its service; and these, if economy demands their dismissal, can have no right to complain.

It is very difficult to lay down any distinct line of demarcation between those whom the Government may be considered pledged to maintain, and those from whom it may, without injustice, withhold farther pecuniary assistance; an examination into individual cases is often requisite before this point can be ascertained correctly; but decisions in these matters, when impartially made, seldom fail to give general satisfaction. The public do not begrudge money really due, and claimants retire pacified, if convinced that justice has been honestly meted out to them.

Of late years, however, this principle appears to have been neglected. Great claims and small seem to have been held in equal estimation. Nothing is spared. Every one is in suspense. Those who escape present reduction are alarmed at seeing neighbours deprived of allowances, which appeared to stand on as good a foundation as their own; and they, not without reason, fear that the respite granted to themselves will prove merely

temporary. Even the hardly earned pension is not deemed too sacred for invasion. All feel their situation precarious, and begin to cast their eyes upon other, sometimes forbidden, modes of acquiring independence.

Feelings of this nature are pregnant with danger to our rule, and ought at all cost to be prevented. We should be very foolish if we imagined that interest did not form a considerable ingredient in the attachment borne to us by our conquered subjects; and the interest which has hitherto attached our public servants to us is not so much the magnitude of their salaries, as a confidence of their being continued to them. They will care little about the stability of our sovereignty if a corresponding stability in their own individual fortunes be not insured by it.

Whatever be done with regard to those who enjoy places and pensions under the British, is very immaterial to me, except that, as an Englishman, I feel a pride in beholding the empire which my nation has founded in India, and an anxiety to witness the increase of its splendour. With such pride, however, and such anxiety, I cannot but feel grieved to see a pseudo economy offered to our worship, which is daily alienating our friends, and giving strength to our enemies: which is daily lessening our reputation for those generous virtues which all once allowed us; which instead of adding to the stability, is sapping the foundation of our power; and the progress of which, like that of the idol Juggernaut, will be marked by the destruction of its blind and infatuated votaries.

LETTER XVII.

Having said as much as is necessary upon the second mode of using capital, I proceed to the third; namely, Commerce. There are two descriptions of commerce, which vary so much in their nature, and in their effects upon a country, that they can hardly be considered similar in any thing but in name: it is requisite, therefore, that our attention should be separately bestowed upon *internal* trade, and *external*. I will first speak of the former.

Internal trade is one of the most modest and unassuming, but at the same time, one of the most valuable hand-maids the state possesses. She does not indeed pretend to introduce new wealth into a country, she is content with what already exists and finds therein a sufficiently ample field for her exertions. She adds not nominally to the aggregate of the community; but, if causing a proper distribution of those riches,—if extracting from them all the good they are capable of yielding,—if affording to the poor man the means of becoming wealthy, and to the wealthy man the means of deriving pleasure and profit from his gold; if acting as the moderator of nature's inequalities, which often lavishes too prodigally on some provinces the necessities of life, while to others she will grant only unsubstantial luxuries; if all these qualities can endear her to our affections and entitle her to our respect, then is she indeed worthy of all the homage we can offer to her.

Internal trade is to a state what the circulation of the blood is to the body; its business is rather to avail itself of the virtues of foreign substances than to produce any thing original of its own: but, if alone it will not give support, it will make the support received from external sources beneficial instead of injurious; and adding to health and vigour, prevent those foul corruptions on the natural body, which represent the deformities engendered on the body-politic by the stagnation of trade, the effect of which is that fettered and unnatural distribution of wealth which has, in too many countries, divided the population into two unapproximating classes, the one of which lies in debauchery for want of occupation,

and the other is doomed to pine in perpetual and unmitigated servitude.

Trade, on the contrary, keeps every thing in wholesome circulation, the merchant of to-day becomes a noble tomorrow, and the noble, who disdains to attend to his pecuniary interests, leaves obscurity to his children as their inheritance. Money is not allowed to be idle; every penny is employed. Those of unexceptionable character who wish to engage in business can procure capital or credit to commence with; and those who have made fortunes by their exertions still derive an income by entrusting their cash to the superintendency of another. Idleness is rooted up. Cadets of even the best families must enter some profession; there is no congregation round the hearth of hereditary idlers; one may indeed be privileged, but the rest will have to exert themselves, if not to provide for their own support, at least to secure portions for their offspring. Contempt pursues the embeccile fatterer on another's bounty. Pride and honor point to independence; and to gain it, thousands of well educated men engage in the most arduous employments and seek the most inhospitable climes, there to implant those principles of liberty and industry which distinguish their native land, and thus, while conferring incalculable benefits on foreign countries, add not a little to the splendor and glory of their own.

But there are two principal fruits of internal trade, which are alone sufficient to make us consider this branch of commerce of first-rate importance. The first is the encouragement it gives to manufactures for home consumption, and indeed for foreign also. This not only prevents too many persons from being taken away from more profitable occupations, in order to raise subsistence for their families by agriculture, but also, gives the greatest possible encouragement to the latter by making the number of consumers far exceed that of producers, and thus, raising the price of corn to a point high enough handsomely to remunerate the grower.

Nothing can be more destructive of all chance of prosperity in a state than the con-

junction generally of several different trades in the hands of one person. A proper division of labour is always a proof of civilization and wealth; and, it is only in barbarous countries, and poor ones, that we find a man at one season of the year supporting his family by field labour, while at another he is occupied in manufacturing its clothing. General and mutual poverty among the working classes is the only cause of this; the corn grower, from his inability to pay the weaver, is obliged himself to make what he requires, and the weaver, from his inability to pay the corn grower, is also obliged to turn agriculturist. To prevent this mischievous union of employments, and to enable each man to work only in the business which may, from his bodily constitution or peculiar skill, prove most profitable to him, it is necessary that labour of every useful description should be able to command a remunerating price. The price of labour varies in every state, and indeed is the principal criterion by which to judge of the wealth of a nation. Where it is low, nothing will be brought to perfection, because few can have the means of purchasing, but where it is high, industry may be carried to the utmost extreme, nothing is thrown away; moments, which would otherwise be spent in idleness, are profitably employed, and even the most fanciful tastes of the rich afford an honest and comfortable livelihood to the poor, who exert their industry and invention to gratify them.

The price procurable in exchange for labour is the mainspring, the moving principle of industry, which is certainly the only parent of wealth. Capital enables us to push industry to the utmost, and commerce ensures a continuance of our exertions, by taking care that our labours shall not be thrown away. To be useful to mankind, they must go hand in hand; capital is useless without trade, and trade cannot be conducted without capital. Both also equally require liberty, and the freedom granted to them can hardly be too great, for they must always be the greatest sufferers by civil disturbances, and consequently are most interested in the preservation of order.

The second great fruit of internal trade is its effect in improving internal communications.

Most of the roads, as well as the canals and bridges which adorn Great Britain owe their existence to trade. They have been constructed on true commercial principles; namely, because their profits exceeded the outlay they occasioned; and in most parts, upon these principles have they been maintained. They are indeed most frequently true indices of the state of a country; where trade flourishes, they likewise become ruined, deserted, not forgotten. Roads constructed for pleasure often last no longer than the caprice which dictated their formation; commercial communications are only destroyed with that commerce, to which they are indebted for their origin.

It is evident, then, that money employed in internal trade is employed very profitably, to the estate in general, and to every individual in particular. By it the capitalist derives advantage from his capital, the industrious man procures remuneration for his industry; for every kind of goods there is a market; not only bodily labour, but also the inventions of genius are prized; the agriculturist finds a purchaser in the artisan, and the artisan is paid, by the agriculturist. Every one being enabled to follow the avocation most suitable to him, engages in his business with ardour; and every one being certain of receiving a handsome remuneration for his trouble, men no longer perform their daily routine of duties with that languor and indifference, which characterize those who never have a hope of realizing any thing beyond a bare subsistence, and who never aspire to rise above their actual condition because they have melancholy evidence that the aspiration would be vain. When necessities are plentiful, superfluities are indulged in; new wants follow the gratification of present ones; a taste for luxuries is imbibed; luxuries in time become necessities, and so eventually springs up that constant struggle for more, which keeps the mind of man in activity, sharpens all his best talent to the utmost, and is productive of that noble and virtuous emulation, which makes each strive to continue advancing in some honourable path, and thus add his own to the long list of those, whom the public voice declares to have deserved well of their country.

LETTER XVIII.

What freedom should be allowed to trade is a question which has long been agitated, has not even yet been brought to any satisfactory settlement; but this only refers to external commerce, for, with internal, the balance may be to the advantage of one province more than to that of another, all however forming one common state, the nation itself cannot possibly be injured. The principal objection to a free trade is that of their own markets; but, when both buyers and sellers are equally the objects of our care, this cannot possibly affect us. In internal trade therefore we may assume it as a fact that the greatest possible freedom should be allowed.

It is not to be supposed that such freedom

necessarily implies the absence of all taxation upon saleable commodities; we may fetter the manufacture of a deleterious article, we may derive a revenue from the capricious tastes of the luxurious, but, if we intend to allow the sale of commodities at all, the sale itself should be as free as possible. There are somethings of course that in large and demoralized cities may be subject to the supervision of the police, but they are few in number and of so small aggregate value that the laws which prevent the disposal of them for improper uses, can have no injurious effect on trade.

The severest blow which it is possible to inflict on this species of commerce, in any coun-

tiv, is a code of regulations which authorize the constant interference of the subordinates of the Customs department in the affairs of merchants; how much more must it obstruct traffic in India, where insolence and corruptibility are the constant vices of the lower classes of native public servants. When a tax, even an oppressive one, is equally levied on all, the body may suffer, but individuals will not at least feel partial oppression; where, however, bribery exists, the honest man will never be able to compete with the rogue.

To prevent as much as possible the evils, which the temptations held out to inferiors in the employ of revenue officers too often occasion, it has been usual with wise financiers to consider simplicity in taxation of the utmost importance. From a complicated scheme no good can be expected; the people are harassed with multifarious exactions, and the Government, from the necessity it lies under of trusting too much to low persons, is defrauded; a system of corruption is established and the public is plundered to gorge the most worthless dependants on its bounty. As long as great and immoderate profits continue, the merchant will not perhaps be driven from his task by the insolence and extortion of officials; but as soon as trade languishes, he will withdraw and suffer it altogether to expire.

In India, you will perhaps say, vexatious taxation is sanctioned by long and indeed immemorial usage, and the traders here are accustomed to it, and consequently cannot be greatly annoyed by it, but, until any one will be so bold as to hold up Indian rule as a model of good government, and the parent of happiness and of wealth, I shall not think the argument very forcible. I am sure we cannot look round us without regretting that this country should have been misgoverned so long. Instead of bolstering up an old system, which has from its own intrinsic rottenness, as much as from other causes, fallen to the ground, we should rather feel an anxiety to see the principles which have been approved in our own country made some use of in the management of this, and instead of constantly recurring to the measures of the ancient legislators of Hindoostan, (well suited probably to the age in which they lived,) we should remember that nearly every other nation is, since their times, entirely altered, and that, if this be intended to be more than a nonentity on earth, a corresponding improvement is necessary here. We need not uproot the flowers which delight on the trees which from old association are respected; but the weeds of ages may be lawfully sacrificed, and with them, the brambles which obstruct the path of the rising generation, without affording either shade or protection to that which is advancing to the tomb.

One of the greatest misfortunes of India is that it has been too much governed by no other principle, (if indeed principle it may be called,) than that of mere temporary expedience. Acting thus will probably enable a person to overcome the difficulty which at the moment most torments him, but it will cer-

tainly beget more; similar conduct will then again be pursued, till at last the actor finds himself inextricably entangled in the web which he himself has woven, when bewildered and fatigued he resigns the post which he is no longer able to fill. The fact is that what is done merely because at the moment it seems expedient, generally proves, in the end, the most inexpedient thing that could have happened. The true expedience is a firm and temperate course of conduct which is steadily guided by sound and fixed principle, and not led astray by each fancy of the moment, which may perhaps be brilliant but like the brilliancy of the ignis fatuus leads only to destruction. The expedience which dictates tortuosity and vacillation in politics will prove, in the long run, about as productive as that which dictates the sacrifice of honor in a man, or of virtue in a female.

I have said that the greatest possible freedom should be given to internal trade, that is, that we should permit our provinces freely to interchange their products and to allow the superfluity of one part of our territories to relieve the wants of another. Thus all would be more valuable; abundance would not cause waste, and scarcity would be relieved before it became famine. To establish on a solid basis a freedom so advantageous, I shall offer some observations, the object of which is as much to increase the riches of the Government, as to add to the happiness and wealth of the people. The revenue we all know is necessary to the state, and cannot possibly be dispensed with; but, if an equal sum may be raised by a good system of taxation as is extorted by a bad one, that better system should surely be adopted, because it not only will give relief in the mode of collection, but will also have incalculable eventual effect on all classes of the community. It is seldom that a political measure whether for good or evil stops at the point prescribed; one act of injustice will beget the thirst of thousands for revenge; a few acts of clemency to individuals will often redeem in the public estimation a character blackened by the oppression of a whole nation.

The first thing that must be done, if trade is to be fostered, is to abolish entirely all forms of different branches of revenue, and also every thing in the shape of transit duties in the interior. I have, in a former letter on the subject of farming the revenue, stated the disadvantages to all parties, and indeed the injustice of using that mode of collection; I shall not therefore say more on that point here. With regard to transit duties levied in the interior, I believe they are now generally allowed to be a nuisance to the trader, a promoter of bribery, speculation, and tyranny, and of infinitely more harm to the country at large than their produce can ever compensate for. As far, therefore, as they concern our own internal trade, they should be for ever annihilated. The merchant should have a free passage throughout the whole of our territories with native wares, the products of our own provinces; and if he must pay a tax for

the introduction of foreign articles, let him at least be called on only at the frontier, and let his payment be well defined, simple and single.

The only exceptions which should be made to this short and plain rule are two. The first is a payment of a toll, which might be exacted, where bridges have been erected or roads improved. This toll, however, should not be established to raise a surplus revenue, but merely to repay the outlay occasioned by the improvement: it would then be so trifling that, taken together with the occasion of it, it would benefit instead of injuring commerce. The second exception is the payment of a small tax upon the introduction into cities of articles of consumption, in order to defray the expense of markets and other police arrangements. This, like the last, could not be objected to by the trader, as he would benefit most by those arrangements the cost of which he contributed to pay. It is only where imposition is practised that people complain, where a small public good is effected only as an excuse for levying an exorbitantly disproportioned return.

What I have said above relates solely to the assistance which trade must receive from the abolition of all revenue farms, and the removal from the interior of the country, all persons appointed to levy taxes on merchandise. These people are the greatest pests the country can possibly be afflicted with; and one of my principal reasons for wishing to see all Government land disposed of is, that the whole body may be dispensed with. We, who witness their respectful and submissive conduct to us on all occasions, are some times apt to suppose that they are a most inoffensive body; but in the exact ratio in which a man, especially a native cringes to his superiors, will he tyrannize over his inferiors. I never saw a man particularly obsequious to his European masters, who was not a thorough bully to those placed under him.

Unless we choose wilfully to shut our eyes to the fact, we must be well aware that exaction must form at least as much of the business of these people's lives as protection. Their pay is so small, that it is quite impossi-

ble to expect honesty to be very prevalent among them. I do not mean the honesty which prevents a man from robbing his master, I mean the honesty which makes a public servant spurn the half extorted gift, which he is bound by the terms of his engagement to refuse. But is such honesty to be found among the ranks of those of whom I am speaking. Has no one ever heard that in spite of our boasted laws, there is in most cities an established rate, fixed among the police, at which the captor of a midnight wanderer must be bribed for release? Has no one ever heard that natives, unconnected with our countrymen are stopped occasionally in their passage through our dominions, and made to present their homage and their coin to rascals, who only got invested with the badge of authority to abuse it?

The fact is, that natives are generally so ignorant of the limits of each functionary's power, that his appearance excites in their breasts an undefinable dread, and they will do much to avert his displeasure. Europeans are generally too sensible, and too honourable, to amuse themselves with terrifying those whom they have been taught to look upon with kindness, and whom it is their duty to inspire with confidence; but the native character is very different, and the lower classes of native officials pick up all the worst vices of their superiors, without bringing with them any of the virtues which tend to redeem them. The heads of offices cannot possibly know a hundredth part of the delinquencies committed by those in their employ, and, as they are not blessed with ubiquity, no blame is imputable to them; but still the evil exists, and as it is nearly impossible to cure it, the best way is to extirpate it. Thus, by placing the collectors of customs only on the frontiers and at seaports, would in a great measure be effected, and the utter abandonment of the system of farming any part of the taxes would complete the work, as much as is at the present day practicable. Merchants and travellers would then be free from molestation, and trade, when no longer pestered with vexation, interruptions and imposts, would in all human probability, flourish.

LETTER XIX.

Having stated that internal land duties should be entirely abolished, and with them farms of any description of revenue, it is proper to mention what substitute may be used to raise an equal sum to that at present realized. Taxes are a necessary evil, but that evil may be wonderfully increased or diminished by the nature of the dues imposed and the mode of connection; while therefore it is the duty of those to whose care the state is committed, to shut their ears most firmly to every proposition which has for its object the relinquishment of any portion of the revenue really required, it is also their duty to lighten by the method of fixture the burthen which they cannot remove, and by attentively consulting the capabilities and the convenience of the public, to take care

that it shall not gall. It is on this principle that farms and transit duties as at present established should be abolished; and, it is on this principle that the alteration I propose is founded.

There are four principal kinds of taxes on trade, simple, efficient, and generally approved of. These four are amply sufficient for raising a revenue on trade; they are the land tax, which affects all the produce of land; the excise, import and export duties. The first of these has so much more to do with agriculture, that I shall say nothing of it here; the last two principally relate to external commerce. It is not perhaps necessary to mention stamp duties: because it is a very nice question to what extent they may be carried with-

out injury to the public; in the decision however, of that question Government seems to have been peculiarly happy, as its success has, I believe, been satisfactory to the ruler, without proving oppressive to the subject. Neither need I speak of the variety of petty taxes and rates which exist in some cities; as these relate more to individuals than to general trade; and are perhaps a necessary consequence of the comforts they enjoy.

If the necessity of freedom of internal trade be admitted, it is evident that the export and import duties, which are levied on it, should not be of a larger amount than may be requisite to pay for the benefit merchants derive from the establishment of proper harbour protection and all other outlay incident to a port. The nature of our territories make our coasting trade considerable, and it should be fostered with a careful hand. It is of the utmost importance to the whole of our possessions, that a free intercourse by water should be permitted; and proof that a vessel had cleared from any port subject to us in India should itself be a release from any payment, beyond that of the trifling dues I have mentioned. The exact percentage can of course only be fixed after a reference to the public documents which relate to these matters; but the principle, I think, should be such as I have stated.

It is a subject of much debate, and a question which can only be decided by the English legislature, whether or not, the freedom, which should certainly exist with regard to our Indian coasting trade, should be extended to its commerce with the mother country. There are so many conflicting interests concerned in this question, interests which are totally beyond the control of those who govern this empire, that it would perhaps be foreign to the purpose to enter into the consideration of a principle, which must involve the person who chooses to touch upon it in endless variety of discussions on as endless a variety of subjects, all which, except in their relation to free trade, are on almost every point totally disconnected with each other. The only thing then which we can do, is to view the matter as if this was England's only colony, and as if she had consequently no other favourite to rival us in her regards.

Few people can doubt that, if we wish to maintain an intimate footing with a colony, we ought at least to allow it a free trade with ourselves. In the most prejudiced periods, we never find this to have been denied. The only difficulty seems to have been to keep other nations from enjoying similar advantages, and, by excluding competitors from the market, to be able to purchase and sell at almost our own prices. This policy, however, narrow as it might have been, was assuredly liberal when compared to that used by Britain towards India at the present moment. We have taken every possible precaution for a number of years to monopolize her trade, as far as we found it convenient to ourselves, yet in the matter of those particular commodities, which principally she is anxious we should purchase, we have sacrificed her welfare to

colonies, which, in point of extent, population, and sterling value, are unmeasurably her inferiors. England's usual wisdom seems in this instance to have been forgotten; and her conduct must be attributed, not only to the strong influence which the partisans of the more favoured possessions held in the country, but also, to the apathy with which Indian affairs have nearly always been treated in Parliament; except at the periodical renewals of the charter; when the interests of the country to be governed seem by a kind of tacit agreement among all parties to have been postponed, and the only interests considered have been those of the directors and of the ministers of the crown. The struggle has not so much been to arrange what was best for India, as to secure the power and influence in England, which Indian patronage must give; or if unsuccessful in that attempt, to unite with all parties similarly situated to place it in the hands of the most feeble; or so to sheer of its beams, as to render it, even in the hands of the most powerful, impotent. This apathy is happily decreasing daily; and, as the only questions, in which the passions of ministers might be supposed to be deeply concerned, whether in the East or in the West have been finally decided, it is not perhaps too much to hope that any strenuous efforts on the part of India to obtain attention to the subject of the duties levied on her products will meet with success.

The principal source to which we ought to look for a substitute for the customs abolished is the increase in the value of land, and the increase of import duties in certain cases. However applicable the excise may be to the condition of our countrymen, I cannot think that any one would advise the maintenance of such a system here. After a certain degree of liberty is attained, measures, which would be a death blow to freedom in its infancy, may often be used without any evil consequences; and, in the same manner, the duties which may not have the effect of confining commerce when it has reached maturity, would at once strangle it if applied too early. There is every difference in the world between a trade that has almost to be created, and another which has flourished for centuries. Commerce, in India, has, I think all will allow, only just commenced; for, to give that name to the buying and selling which generally went on, amid the constant disturbances which the country was subject to, before our arrival, is surely a profanation of the term. Where insurers acted at the head of armies, and the extortion of every official, from the prince on his throne down to that prince's lowest menial, formed a regular item in the balance sheet, there could never possibly exist any traffic of that open, equitable, and honorable description, which Europeans designate commerce.

To establish this, a powerful and just rule was necessary; a government sufficiently able to abstain from extortion itself, and sufficiently potent to chastise others who might dare to attempt it. Accordingly, we find that

the mercantile community is generally extremely favourable to us; and if a few monopolists are injured by the facility with which trade is now conducted, the mass is grateful for the protection they receive. But, whatever confidence they have in our own integrity, they cannot help perceiving that native influence must still be great; and that influence they feel themselves unable to cope with; because the very nature of our laws, which scrupulously screen the innocent from injustice, renders it, too often, a more tedious and expensive process to convict the guilty, than most people are willing to engage in.

To take away the opportunity of guilt is therefore the wisest plan, when efforts to root out the inclination are likely to prove abortive; and on this ground, I think the excise should no more be an instrument of revenue in India than should farms. When the present generation shall have passed away, and another unused to the illegal proceedings of native governments, shall have succeeded, when a long course of inability to act dishonestly shall have confirmed the practice, and fixed the principles of virtue, then indeed the authority of subordinates may be extended, then perhaps their interference with trade may not be noxious, for then probably they will not overstep the bounds, which the wisdom of their superiors may prescribe.

With regard to town duties, they may perhaps be levied with less injury to the community than any others; because the collection must be a subject which will claim the active supervision of European officers, and in which these will generally have the power, as they certainly have the will, to prevent more abuse, than must, however cautious, we may be, exist in every human institution. Of duties on spirits and intoxicating drugs I need not speak; no sensible man can object to them. The materials of intoxication are, here, very different from those in use in Britain; and if some assert that beer is a necessary of life to the labouring classes, no one will affirm the same of ganja, spirits, opium, and bang. Indeed whatever increase the public treasure may receive from such sources, they must ever be looked upon, more as the repressers of excess, than as ordinary contributions, or in other words, more as an arm of the police, than a branch of revenue.

From the list of articles which come under this head, tobacco, however, should be excluded. The use of this weed may in other countries lead to drunkenness, but it certainly does not here. Many persons who do not object to its use on this score are pleased to call it an idle practice; in this they are mistaken; the wealthy may smoke to pass away time, but if any one will note the fatigue, which the abstemious native will undergo, when stimulated by it, and his exhaustion, without it, he will see that it is not without its value. It is, moreover, almost the only luxury which the wretched labourer possesses. Then, in the name of pity, let him gratify his taste as cheaply as possible.

Mankind have ever been so averse to the simplicity of nature, that there is no country in the world, which has not invented some means of beguiling care, knowing, therefore that this passion is universal, and cannot possibly be eradicated, we should certainly shew more wisdom by endeavouring to direct it into the least injurious channel, than by preaching an exterminating crusade against it altogether; by the former method, we should have every chance of being tolerably successful, by the latter we should only meet with ridicule and defeat. Viewing the matter in this light, I cannot help believing that the taste of the Chinese for tea, that of the Arabs for coffee, and that of the natives of India for tobacco, are among the most innocent the world exhibits.

But independently of this consideration, tobacco is one of the most important products our territories yield, it is therefore surely our interest, if no other cause existed, to beware of checking even in the slightest degree a harmless indulgence, which furnishes us indirectly, by rental of our land, so large a revenue.

It is needless to say more on the present point. When I come to the subject of agriculture, I hope I shall be able to show that a small loss in the matter of internal duties and farms may, nay must, be amply made up by other means. We cannot have every thing. We have made India essentially an agricultural country, or rather nature has made it so for us. Every commodity which may be accounted valuable as contributing to the national wealth is here the produce of the land. Opium, cotton, tobacco, and sugar bear me out in this assertion, and indigo, saltpetre and silk can hardly be termed exceptions for in all these, the lord of the soil must at least derive a large share of the profits. To the land, then, every thing seems to direct us principally to confine ourselves. When we may have disposed of it, new sources of wealth will be opened to us; but until that period shall arrive, we should make the best of what we possess; we may be anxious to sell our estate, but we should be fools if we neglected every opportunity of making it more valuable. Instead, then, of frittering away our energies in exacting petty dues, let us fix our eyes on one grand object, and steadily pursue it; let us do our best to gratify our subjects in all things reasonable; let the trader enjoy freedom and security in his dealing, and let the peasantry to whom we must look for wealth, sooth life with a few of its luxuries: any small present sacrifice we may make to effect this will no more be money wasted, than is that bestowed in pampering the warhorse, whose master stints him not to-day, because he knows that to-morrow he will, by his assistance, be enabled to win victory, reputation, and wealth.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant

FOUNDLING.

